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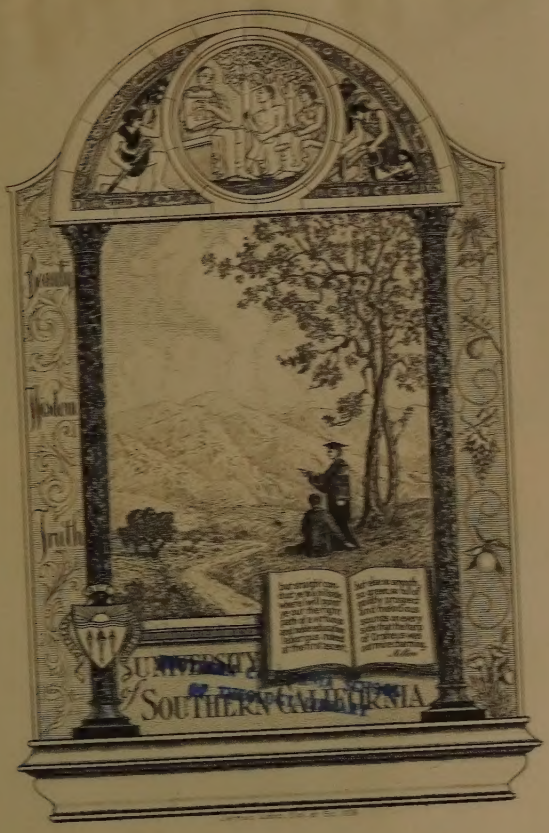

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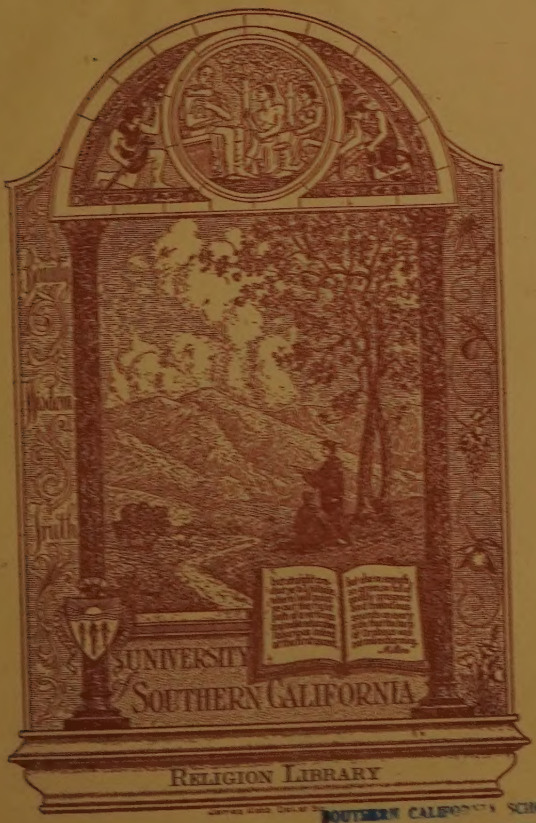

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A NEW HISTORY OF Eccleſiaſtical Writers:

Containing an ACCOUNT
Of the *Authors* of the ſeveral Books
OF THE
Old and New Teſtament;
And the *LIVES* and *WRITINGS* of the
PRIMITIVE FATHERS;
An Abridgment and Catalogue of all their WORKS;
Cenſures Determining the GENUINE and SPURIOUS,
A *Judgment* upon their *Style* and *Doctrine*,
AND
The Various Editions of their WRITINGS:
To which is added,
A Compendious Hiſtory of the COUNCILS;
And many neceſſary Tables and Indexes.

Written in *FRENCH*
By *Lewis Ellies du PIN*, Doctor of the *SORBON*,
And *Regius* Profeſſor of Divinity at *Paris*.

VOLUME the FIRST,
Containing the AUTHORS *that Flouriſhed in the THREE Firſt AGES of the CHURCH.*

The Third Edition, Corrected.

LONDON,
Printed for Abel Swalle and Tim. Childe, at the *Unicorn* at the Weſt-End of St. *Paul's Church-Yard*, MDCXCVI.
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ADVERTISEMENT

Concerning this

TRANSLATION.

WHEN *I first undertook to Revise this following* Translation, *I had no Thoughts of having my Name made so publick as it has been since upon this Occasion. Few Men I suppose will ascribe it to Vanity or Ambition, since the* French Language *is so very common among us, that it is not thought a part of Learning to understand it: For though Translating is not always the easiest Employment in which a Man may be busied, yet the Opinions of Men, by which most things receive their Estimate, have set so much an higher Value upon Original Productions, than upon any, even the exactest Copies, that it is no wonder if that has been for the most part concealed, which, when divulged, would have brought so little Credit.*

But I am sensible that Apologies *are tedious things to those who are absolutely unconcerned: And it will be rather expected that I should acquaint the World with what they shall find in this* Translation, *then either why it was Revised by me, after the several* Translators *had finished their Parts; or why the Notice of its future Publication seemed to have been immediately given by my Order. And here indeed I ought to say, that the Book it self, with which the* English Reader *is presented, is a very valuable One. The Doctrines and Practices of the Primitive Church are represented with so much Candour and Sincerity, that those who are unacquainted with the Writings of the* Fathers, *need not fear being imposed upon. Our* Author *is indeed of the Communion of the Church of* Rome, *and accordingly he does not (as indeed he durst not) any where conceal his own Opinion; but yet, as long as he never suffers the* Sorbonist *to break in upon the* Historian, *his Writings carry an Authority with them, greater than they could have done had they come from a* Protestant. *Truth, I confess, is the same, whoever speaks it; yet all Men grant, that it carries a more Convictive Force along with it, when extorted from those whose Ingenuity over-bears their Interest, than when it freely comes from Men that advance their Cause by telling it.*

For this Reason I have taken as much Care as I could, that Monsieur du Pin's *Sence should be exactly preserved; and therefore, when he cites Authors whom, for Form sake, he was obliged to call* Hereticks, *if they are not named with Applause, it is not to be wonder'd at.*

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Advertiſement concerning this Tranſlation.

In ſome few places I have thought fit to interpoſe: But leſt that might occaſion any Confuſion, the Paragraphs are all incloſed in Hooks; which will plainly diſtinguiſh whatever I ſay, from my Author's Words.

The great uſe of Books of this kind is, to form an Idea *in the Minds of thoſe that read them, of that unaffected Piety and Zeal which inſpired the Primitive Chriſtians, and which at laſt ſubdued the whole* Roman *Empire, and made its Princes follow the Banner of the Croſs of Chriſt with Joy and Pleaſure. What a Thing that was, can be but imperfectly conceived from the Writings, and, God knows! much more imperfectly from the Practices of this degenerate Age. The Abridgments of the Books of theſe firſt Chriſtians will be much more effectual to this Purpoſe, than a bare dry Hiſtory could poſſibly have been; for they wrote about Things that their Hearts were full of: And Men who are at all Times ready to lay down their Lives in Defence of any Cauſe, will produce warmer and more moving Arguments to awaken their drowzy Brethren, than can poſſibly come from others that are leſs concerned, becauſe in much leſs Danger.*

If therefore the Reading of theſe Papers ſhall be a Means to incite thoſe that are able to draw from the Fountains in larger Quantities, having found theſe ſmall Streams ſufficiently inviting; and thoſe that muſt take what they Read upon Truſt, to endeavour to live up to theſe great Patterns which are here propoſed to their Imitation, I ſhall have my End; and ſhall think the Pains which I have taken in this Work, not only very well beſtowed, but my ſelf abundantly rewarded.

W. W.

THE

THE Author's PREFACE.

PART I.

The Reaſon of the Title. An Account of thoſe Authors that have written upon the ſame Subject. A general View of the Deſign of this Work.

THE Name of *Bibliotheca*, or *Library*, is not only given to thoſe Places that contain great Numbers of Books; but alſo to Collections that have been made by ſeveral Authors, and to thoſe Books that Treat of their Works. Thus Collections of the Works of ſeveral Fathers, are called *Bibliothecæ Patrum*: A General Hiſtory drawn out of vaſt Numbers of Hiſtorians, ſuch as *Diodorus Siculus*'s *Bibliotheca Hiſtorica*: A Book that Treats of the Sacred Volumes of Scripture, ſuch as *Sixtus Senenſis*'s *Bibliotheca Sancta*; or rather, *Bibliotheca Sacrorum Codicum*: A Treatiſe upon thoſe Authors who have written concerning Matters of Religion, as this of ours is, *Bibliotheca Authorum Eccleſiaſticorum*: And, in ſhort, any Book that ſpeaks indifferently of all ſorts of Authors, and Writings, compoſed upon different Occaſions, may be called a *Bibliotheca*.

This is not the firſt time that ſuch ſort of *Libraries* have been made: *Apollodorus*, an *Athenian*, a moſt Learned Grammarian, that lived under the Reign of *Ptolomæus Euergetes*, Two hundred and forty Years, or thereabouts, before the Nativity of Jeſus Chriſt, compoſed a *Bibliotheca* of the Original of the Gods; that is to ſay, of the moſt ancient Hiſtory, as it lies diſguiſed under Fictions and Fables. In imitation of him, *Diodorus Siculus*, that lived in *Auguſtus*'s Time, compoſed a *Bibliotheca* of General Hiſtory; which was taken out of an infinite Number of *Authors*. To theſe, we muſt joyn thoſe Authors that have written the Lives of Illuſtrious Perſons; ſuch as *Hermippus*, *Antigonus*, *Satyrus*, *Heraclides*, *Ariſtoxemus*, and *Diogenes Laertius*, amongſt the *Greeks*; and amongſt the *Latins*, *Varro*, *Tully*, *Nepos*, *Santra*, *Hyginus*, and *Suetonius*; who have compoſed the Lives of the Philoſophers, and other Authors.

To deſcend now to thoſe Chriſtians that have made Catalogues of their own Authors: Are not *Clemens Alexandrinus*'s *Stromata* a *Bibliotheca* of the Opinions and Judgments of an incredible Number of Writers? May not the Hiſtory of *Euſebius* be called *a Library of Eccleſiaſtical Authors*? ſince his whole Book is little elſe but an Account of their Lives, a Catalogue of their Works, and a Collection of ſeveral memorable Paſſages. But St. *Jerom* is the firſt of the Chriſtians, that has expreſly treated of Eccleſiaſtical Authors; which Book was Tranſlated into *Greek* by *Sophronius*. *Gennadius* of *Marſeilles*, *Iſidore* of *Seville*, *Ildefonſus* of *Toledo*, continued it down to their own Times. *Honorius* Biſhop of *Autun* made a ſmall Abridgment of theſe four Authors. *Sigebert* of *Gembloux*, and *Henry* of *Ghent*, continued their Books down to St. *Bernard*'s Time. And Laſtly, *Aubertus Miræus*, who publiſhed theſe Authors under the Title of *Bibliotheca Eccleſiaſtica*, continued the Hiſtory of theſe Eccleſiaſtical Writers down to our Times. *Trithemius*, who lived about Two Hundred Years ago, made a diſtinct Book upon the ſame Subject. We ought not to forget the *Roman* Council, held under Pope *Gelaſius* the Firſt, in the Year 494, in which there is a

Catalogue

Catalogue of the Sacred Books, and of Catholick and Apocryphal or Heretical Authors. Amongſt the *Greeks*, the Learned *Photius* compoſed an excellent *Bibliotheca*, in which he gives a ſhort Summary of the Books that were read; and paſſes his own Judgment upon near Three hundred Volumes of different Authors, that not only treat of Religion, but alſo of *Hiſtory*, *Rhetorick*, *Philoſophy*, *Grammar*, *Phyſick*, *Medicine*, and other profane Sciences. But never was more Induſtry and Labour beſtowed upon all ſorts of Books, and eſpecially Eccleſiaſtical, than has been in theſe laſt Ages, wherein we have revived (if I may uſe the Expreſſion) all manner of Learning and Knowledge, and carried Criticiſm to a Perfection and Heighth that it never arrived to before. The *Roman Catholicks* and *Proteſtants* have ſeemed to Rival each other in compoſing of theſe *Bibliotheca's*. *Eraſmus*, who cauſed ſome of the Fathers to be Printed, writ ſeveral Prefaces and Annotations upon their Works, that contain abundance of judicious Reflections; and though he is ſometimes over-haſty in rejecting ſome particular Books, yet however we muſt own that he opened the Way for thoſe that followed him. Since him, moſt of thoſe Perſons that have obliged the World in publiſhing theſe Authors, have written their Lives, and made ſome Critical Obſervations upon their Works. But to confine my ſelf at preſent, only to thoſe that have written upon Eccleſiaſtical Authors, *Sixtus Senenſis*, in his *Bibliotheca Sacra*, has not only Treated of the Authors of the ſeveral Books of the Bible, but likewiſe of the Commentators too: And ſince there is ſcarce any Eccleſiaſtical Author to be found, who has not writ ſomething or other about the Scripture, he was obliged to ſpeak of moſt of the Fathers, and a great Number of other Eccleſiaſtical Writers. Cardinal *Baronius* alſo, whoſe principal Deſign was, to collect together every thing that had a Relation to the Hiſtory of the Church, in his Annals, has written the Lives of the greater part of the Eccleſiaſtical Writers, and mentioned their Books. *Bellarmine* writ a diſtinct Treatiſe of Eccleſiaſtical Authors, which reaches down to the Year 1500. wherein, after he had briefly taken notice of their Profeſſion, and the Time when they lived, he makes a Catalogue of their Works, with ſome Criticiſms upon them. This little Book is very valuable for the great variety of Things contained in it, but yet it is very imperfect, and his Critical Remarks upon the Works of theſe Authors are not always exact. *Poſſevin*, in his great *Apparatus*, that is diſpoſed in an Alphabetical Order, has ſupplied part of thoſe things that are wanting in *Bellarmine's* Book An *Italian Maſter of the Sacred Palace*, has made ſome uſeful Reflections and Notes upon ſeveral Books. *Halloixius* Treats very largely of Eccleſiaſtical Authors, but ſpeaks very little of the Writers of the firſt Ages. After him Father *Labbé*, a Jeſuit, compoſed a Book of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, as a Supplement to *Bellarmine*, but it is very imperfect; and he himſelf tells us, that it was only an Extract out of a great Univerſal Library, that he had been preparing a long time: but whether he never liv'd to finiſh it, or for whatever other Reaſon it was, it has not as yet ſeen the Light. I ſhall ſay nothing of thoſe that have made Critical Animadverſions upon theſe Authors ſince his Time, becauſe they have only copied from other Criticks that wrote before them, without adding any thing remarkable of their own. I ſhall likewiſe paſs them over that have Criticiſed upon ſome particular Books; as, *Sirmondus*, *Launoy*, and *Morinus*, upon the Books attributed to St. *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*; becauſe it will be time enough to take notice of them, when I ſhall Treat of the Books upon which they have Criticiſed.

But we ought by no means to omit thoſe Books which the *Proteſtants* have written upon theſe Eccleſiaſtical Authors, becauſe, though they are full of Errors, Falſhoods and Invectives, and ſometimes Treat the Fathers with little Reſpect; and have beſides, upon falſe Conjectures rejected ſeveral Books which they diſliked, as not being agreeable to their own Opinions, and diſcovering their own Errors; though, I ſay, it muſt be owned, that almoſt all the Treatiſes written by them upon this Subject, abound with ſuch Faults as ought to be abhorred by all Catholicks; yet we muſt do them the Juſtice to confeſs, that for what has a Relation to the Critical part, they have ſometimes ſeen more clearly than the Catholicks themſelves, and have diſcovered ſome Things that we are obliged to acknowledge and approve. The *Centuriators* were the firſt amongſt the *Proteſtants* that ſeriouſly attempted to write the Lives of the Eccleſiaſtical Authors, and to make Critical Remarks upon them; and it muſt be owned, that their Books are very uſeful even to the Catholicks themſelves. *Conradus Geſner's Bibliotheca*, Abridged by *Joſias Simlerus* and *Friſius*, and augmented by ſome others, is no ill Dictionary of theſe Authors. *Perkins* and *Cook* have publiſhed an accurate Examen of Spurious Books; but they have done it rather upon the Faith of other People, than by their own proper Light. *Sculletus's* Work upon the Fathers of the Four firſt Ages of the Church, is more conſiderable, not only for ſeveral

Points

Points of Hiſtory and Criticiſm, that are there very ſuccinctly ſet down; but alſo for the *Analyſis*, or the Abridgment of their Writings, which he has performed with great Exactneſs, but in a Scholaſtick Way, and conſequently tedious. *Voſius*'s Treatiſes upon the *Greek* and *Latin* Hiſtorians, Poets and Philoſophers, amongſt whom he has placed ſeveral Eccleſiaſtical Writers, are excellent Things in their kind, and ſhew a great deal of Learning. *Rivet* has taken the greateſt Pains, is the moſt Exact, and has performed the part of a Critick beſt upon Spurious Works; but then his Book is not exempt from thoſe Faults that are common to Proteſtants, as we have obſerved above. I ſhall not mention thoſe that have ſpoken of the Eccleſiaſtical Authors by the bye; as, *Toſſanus*, *Hottinger*, *Aubertin*, *Mareſius*, *Sandius*, and many others: As alſo thoſe that have compoſed particular Treatiſes upon ſome Books; as, *Blondel* upon the falſe Decretals of the Popes, and the Books of the *Sibyls*; *Daillé* upon the Canons and Conſtitutions of the Apoſtles, and upon the *Epiſtles* of St. *Ignatius*; *Pearſon*, and ſome other *Engliſh*-Men, upon the ſame Letters; *Voſſius* upon the Creeds; *Beveridge* upon the Apoſtolick Canons; *Alix* upon *Tertullian*; and ſeveral others.

There is not one of all theſe Books which we have mentioned, that comprehends all that might be ſaid upon theſe Eccleſiaſtical Authors. Some of them contain nothing, in a manner, but their Names, and a Catalogue of their Works: Others only give a ſhort Account of their Lives, and handle what relates to the Critical Part very ſuccinctly. The greateſt part of them wholly employ themſelves in Examining the Spurious and Suppoſititious Books. *Photius* is the only Man amongſt the Ancients, that has made an Abridgment, and paſſed his own Cenſure upon the Books he mentions; but then the Eccleſiaſtical Authors he treats of are few in Number; and beſides, he paſſes over ſome of them very ſuperficially, and ſlightly. *Sculletus* is the only Modern Writer, who has given the World an Epitome of the Doctrine of the Fathers; but then he ſpeaks little or nothing of their Lives, and has made no Critical Reflections upon their Works, The perplexed manner wherein he treats of theſe Matters, renders him diſagreeable to the Reader: And beſides, he only concerns himſelf with the principal Authors of the Four firſt Centuries. *Halloixius* has wrote upon fewer of theſe Authors; and his Work, which is of a prodigious Bulk, is by no means exact, and he is full of falſe and uſeleſs things. Having thus obſerved the Miſtakes or Failures of all theſe Works, I undertook to make a *Bibliotheca* of Eccleſiaſtical Authors, more ample and perfect than thoſe that have hitherto appeared in the World; and that I might the better ſucceed in my Deſign, I endeavoured to render it as like as was poſſible to what we commonly call a *Bibliotheque*, or *Library*. Thus, as we ordinarily range the Books in thoſe places, according to the Order of their Matter and Time, I have likewiſe in this Work diſpoſed the Eccleſiaſtical Authors according to the Order of Time; and it will be an eaſie matter to reduce them into a Method, according to their Subjects, by the Aſſiſtance of a Table at the End of every Volume. When we enter into a *Library*, the firſt thing we generally take notice of, are the Titles of the Books; and in this *Library* alſo, at the firſt opening of the Leaves, the Reader may ſee the Names of the Authors, and a Catalogue of their Works. But ſince it is not enough barely to conſider the Titles of Books, ſo that we muſt of neceſſity read them over if we would be Learned, I have not contented my ſelf with making a Catalogue of their Treatiſes only, but I have drawn up an Abridgment or Summary of what is contained in them, obſerving at the ſame time what particular Opinions are to be found in their Writings. If in other *Libraries*, you often ſee the Pictures of Great Men and Famous Authors, either Painted upon Cloth, or Engraven upon Copper; here alſo you may ſee their Pictures drawn after a more Lively and more Natural manner; not only in the Hiſtory of their Lives, but alſo in the Judgment that we have given of their Stile, their Spirit, and their Genius. Laſtly, As in great *Libraries* Men are not content with having only one Edition of an Author, but endeavour if they can to procure all, or at leaſt a great part of them; ſo in this, I have taken notice of all the different Editions of Authors, that came to my knowledge, and I have endeavoured to omit as few, as was poſſible: However this *Library* of mine, will contain more Volumes upon Eccleſiaſtical Matters, than any other Collection of Books can pretend to ſhow; becauſe, it not only comprehends thoſe that we now have; but likewiſe gives an account of thoſe that are loſt; the Number, whereof is exceeding great; and then it may boaſt of another advantage wholly peculiar to it; and that is, It helps to diſtinguiſh thoſe Books that are forged, from thoſe that truly belong to the Authors, whoſe Names they bear, which are confounded and mingled together in common *Libraries*. This is the deſign of my Undertaking, a ſmall but very conſiderable part whereof I now preſent

to

to the Publick, which only concerns the Three first Ages of the Church; with a Resolution to publish a Continuation of the other Ages (a good Part of which is already done) and so to bring it down to our own Times, if God gives me Abilities and Strength enough to finish so long a Work, and if the Reception it meets withal in the World satisfies me that my Endeavours may be of some advantage to the Publick. I am not so vain as to flatter my self with having performed so great a Design, as perfectly as it ought to be, whatever Diligence, Pains or Exactness I have used in the Performance: But this at least, I may venture to assert, That of all the Books that have been written upon Ecclesiastical Authors, there is none that comprehends so many things. If I have failed in my undertaking, I have this to comfort my self, that I have drawn such an Idea of a Work as may employ the Learned a considerable time for the Publick Benefit; and if they will be pleased hereafter to acquaint me with the Faults which I may have possibly committed, or inform me of those things which I have let slip, and communicate to me part of their Observations, as well upon the Authors that are in this Volume, as upon those that I shall examine in the next; I hope this Work will be able to acquire some sort of Perfection, according to my hearty Wishes, for the common Benefit of Mankind, the Advancement of Learning, and the Advantage of Religion it self.

PART II.

Some Observations upon the Method. An Account of the Design of the Work. Rules of Criticism laid down.

IT being not sufficient barely to represent the general Design of this Work, as I have done in the First Part of the Preface, I found my self obliged to give some short Account of the Method I used in the Management of it. I usually begin with the Life of every Author, which I relate as succinctly, and in as few Words as possibly I can. For there being two ways of Writing the Life of any Person; one by taking in the Moral; the other by comprehending the Historical Part: I have applied my self wholly to the last, as being the most agreeable to my Design. In the first, I set down all the Actions of those Men, whose Lives I write, and then enlarge upon their Vertues; and make several Reflections upon their Behaviour and Conduct: In the Second, I only take notice of the principal Circumstances of their Life, passing over those Actions that are purely Personal, and that have no Relation to the History of their Times, contenting my self with delivering Matters of Fact without a large Examination, whether they were well done or not. After this Manner, I have endeavoured to write the Life of those Authors of whom I have Occasion to speak, chiefly taking notice of those Circumstances that concern their Writings, and may serve either to illustrate them, or to make the Order, Subject, and Occasion of them known. For nothing is of more Use to make us understand the meaning of any Author, than the knowing when, and with what Temper he wrote, what Hereticks he opposed, what Opinion he designed to establish; and lastly, what Condition he was in at that Time. A Bishop, for Example, writes otherwise than a Lay-Man, an *African* otherwise than an *Asiatick*, and a Man under Persecution, talks in a different manner from one that is at ease. An Author that attacks the Heresie of his own Time, and besides, has personal Contests with his Adversaries, expresses himself in another strain, than a Man that writes against an Heresie that is extinct, and who has no other share in the Quarrel, or no other Motive of Writing than to defend the Truth: In a Word, we speak and we write generally according to the different Motions and Passions, with which we are agitated; the Objects that most forcibly strike us, represent themselves in a lively manner to our Imaginations, and by that means determine our Tongues and Pens to that side. After *Tertullian* was provoked against the Church, he never wrote one single Book, wherein he does not fall upon it, and bring in the *Paraclete* of *Montanus*. St. *Cyprian* making it his Business to support his own Authority and the Discipline of the Church against those that attacked both, speaks always of the Unity of the Church, and of the Publick Pennance. *Origen*, who was full of the *Platonick* Philosophy, considers all the Principles of Christianity as they have a Relation to *Plato*'s Doctrine.

S. *Athanasius*.

St. *Athanaſius*, a ſworn Enemy of the *Arians*, never took Pen in hand, but he fell upon them. St. *Auſtin* having the *Donatiſts* and *Pelagians* always in View in all his Writings, and even in his Homilies, talks perpetually of the Church and of Grace. 'Tis the ſame with all the reſt, and if we examine the Matter narrowly, we ſhall find that all Men are made after the ſame ſort, and agree as to this particular. We commonly know by a Man's Diſcourſe what Books he reads, what Sciences he ſtudies, what Religion he is of, what Profeſſion he follows, whether his Circumſtances in the World are happy or not, and whether he is well or ill received by great Men; ſo difficult a Matter is it to conceal our own Opinions, when they have once made a deep Impreſſion within! We offer a Violence to our ſelves when we attempt to conceal them for any time, and ſooner or latter they eſcape from us, notwithſtanding all our Endeavours to the contrary. And this ſhows what a conſiderable Advantage it is to us towards the better Underſtanding of any Author, to be perfectly inſtructed in the Hiſtory of his Life, and to know what Country he was of, in what Times he lived, what was his Profeſſion, his Genius and Inclination, what Hereticks he oppoſed, and what Intereſts he had to manage.

This very ſame Reaſon likewiſe makes us ſenſible, that it is not ſufficient to know in general the Age wherein any Author wrote; but that we muſt alſo, if it is poſſible, find out the exact Time and Year in which he wrote every Treatiſe, and ſo obſerve the Order and Series of his Works; for beſides, that a Man writes otherwiſe when he is Young, than when he is well in Years; it is a certain Truth, that the ſeveral Changes, that happen every day in the Courſe of worldly Affairs, and to every Perſon in particular, often make Men alter their Stile. *Tertullian*, when he was engaged in the Sect of the *Montaniſts*, oppoſes what he had formerly eſtabliſhed. St. *Cyprian* ſpeaks of the Reconciliation of Penitents, according to the different Circumſtances of the Times he lived in; St. *Auſtin*, when he writes againſt the *Pelagians*, ſpeaks otherwiſe of God's Grace and of Free-Will, than he uſed to do before. St. *Athanaſius* when he was under Perſecution, wrote more violently than when he enjoy'd Tranquility. In a word, ſince nothing is ſo changeable as the Mind of Man, and ſince every Accident, that influences it, is under continual Motion, it muſt neceſſarily follow, that an Author will write differently in different Times. It is therefore of infinite Uſe to obſerve, as we have done, the Chronology of any Writer's Works, if we can diſcover it either by Reaſoning, or by Conjecture; and this was more eaſily done in Polemical Diſcourſes, than Treatiſes of Morality. The Characters, that help us to know the Time and Order of their Works, are, 1. The Years of the Emperors, the Names of Conſuls; or laſtly, the Years when any particular *Epocha's* begin, as we find them any where ſet down. 2. The Names of Perſons that are mentioned there. 3. The Citations of the Works of other Authors, or of the Author himſelf. 4. Conjectures drawn from the Stile, the Matters that are treated of, and the Manner wherein they are delivered. I do not explain theſe Characters, becauſe they are ſo eaſie to be underſtood, and becauſe they may be ſo often diſcovered by an infinite Number of Examples in the Book it ſelf.

A Catalogue of the Works of theſe Authors was abſolutely neceſſary: Sometimes I made it ſeparately, and ſometimes, as I had occaſion to diſcourſe of them in a Chronological Order. This Catalogue as well comprehends the Books that we have at preſent, as thoſe that are loſt, whoſe Titles have been preſerved by the Ancients: but this has not been obſerved in the ordinary Catalogues, where they content themſelves with ſetting down thoſe Books only that are to be found in the Editions we now have. I have not ſuffered even thoſe Authors to eſcape me, of whom we have not any entire Diſcourſe remaining. I have made a Catalogue of their Treatiſes, where I cou'd be fully informed of them by any of the Ancients, and I have taken Care to preſerve the Fragments of ſome Writers that are ſtill remaining, and to acquaint the Reader in what Authors and in what Places they are to be found. I have referred what I have to ſay of the Rules of Criticiſm to the End of the Preface, where I ſhall examine them more particularly.

One would imagine that a Summary or Abridgment of theſe Books would prove a long Work, and ſwell the Volume to a mighty great Bulk; yet I have reduced it into very narrow Bounds, and have ſuffered nothing that was of conſiderable Moment, to eſcape me. I have contrived to make it as little troubleſome and tedious as was poſſible, by not always confining my ſelf to the Formality of an exact Method, and without making a ſcrupulous *Analyſis* of their Propoſitions and Reaſonings.

I contented my ſelf with delivering the Arguments of their Books in a few Words. When I met with any conſiderable things either for Doctrine, Morality, or Diſcipline, I carefully took notice of them, and I have alſo drawn out of ſeveral Books thoſe Paſſa-

ges that appeared to be the moſt Beautiful, and thoſe Thoughts that were the moſt Sublime. For the end which I always propoſed to my ſelf, was to give a true Character of the Author I treated of, and to omit nothing that was remarkable, and yet for the Reader's Eaſe, I have done it as ſhort as I could.

After this Abridgment of their Work, I generally give my Judgment of the Stile, and Genius, and Learning of the Author. I don't in the leaſt queſtion but that ſeveral Perſons will be offended at the Liberty I have taken, and that even thoſe who approve my Deſign in the main, will be of a different Opinion from me; for the Judgments of Mankind are ſo vaſtly divided in nothing as in the Cenſures they paſs upon other Men. Every Man thinks he has ſufficient Authority in himſelf to judge another, and indeed every Man judges after his own Way, led by his own Fancy or Humour, without any certain or ſteady Rules.

Hence it follows, that it is almoſt impoſſible to find two Perſons that agree in their Opinions of a Third Perſon, and indeed this Reflection made me at firſt alter my deſign of drawing up the Characters of my Authors, foreſeeing plainly, that I ſhould hereby draw upon my ſelf a great number of Adverſaries. For though the Perſons of whom I ſpeak, have been long ſince dead, yet they have abundance either of Admirers, or Cenſurers, that will appear either for, or againſt them; ſo that whether I commend or blame them, it's all one, and I muſt expect to be cenſured and ill thought of. But afterwards, when I conſidered with my ſelf, that ſince all the World give themſelves the Liberty to judge the Ancients upon all occaſions, juſt as they pleaſe, I thought that no Man ought to condemn me for doing the ſame, after I had carefully read them over, and particularly in a Book where the Subject and Deſign ſeemed to require it; I reſolved to do it however with Moderation, and yet with a convenient Freedom. I don't pretend to oblige any Man to follow my Judgment; neither do I flatter my ſelf that I have always found out their true Characters; I only deſire my Reader not to condemn me inconſiderately, or upon the Faith of another, without having ſo much as read or ſtudied theſe Authors; and I likewiſe conjure him to reſt ſatisfied, that in paſſing my Cenſures, I have uſed all imaginable Exactneſs and Application, knowing that a Man cannot be too circumſpect when he offers to judge others, and eſpecially thoſe Perſons that have left ſo great a Reputation behind them in the World, and to whom we owe ſo much Reſpect.

I conclude with a Catalogue of the ſeveral Editions of thoſe Books, which I have examined with the utmoſt Care and Diligence. I am not certain that I have ſet down all, yet I am ſatisfied that I have mentioned the beſt, and given my Judgment of each in particular. So that any Man may ſee at firſt ſight, which Edition is moſt uſed, and ought to be moſt valued.

At the End of theſe Three firſt Centuries, I have made an Abridgment of the Doctrine, Diſcipline, and Morality of thoſe Times, that whatever is to be learnt in the Authors of thoſe Ages, may be ſeen at one View. This Summary I have compoſed as faithfully and in as ſhort a Compaſs as I cou'd; however I don't pretend to have taken notice of every thing that is to be found in the Authors of the Three firſt Ages upon theſe Subjects, ſince I only deſigned to ſet down the Principal Points, that I might give my Reader a ſmall Idea of them.

Laſtly, There are ſeveral Tables at the end of each Volume, which will not be wholly uſeleſs. The firſt contains a Catalogue of the Authors, in a Chronological Order, where one may ſee the time of their Birth, and Death, and that wherein they flouriſhed. The Second contains a Catalogue of the ſame Authors, in an Alphabetical Order. The Third is a Catalogue of their Works: The Genuine, the Spurious, and thoſe that are loſt. The Fourth, is a Catalogue of their Works, according to the Matters contained in them. And the laſt, is an ordinary Table of the things contained in the Body of the Book.

I have only now to acquaint my Reader, that at the end of each Author, I have added ſome Annotations, that are merely Critical, to make my Book as plain and eaſie as was poſſible. In theſe Notes you will find ſome Illuſtrations and Proofs of the things that I aſſerted in the Text. I was not willing to reſerve them till the end of the Volume, becauſe generally moſt Men do not look ſo far, and ſo never mind them; nor to charge the Margin with them; becauſe they were too long to be placed there, and conſequently wou'd have interrupted the Series of the Diſcourſe. But I have placed them at the end of each Author, where it is an eaſie Matter to conſult them by obſerving the ſeveral Letters that will conduct the Reader, and yet not detain him too long from the Text. Thoſe that are but indifferently ſkilled in theſe Matters, may, if they pleaſe, paſs over theſe

Notes;

Notes; but I would desire those that have a Mind to examine carefully what I have written, to read them along with the Text, because I have often barely asserted several things in the Text, that are justified and proved by these Notes.

I shall leave the Reader to judge, whether this Book may be of an advantage to the Publick, or no; but I think I ought to acquaint him, that the principal End I propos'd to my self, was to excite those that shall peruse it, to read the Works of the Holy Fathers; and that whoever imagines himself dispensed with for consulting the Originals by reading my Book, does manifestly pervert and abuse the Design of it. I published it with an Intention to give them a Taste, and not to make them lose their Appetite for the Fathers; and the Abridgment I have made of their Works, was only designed to inflame those that love these things, to go and refresh themselves at the Fountain head. This work may easily inspire Men with a Desire of reading the Fathers, since it gives them before-hand a general *Idea* of their Doctrine and Maxims; but here is not enough to save them the labour of reading the Originals: and let a Work of this Nature be never so well written, yet we ought to read these things in their Originals, where only they are to be found in their Purity, and Natural Beauty. This I thought necessary to premise, before I set down the Necessity and the Rules of true Criticism, and the great importance of them, which I am now going to explain.

Criticism is a kind of a Torch, that lights and conducts us in the obscure Tracts of Antiquity, by making us able to distinguish Truth from Falshood, History from Fable, and Antiquity from Novelty. 'Tis by this means, that in our Times we have dis-engaged our selves from an infinite number of very common Errors, into which our Fathers fell for want of examining Things by the Rules of true Criticism. For 'tis a surprizing thing to consider how many spurious Books we find in Antiquity; nay, even in the first Ages of the Church. Several Reasons induced Men to impose Books upon the World, under other Mens Names. The first, and most general, is, the Malice of Hereticks, who, to give the greater Reputation to their Heresies, compos'd several Books, which they attributed to Persons of great Reputation; in which they studiously spread their own Errors, that so they might find a better Reception, under the Protection of these celebrated Names. And thus the first Hereticks devised false Gospels, false Acts, and false Epistles of the Apostles, and their Disciples: And thus those that came after them published several spurious Books, as if they had been written by Orthodox Authors, that so they might insensibly convey their Errors into the Minds of their Readers, without their perceiving the Cheat.

The Second Reason that inclined People to forge Books under other Men's Names, is directly contrary to the First; being occasioned by the indiscreet Piety of some Persons, who thought they did the Church considerable Service, in forging Ecclesiastical or Profane Monuments in favour of Religion and the Truth. And this Reason prevailed with some ancient Christians, to forge some Testimonies in behalf of the Christian Religon, under the Name of the *Sibyls*, *Mercurius Trismegistus*, and divers others; and likewise induced the Catholicks to compose some Books, that they might refute the Hereticks of their own Times with the greater Ease. And Lastly, The same Motive carried the Catholicks so far as to invent false Histories, false Miracles, and false Lives of the Saints, to nourish and keep up the Piety of the Faithful. Now, though the Design of these Persons seems to be commendable, yet we ought not, by any means, to approve of the making use of these sorts of Artifices to defend the Truth; which is well enough supported by real Proofs, without the necessity of inventing any false ones. It would be a Shame to call Lying and Falshood to its Assistance, and we must never use such sort of Methods, which Truth and Sincerity will always condemn, whatever good Effects they may pretend to have.

The Third Reason of the Forgery of some Books, keeps a middle Way between those we have already mentioned; for there have been some Persons in the World, that have been guilty of this Imposture, without any other Design, than to divert themselves at the Expence of their Readers, and to try how nearly they could imitate the Stile of other Men. Hence it is, that some Authors have compos'd Treatises under St. *Cyprian*'s, St. *Ambrose*'s, and St. *Austin*'s Names. But it must be confessed that this Reason has not been near so common as the other two, and that it very rarely prevailed, especially in the Primitive Times. Only in these latter Ages there have been some, who having Vanity enough to over-value their own Productions, have published them under the Name of antient celebrated Authors; desiring rather (as the Abbot of *Billi* says) to appear abroad, and be esteemed under other Men's Names, than to continue despised, and be buried in Darkness, by

writing in their own. And these are the Reasons that may have occasioned the Forgery of Books, Malice, Indiscreet Piety, and the Humors of Men.

But besides these Reasons that have advanced this Trade of Forgery, there are several others that have occasioned the setting Authors Names to several Books, which they never writ. The first, and the most general, is, the Fault of the Transcribers, or Printers, who have frequently set wrong Names in the Title Pages of their Books. And this has happened several Ways; for either they did it to raise the Price of the Copy, or, because they found these Tracts at the End of some other Author, they therefore concluded too rashly that they were done by the same Hand; or through Ignorance and Negligence; or lastly, some not being able to find out the Name of the true Authors, upon the strength of a few feeble Conjectures, have supposed they had good Reason on their side to change it.

From hence therefore, one Book has often carried the Name of several Authors in Manuscript, and this has principally happen'd to Sermons; either because the Transcribers found it their Interest to publish them under the Names of Great Men, to make them more vendible; or because these Sermons, though of different Authors, by being often inserted into the Office of the Church, and divided into Lessons, were so interwoven and confounded one with another, that it was a difficult matter to distinguish them.

A Second Reason of the giving to some Books the Name of wrong Authors, is, because sometimes Men have written Books by way of Dialogue, or otherwise, to which, in imitation of *Tully*, they have given the Names of those Persons whom they have introduced there as Speakers. After this manner *Vigilius Thapsensis* made five Books under the Name of St. *Athanasius*; and perhaps too under the same Name he composed the Creed that is attributed to that Father: Whence it happened, that those that looked upon the Titles of these Books, attributed them to St. *Athanasius*, without examining the Reasons why they carried his Name: As if we should attribute *Tully*'s Books to *Lælius*, *Brutus*, or *Cato*.

Lastly, the Ambiguity of Titles, and the Resemblance of Names, have often contributed to the ascribing of Books to those to whom they did not belong. Two Authors were of the same Name, though perhaps they differ'd in every Circumstance beside; and this has given Occasion to several unwary or ignorant Readers, to attribute their Books to the wrong Persons. This has frequently happen'd; and, to give one remakable Instance of it, the Resemblance of the Names of *Sixtus* the Philosopher, and *Sixtus* the Pope, caused the Sentences that were written by the former to be attributed to the latter.

Having thus discovered the Reasons why we find so many Books attributed to Authors who have no just Title to them, we ought to establish the Rules of true Criticism. 'Tis equally dangerous to be ignorant of them, as to take them the wrong way and misapply them; for if we do not know them, we may be easily imposed upon by false Monuments; and if we do not understand them aright, or if we abuse them by allowing our selves too great a Liberty, we may very often reject the Truth it self. This last Abuse has been frequent with many Criticks of our Time, and particularly *Protestants*, who, upon very slight superficial Conjectures, have rejected several Books that are unquestionably ancient and genuine, because they contradict their Doctrine or Discipline. Wherefore we may, in the first place, set this down for a general Rule in these Matters, that we ought always to act fairly, and upon the Square; and that we must lay aside our Passions, or our Interests, and hearken only to our Reason, when we pass our Judgment upon Supposititious or Genuine Books. 'Tis very ill done to conclude that such a Book is spurious because it pinches us, and afterwards to search for Reasons why it may be thought so. We ought, on the contrary, when a Book does not please us, to use more than usual Circumspection to examine the Reasons that make us call it into question; since it is to be feared, that unless we take due Care, the Prejudices we have formed against it may cast a Mist before our Eyes, and make us mistake frivolous Conjectures for solid Reasons. We shall now examin the Proofs and Conjectures that a Man may have of a Book's being spurious, one by one, as they lie: They are either External, or Internal; and both one and the other may be convincing or probable.

The Internal Proofs are those that are drawn out of the Books themselves, which we apparently demonstrate to be suppositious, either by the Time there set down, or by some other Sign, or by the Opinions that are there maintained, or by the Stile wherein it is written. Time is one of the most certain Proofs; for nothing more evidently shews that a Book cannot belong to that Time wherein it is pretended to have been written, than when we find in it some Marks of a later Date. These Marks, in the first place, are, False Dates;

for

for 'tis an ordinary thing for Impoſtors, that are generally Ignorant, to date a Book after the Death of the Author to whom they aſcribe it, or of the Perſon to whom it is dedicated, or written; and even when they do fix the Time right, yet they often miſtake in the Names of the Conſuls, or in ſome other Circumſtances: All which are invincible Proofs, that he that Dated this Book did not live at that time. Secondly, Impoſtors very often ſpeak of Men that lived long after the Death of thoſe Perſons to whom they attribute thoſe ſpurious Diſcourſes, or they relate the Hiſtory of ſome paſſages that happened afterwards, or they ſpeak of Cities and People that were unknown at the time, when thoſe Authors wrote; or Laſtly, they cite Authors that wrote and lived after thoſe whom they make to mention them.

The Opinions or Things contained in a Book, do likewiſe diſcover the Forgery of it: 1. When we find ſome Opinions there, that were not maintained till a long time after the Author, whoſe Name it bears. 2. When we find ſome Terms made uſe of, to explain theſe Doctrines, which were not cuſtomary till after his Death. 3. When the Author oppoſes Errors, as Extant in his own time, that did not ſpring up till afterwards. 4. When he deſcribes Ceremonies, Rites and Cuſtoms, that were not in uſe in his Time. 5. When we find ſome Opinions in theſe Spurious Diſcourſes, that are contrary to thoſe that are to be found in other Books, which unqueſtionably belong to that Author. 6. When he Treats of Matters that were never ſpoken of in the Time when the real Author was alive. 7. When he relates Hiſtories that are manifeſtly fabulous.

In ſhort, Stile is a ſort of Touch-ſtone, that diſcovers the Truth or Falſhood of Books; becauſe it is impoſſible to imitate the Stile of any Author ſo perfectly, as that there will not be a great deal of difference. By the Stile, we are not only to underſtand the bare Words and Terms, which are eaſily imitated; but alſo the Turn of the Diſcourſe, the manner of Writing, the Elocution, the Figures, and the Method: All which Particulars, it is a difficult matter ſo to counterfeit, as to prevent a Diſcovery. There are, for inſtance, certain Authors, whoſe Stile is eaſily known, and which it is impoſſible to imitate: We ought not however always to reject a Book upon a ſlight difference of Stile, without any other Proofs; becauſe it often happens, that Authors write differently, in different Times: Neither ought we immediately to receive a Book as Genuine, upon the bare Reſemblance of Stile, when there are other Proofs of its being ſpurious; becauſe it may ſo happen, that an ingenious Man may ſometimes counterfeit the Stile of an Author, eſpecially in Diſcourſes which are not very long: But the Difference and Reſemblance of Stile may be ſo remarkable ſometimes, as to be a convincing Proof, either of Truth or Falſhood.

The external Proofs are, in the firſt place, taken from ancient Manuſcripts; in which either we do not find the Name of an Author: or elſe we find that of another: The more ancient or correct they are, the more we ought to value them. Secondly, From the Teſtimony or Silence of Ancient Authors; from their Teſtimony, I ſay, when they formally reject a Writing as Spurious, or when they attribute it to ſome other Author; or from their Silence when they do not ſpeak of it, though they have occaſion to mention it: This Argument, which is commonly called a Negative one, is oftentimes of very great weight. When, for example, we find, that ſeveral entire Books which are attributed to one of the Ancients, are unknown to all Antiquity: When all thoſe Perſons that have ſpoken of the Works of an Author, and beſides, have made Catalogues of them, never mention ſuch a particular Diſcourſe: When a Book that would have been ſerviceable to the Catholicks, has never been cited by them, who both might, and ought to have cited it, as having a fair Occaſion to do it, 'tis extreamly probable that it is ſuppoſititious. It is very certain, that this is enough to make any Book doubtful, if it was never cited by any of the Ancients; and in that Caſe, it muſt have very authentick Characters of Antiquity, before it ought to be received without Contradiction. And on the other hand, if there ſhould be never ſo few Conjectures of its not being Genuine, yet theſe, together with the Silence of the Ancients, will be ſufficient to oblige us to believe it to be a Forgery.

Theſe are the Rules of Criticiſm, by which we diſtinguiſh Falſe and Spurious Works from thoſe that are Genuine. As I ſaid before, ſome of theſe Rules are convincing, and ſome are only probable; the Internal Proofs are generally more certain than the External; and amongſt theſe, the poſitive Teſtimony of Authors is the moſt preſumptive and ſtrong. But it may be ſaid, that all of them are ſometimes more, and ſometimes leſs convincing and probable; and that the Sovereign Rule is, the Judgment of Equity and Prudence; according

according to which we ought to balance the Reaſons of one Side and the other, and conſider all the Conjectures that can be brought for or againſt it. For it often happens, that although every Conjecture, conſider'd apart, does not ſeem to bear any conſiderable weight, yet when they are all joined together, they make the thing almoſt morally certain. I have brought no Examples to explain all theſe Rules that I have ſet down; for, beſides that they are ſufficiently clear and intelligible of themſelves, it is impoſſible to read in any Pages of my Book, without finding them applied upon all occaſions.

Before I conclude my Preface, I am oblig'd to make ſome kind of Anſwer to thoſe who have been pleaſed to Declare, that they ſhould have been better ſatisfied if I had wrote my Book in *Latin*. Some Perſons have been of that Mind, becauſe they have a greater Value for *Latin*, ſince it has laſted longer, and is more currant in Foreign Countries: Others take it ill that I have publiſhed thoſe things in *French*, which, as they pretend, ought only to be underſtood by Divines. Theſe Men have told me, That they could not endure to ſee Women and ignorant People learn the moſt curious Parts of Divinity: And that it might prove of dangerous Conſequence, to inſtruct them throughly in the Doctrine of the Fathers.

As for the Firſt, I ſhall take care to ſatisfie them, by Tranſlating my Book into *Latin* ſome time or other, if the Publick ſhall think it worth being preſerved.

For the Others; As their Complaint is unreaſonable, ſo I never ſaw any good Reaſons to hinder my publiſhing it in *French*: For when the Fathers themſelves wrote, they made uſe of a Language that was underſtood by all the World: and we live at preſent in an Age, wherein great Numbers of their Books have been Tranſlated with applauſe. No Man therefore ought to take it ill, that I publiſh an Abridgment of their Doctrine to all the World: On the contrary, It were to be wiſhed, that every Chriſtian could be inſtructed in theſe Matters, that they might be the better confirmed in their Belief, when they ſee that this Doctrine has been always taught in the Church of *JESUS CHRIST*, who is the Pillar and Ground of the Truth.

THE

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A PRELI.

A Preliminary Dissertation ABOUT THE AUTHORS OF THE BIBLE.

SECT. I.

Of the Authors of the Books of the Old Testament.

OF all those (*a*) Paradoxes, that have been advanced in our Age, there is none, in my Judgment, more rash and dangerous than the Opinion of those, who have presumed to deny, that *Moses* was the Author of the *Pentateuch*: For what can be more rash than to deny Matter of Fact, that has been established by express Texts of Holy Scripture (*b*), by the Authority of Jesus Christ (*c*), by the Consent of all Nations (*d*) and by the Authentick Testimonies of the most Ancient Authors (*e*)? And what can be more dangerous, than to bid Defiance to Antiquity, and consequently destroy the Authority of those Books, which are, as it were, the very Foundations of our Religion (*f*)? And yet this they do, who dare affirm that the Books of the *Pentateuch* are not written by *Moses*, and endeavour to prove it by such weak Conjectures, that 'tis impossible for a Man of tolerable sense to be convinced by them (*g*). For, allowing all that they alledge were true, (*h*) they could only prove, the same thing has happen'd to the Books of *Moses*, which has happen'd almost to all the Books of Ancient Authors, *viz.* That some few Words, Names and Terms have been altered or added to render the Narrative more intelligible to those that lived in the following Ages. For example: We find the Ancient Names of Cities are sometimes changed for those they received afterwards, because they would have been no longer known by their Ancient Appellations. There are likewise some short Explications inserted into these Sacred Books, to illustrate what was said by the Author: And, in short, some necessary Passages have been added to compleat the History. These things are common, and we find Examples of it in the Books of *Homer*, *Herodotus*, and almost all the Ancient Historians, and yet no Body is inclined for all this to reject their Books, as if they did not belong to those whose Names they bear. Why then should we not say the same thing of the Books of the *Pentateuch*, which have been more constantly assigned to *Moses*, than the Poems of the *Iliads* or the *Odysses* to *Homer*, or the Histories of *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* to those by whose Names they are known? Let us examine all the Reasons that are alledged against the Antiquity of the *Pentateuch*, since they imagine they are unanswerable, (which yet is very false, as we shall make appear in these following Discourses) and we shall see they only prove that some Names of Cities or Countries are changed, some few Words inserted to explain some Difficulties; and lastly, that the account of *Moses*'s Death has been put in since, which was but necessary to finish the History of the *Pentateuch*. We ought

therefore to affirm it for a certain Truth, That *Moſes* was the Author of the firſt Five Books of the *Bible*, called the *Pentateuch*.

There are given to each of theſe Five Books, (which have their Names in *Hebrew* from the firſt Word in each Book) there are given 'em, I ſay, ſuch Names as have a relation to the Subject. The firſt is called *Geneſis*, becauſe it begins with the Hiſtory of the Creation of the World. It contains beſides that the Genealogy of the Patriarchs, the Hiſtory of the Flood, a Catalogue of the Deſcendants of *Noah* down to *Abraham*, the Life of *Abraham*, of *Jacob* and *Joſeph*, and the Hiſtory of the Poſterity of *Jacob*, down to the Death of *Joſeph*. So that this Book comprehends the Hiſtory of 2369 Years, or thereabouts, following the account of the Years of the Patriarchs, as we find them in the *Hebrew* Text.

The Second is called *Exodus*, becauſe the principal Subject of it is the Departure of the Children of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, and all that paſſed in the Wilderneſs under *Moſes*'s Conduct, for an Hundred forty five Years, *viz.* from the Death of *Joſeph*, to the Building of the Tabernacle. We find there a Deſcription of the Plagues wherewith *Egypt* was afflicted; an Abridgment of the Religion and Laws of the *Iſraelites*; together with the Admirable Precepts of the *Decalogue*.

The third is called *Leviticus*, becauſe it contains the Laws, the Ceremonies, and Sacrifices of the Religion of the *Jews*: All which has a particular Relation to the Levites, to whom God gave the charge of all thoſe things that concern'd the Ceremonial part of that Religion.

The fourth is called *Numbers*, becauſe it begins with the Numbring of the Children of *Iſrael* that came out of *Egypt*, and concludes with the Laws that were given the People of *Iſrael* during the Thirty nine Years of their ſojourning in the Wilderneſs.

Deuteronomy, that is to ſay, the ſecond Law, is ſo called, becauſe it is, as it were, a Repetition of the firſt: For after *Moſes* has deſcribed in a few Words the principal Actions of the *Iſraelites* in the Wilderneſs, he recites abundance of the Precepts of the Law.

(*i*) We don't certainly know when theſe Books were compoſed by *Moſes*, or which was firſt written: However, 'tis very certain, that *Deuteronomy* was written laſt, in the Fortieth Year of the Departure out of *Egypt*, and a little before the Death of *Moſes*.

We can't ſo certainly tell who are the Authors of the other Books of the *Bible*: Some of 'em we only know by Conjecture, and others there are of which we have no manner of Knowledge.

It is not certain that the Book of (*k*) *Joſhuah* was written by himſelf; for as it is obſerved by the Author of the Abridgment of the Scripture attributed to St. *Athanaſius*, this Title is ſet at the Head of that Books not ſo much to diſcover the Author, as to make the Subject of it known; becauſe it treats of War, and other things that happen'd under the Conduct of *Joſhuah*, after the ſame manner as the Books of *Judges*, of *Kings*, of *Tobit*, of *Judith*, are ſo called, becauſe they give an Account of the Lives and Actions of thoſe whoſe Names they bear. But though 'tis commonly believed that this Book was written by *Joſhuah*, and this Opinion ſeems to be countenanced by ſome Words of the laſt Chapter, where it is ſaid that *Joſhuah wrote all theſe things in the Book of the Law*: Nevertheleſs we muſt affirm, that 'tis certain, that *Theodoret*, and ſome others among the Ancients, are not of this Opinion, and that we have Reaſons ſtrong enough to make us doubt whether he is the Author or no. However it is, 'tis a moſt unqueſtionable Truth, that this Book is ancient, and that if it is not *Joſhuah*'s, it was written either by his particular Order, or a little after his Death. It carries the Hiſtory of the People of *Iſrael* Seventeen Years beyond the Death of *Moſes*, or thereabout.

We yet know leſs of the Author of the Book of *Judges*. Some with the *Talmudical* Doctors attribute it to *Samuel*, ſome to *Hezekiah*, others to *Ezrah*. In ſhort, ſome Perſons are of Opinion, that every Judge wrote his own Memoirs, which were afterward collected by *Samuel* or *Ezrah*. Be it as it will, the Book is certainly ancient, and (*l*) admit it was put into the condition we now find it by *Ezrah*, yet we cannot reaſonably queſtion its being compoſed from ancient Memoirs. It contains the Hiſtory of what happen'd to the *Iſraelites* from the Death of *Joſhuah*, to that of *Sampſon*. We cannot preciſely tell what Number of Years it takes in, though 'tis commonly fixed to ſomething above 300 Years.

The Book of *Ruth* is a kind of an Appendix to the Book of *Judges*, which is the reaſon why the *Jews* made but one Book of theſe two, and for the ſame reaſon 'tis commonly believed that one Author compoſed both. 'Tis certain, that the Hiſtory of *Ruth* comes up to the times of the Judges, but we don't know the time exactly. We may aſſign it to the time of *Samgar*, Eight and twenty Years, or thereabouts, after the Death of *Joſhuah*.

The two firſt Books of *Kings* are called by the *Hebrews* the Book of *Samuel*, which has occaſioned the Opinion that they were in part written by that Prophet (*m*); that is to ſay, that he compoſed the Four and twenty firſt Chapters, and that the Prophets, *Gad* and *Nathan* afterwards compleated the Work. This is the Opinion of the *Talmudiſts* and *Iſidore*, and is founded upon theſe Words of the *Chronicles*, 1 Chron. 29.29. *Now the Acts of* David *the King, firſt and laſt, behold they are written in the Book of* Samuel *the Seer, and in the Book of* Nathan *the Prophet, and in the Book of* Gad *the Seer*. *Theodoret* and *Diodorus* of *Tarſus* ſeem to be of this Opinion, when they ſay, that it was the cuſtom of all Prophets amongſt the *Hebrews* to write down whatever happen'd in their time; and that upon this ſcore it is, that the firſt Book of *Kings* is called the Propheſie of *Samuel*. Others pretend that theſe Books are of a later date, becauſe we find ſome ways of ſpeaking there which don't belong to that time, but perhaps they were added ſince; and it is very probable that both theſe Books are very ancient.

However, 'tis certain that they were written before the *Chronicles*. The firſt of theſe two Books of *Kings* contains that which paſſed under the Government of *Eli* of *Samuel*, and under the Reign of *Saul*:

The

The ſecond, is the Hiſtory of *David*'s Government. The two laſt Books of *Kings*, contain the Hiſtory of the Reign of *Salomon* Son of *David*, and afterwards the Reigns of the ſeveral Kings of *Iſrael*, and *Judah*, down to the Deſtruction of *Iſrael*, and the Captivity of *Judah*. We don't know who is the Author of theſe two Books. Some, as the *Talmudiſts* for inſtance, attribute them to *Jeremiah*, others to *Iſaiah*, and the greateſt part to *Ezrah*. 'Tis a Collection, or an Hiſtorical Abridgment drawn out of ſeveral Memoirs and Books of the Prophets, which are there frequently quoted. Theſe Four Books of *Kings* contain the Hiſtory of almoſt Six hundred Years.

The two Books of *Chronicles* are called *Paralipomena* by the *Greeks*, becauſe they contain ſome Circumſtances that were omitted in the other Hiſtorical Books. The *Hebrews* call them *Diaries*, and St. *Jerom Chronicles*. 'Tis commonly believed that *Ezrah* wrote them, and that he drew this Abridgment partly from thoſe Books of the *Bible* which we have, and partly from other Memoirs that he had at the time of his writing. St. *Jerome* thinks that this was the Book that is cited in the Book of *Kings*, under the Name of *The Book of the Sayings of the Kings of* Judah. But 'tis evident that it is not, and that the Book of *Chronicles* was written ſince that of *Kings*, as we prove by the laſt Words of that Book, where mention is made of the Deliverance of the *Jews* by *Cyrus*.

'Tis commonly believed that it was *Ezrah*, who compoſed the firſt Book of thoſe that carry his Name; and indeed *Ezrah* ſpeaks there in his own Perſon (*n*). *Huetius* pretends that the firſt Chapters of that Book were written by another Author, but his Conjecture is not ſtrong enough to make us quit the common Opinion (*o*). The ſecond Book belongs to *Nehemiah* without queſtion (*p*), for he declares himſelf the Author of it in the beginning of the Book, and always ſpeaks of himſelf in the firſt Perſon. The firſt of theſe two Books contains the Hiſtory of the Deliverance of the *Jews* from their Captivity, and their Re-eſtabliſhment in *Judea* from the firſt Year of *Cyrus*, to the twentieth of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, for 82 or 83 Years. And the ſecond begins from the twentieth Year of the aforeſaid *Artaxerxes*, and reaches to the Reign of *Darius* his Son, Sirnamed the *Baſtard*, which comprehends the Hiſtory of the *Jews* for thirty or one and thirty Years.

'Tis commonly believed, that *Tobit* and *Tobias* wrote their own Hiſtory themſelves (*q*): But this Opinion is very uncertain. 'Tis generally believed that this Book was at firſt writ in *Chaldee*, that Saint *Jerom* tranſlated it into *Latin*, and that this Hiſtory was afterwards put into *Hebrew*. There are two different *Hebrew* Editions of it, one ſet out by *Munſter*, and the other by *Fagius*. There is alſo an ancient *Greek* Edition, out of which the *Syriac* Verſion was compoſed. *Tobit* was one of the *Iſraelites* that were carried out of *Samaria* by King *Shalmanezer*.

The Author of the Book of *Judith* is yet leſs known, as *Iſidore* has obſerved. Some believe it was written by *Eliachim*, or *Joachim* High Prieſt of the *Jews*, of whom mention is made in that Book: Others ſay it was *Joſhuah* the Son of *Joſedec*, the Companion of *Zorobabel*: Others in ſhort, maintain that it was not written till the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, before the *Maccabees* time. 'Tis written in *Chaldee*, and that has made *Huetius* think that it was written during the *Babylonian* Captivity. Saint *Jerom* tranſlated it into *Latin*, rather following the Senſe, as he tells us, than the bare Letter. The *Greek* Verſion which we have is very different from the *Latin*, and ſeems to be more literal. The time wherein the Hiſtory mention'd in this Book did happen, is no leſs uncertain (*r*). Some place it before the Captivity, others after, and ſome have the boldneſs to ſay, That whatever is in this Book, is only a Parable and Allegory, that has nothing of Hiſtorical Truth in it.

The time, and the Author of the Hiſtory of *Heſter*, are alſo very uncertain (*ſ*). St. *Epiphanius*, St. *Auſtin*, and St. *Iſidore*, attribute this Book to *Ezrah*. Others to *Joachim* High Prieſt of the *Jews*, Grand-Son of *Joſedec*. Moſt Men ſay that *Mordecai* wrote it (*t*), who is ſo often mentioned in it. The *Talmudiſts* attribute it to the Synagogue. The ſix laſt Chapters, that are found in the *Greek*, are not in the Original *Hebrew*. *Origen*, in his Letter to *Africanus*, believes it was loſt. *Grotius* pretends that theſe Chapters were compoſed by the *Greek* Proſelytes. *Sixtus Sinenſis* ſays they were taken out of *Joſephus*. *Bellarmine*, and ſome others, maintain, that there are two *Hebrew* Editions of this Book, one larger than the other, where theſe laſt Chapters are found, and the other the ſame with what we have. Some ſay the Hiſtory of *Heſter* happen'd under *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*; others place it under *Xerxes*; and laſtly, there are ſome who place it under *Ciaxares* King of the *Medes*. The firſt Opinion ſeems to be moſt probable.

The time wherein *Job* lived, is yet more difficult to diſcover; and the Author of the Book, who has compiled his Hiſtory, is no leſs unknown (*u*). Some, as *Origen*, St. *Gregory*, and *Suidas*, attribute it to *Job* himſelf: Others believe that *Moſes* was the Author of it, or that he tranſlated it into *Hebrew*. St. *Gregory Nazianzen* attributes it to *Salomon*; others to *Iſaiah*, or to ſome one of the Prophets. All theſe Opinions are built but upon very ſlight Conjectures. Wherefore 'tis better in my Opinion, to ſuſpend ones Judgment, than to aſſert any of the above-mentioned Opinions that are equally uncertain. But at the ſame time we muſt not fall into the oppoſite Error, by ſaying with the *Talmudiſts*, and ſome other Criticks, that the Hiſtory of *Job* is an entire continued Fiction (*x*). The Perſons and Nations that there are called by their proper Names, the Teſtimonies of *Tobit*, of *Ezekiel*, and St. *James*, with the Opinions of the Ancient Fathers, ought to convince us that the Foundation of this Hiſtory is real and true. But the manner wherein 'tis related, the Converſation that is held with the Devil, the Prolixity of the Diſcourſes of *Job*'s Friends, and of what *Job* himſelf delivered in his miſerable eſtate, ought to make us acknowledge, that this Hiſtory is mightily amplified and adorned with ſeveral feigned Circumſtances, to render the Story more uſeful and agreeable. 'Tis commonly believed that *Job* lived before *Moſes*, or at leaſt in his time, and that the Hiſtory related in this Book happen'd during the time when the *Iſraelites* were in the Deſert, becauſe there is not a Word ſpoken there about

the Written Law. Some there are who make *Job* to deſcend from *Nahor*, the Brother of *Abraham*, but (*y z*) others from *Eſau*. The laſt Opinion ſeems to me to be the moſt probable, becauſe 'tis ſupported by the Authority of a very ancient Addition, which is to be found at the end of the *Greek* Edition of the Book of *Job*.

Though the *Pſalms* are commonly called *The Pſalms of David*, or rather *The Book of the Pſalms of David*; yet 'tis certain, as St. *Jerom* has obſerved in many places, that they are not all of 'em his (*a a*), and that there are ſome of them which were written long after his Death. 'Tis therefore a Collection of Songs that was made by *Ezrah*. It is a difficult matter to ſay who are the Authors (*bb*), and to diſtinguiſh thoſe that were made by *David*, from thoſe that were compoſed by others. But whoever were the Author, 'tis certain, as *Theodoret* has judiciouſly obſerved, that they were compoſed by Perſons inſpired by God, and that they are cited under that Character both in the Old and New Teſtament (*cc*).

The Authors of the following Books are better known; the *Proverbs* or Parables belong to *Salomon*, whoſe Name is written in the beginning of that Book, *The Proverbs of Salomon the Son of David*. 'Tis obſerved in the 25th Chapter, that the following Parables are ſtill *Salomon*'s, but that they were collected by ſome Perſons choſen by the King *Hezekiah*. *Theſe are alſo the Proverbs of Salomon, which the Men of Hezekiah King of Judah copied out*. The 30th Chapter begins with theſe Words. *The Words of Agur the Son of Jakeh*, which ſhew that this Chapter is an Addition made to the *Proverbs* of *Salomon* by one *Agur*, as is eaſie to be proved, becauſe this Chapter is entirely ſeparated from the reſt, and beſides is written in another Style. In ſhort, the laſt Chapter is entituled *The Words of King Lemuel*. We ought therefore to conclude, from what has been ſaid, that the 24 firſt Chapters are *Salomon*'s Originally, that the five following ones are Extracts or Collections of his *Proverbs*, and that the two laſt Chapters were added afterwards.

The Book of *Eccleſiaſtes* is attributed to *Salomon* by all Antiquity: And yet the *Talmudiſts* have made *Hezekiah* the Author of this Book, and *Grotius*, upon ſome ſlight Conjectures, pretends it was compoſed by *Zorobabel*. It begins with theſe Words, *The Words of the Preacher, the Son of David, King of Jeruſalem:* Which may be applied to *Hezekiah* as well as to *Salomon*: But what is ſaid of that Wiſdom in ſeveral places, which was peculiar to him, and in the ſecond Chapter of his Riches and Power, determines that we ought rather to underſtand it of *Salomon*.

The Song of Songs, that is to ſay, a *Song* by way of Excellence, is allowed to be *Salomon*'s by the Conſent of the Synagogue and the Church. The *Talmudiſts* attribute it to *Ezrah*. but without any Grounds.

The Book of *Wiſdom* is commonly ſaid to be *Salomon*'s (*ee*), but this Opinion is not very probable. For, 1. This Book is not to be found in the *Hebrew*. 2. It was never received into the *Hebrew* Canon, 3. 'Tis evident, as St. *Jerome* has obſerved, that the Style is extreamly different from that of *Salomon*, and that it was compoſed by a *Greek*. The ſame St. *Jerome* obſerves, that it was commonly attributed to *Philo*, which we are to underſtand of an older *Philo* than him whoſe Works we have, However it appears plainly, that it was compoſed by a *Helleniſt Jew*, who had a mind to imitate the Books of *Salomon*, from whom he has borrowed abundance of Thoughts.

The Preface which is before the Book of *Eccleſiaſticus*, and the Fifth Chapter of that Book, inform us, that the Author thereof was a *Jew*, named *Jeſus* the Son of *Syrach*, who compoſed it in *Hebrew*, and which was tranſlated into *Greek* by his Grand-Son. St. *Jerome* tells, he ſaw in his time an *Hebrew* Copy of it (*ff*). Some of the Ancients attribute it to *Salomon* (*gg*), perhaps becauſe of the reſemblance of the Subject, and the Thoughts, which is ſo great, that 'tis viſible he deſigned to imitate him, and that ſeveral Thoughts are taken from him.

The Books of the Prophets carry the Names of their Authors undiſputed. *Iſaiah* is the firſt and moſt excellent of the Prophets. He was the Son of *Amos*, whom we are by no means to miſtake for the Prophet of the ſame Name (*hh*). He Propheſied from the end of the Reign of *Uzziah*, to the time of *Manaſſes*, by whoſe Command, they ſay, he was cruelly ſlain, and ſawn aſunder with a Wooden Saw (*i*). He himſelf collected into one Volume all thoſe Prophecies which he delivered under *Uzziah*, *Jotham*, *Ahas* and *Hezekiah*, Kings of *Judah*. Beſides theſe, he wrote a Book of the Actions of *Uzziah*, which is mention'd in the 2d of *Chron.* Chap. 26. Verſe 22. Some Apocryphal Books are aſcribed to him; amongſt others, that famous one ſo often quoted by *Origen*; and another, intituled, *The Aſcenſion of Iſaiah*, which St. *Jerome*, and St. *Epiphanius* mention; and a later one likewiſe, called, *The Viſion of Iſaiah*. Some have pretended that this Book of *Iſaiah* which we have, is only compiled out of the Works of *Iſaiah*; but the Conjectures which they bring to prove it are extreamly frivolous (*kk*).

Jeremiah, born in a Village near *Jeruſalem*, of Sacerdotal Extraction, began to Propheſie about the end of the Reign of *Joſiah*, when he was very young, and continued his Prophecies till after the Captivity of the *Jews* in *Babylon*. He was not carried away with the other *Jews* into that City; but tarrying in his own Country to lament its Deſtruction, he was afterwards taken Priſoner, and carried into *Egypt* along with his Diſciple *Baruch*; where, as 'tis commonly believed, he was ſtoned to Death. The Fathers think that he always lived in the ſtate of Celibacy, We are told in the beginning of the 36 Chapter, that King *Jehoiachim* having burnt the Book of his Prophecies, this Prophet compoſed a new Volume larger and ſtronger than the former. He afterwards added thoſe Propheceis, which he made till the *Babylonian* Captivity, and thoſe which he delivered in *Egypt*. In the 50th and 51 Chap. he foretels all that was to come to paſs in *Babylon*, and theſe he tranſmitted thither by *Saraiah* the Son of *Neriah*. The 52d Chapter does not belong to him, for his Prophecies terminated at the end of the 51 Chapter, as appears by theſe Words, *Thus far are the Words of Jeremiah*. It was rather written by *Baruch*, or *Ezrah*, and contains an Account of taking *Jeruſalem*, and of what happen'd during the

Captivity

tivity of the *Jews* in *Babylon*, after the Death of *Isaiah*. It serves to illustrate the Prophecies of *Jeremiah*, and particularly his *Lamentations*, which follow in order, and make another part of the Works of *Jeremiah*. In this last Book one sees the Ruin and Desolation of *Jerusalem* painted in lively Colours, and especially the Grief and Concern of the Prophet upon occasion of that mournful Scene. It has a Preface in the *Greek* and Vulgar *Latin*, which is to be found neither in the *Hebrew*, nor in the *Chaldee* Paraphrase, nor in the *Syriac*, and seems plainly to have been added to explain the Argument of the Book. In short, these *Lamentations* end with a Prayer to God. The Style of *Jeremiah*, if we may be determined by *St. Jerome*'s Testimony, is Simple in its expressions, and Majestick in its Sense. But this Simplicity of Language does not appear to us at present. On the contrary, we find him Elevated and Sublime, both in his Sense, in the Turn, and the Majesty of his Expression.

The Prophesie of *Baruch*, who was the Disciple and Secretary of *Jeremiah*, formerly made up but one Book with that of this Prophet. *Josephus* reports that *Baruch* was descended of an Illustrious Family, and that he perfectly understood the Language of his own Country. We are told in the First Chapter, Verse the First, That he wrote this Prophesie in *Babylon*, but we don't certainly know the time (*ll.*) The *Hebrew* Coppy of *Baruch* is lost, though we need not doubt but it was written in that Tongue. There is a Letter in the *Syriac*, which by some is attributed to *Baruch*, but 'tis very clear that it is written by a *Christian*. The Epistle to the Captives of *Babylon*, which we find in *Baruch*, belongs to *Jeremiah*. The Author of the Second Book of the *Maccabees* has mention'd it; it is exactly the Style of that Prophet, and contains nothing but what is very agreeable to the time in which it was written.

Ezekiel the Son of *Buzi* the Priest, having been carried away into *Babylon* under *Jeconiah*, began to Prophesie in the fifth Year of the Captivity, and was slain, as 'tis commonly believed, by a Prince of that Nation, whom he reproved for his Adoration of Idols. His Prophesies are dark and obscure. St. *Jerome* says, his Style is neither very eloquent nor very mean, but between both.

Daniel one of the Royal Family, was sent Captive into *Babylon*, when he was but an Infant. The *Jews* don't reckon him amongst their Prophets: But the *Christians*, following the Authority of Jesus Christ, who gives him that Title in St. *Matthew*, *Chap.* 24. *Verse* 15. look upon him under that Quality and Character: And indeed there is no dispute, but what he has wrote, deserves the name of Prophesie, as the *Jews* themselves are obliged to confess. But they don't give him the name of a Prophet, because he lived a Life extreamly different from that of the other Prophets, and rather like one of the Great Men of *Babylon*: besides, they think that he was an *Eunuch*, and there is a passage in his Book seems to confirm it (*mm.*) 'Tis certain that the first Chapters of *Daniel*'s Prophesies are undoubtedly his, though we have reason to doubt of the Antiquity and Truth of the two later, which contain the History of *Susanna*, and *Bel* and the *Dragon* (*nn.*) The four first Chapters in *Daniel* are written in *Hebrew*, the following ones, as far as the 18th Chapter in *Chaldee*, and were afterwards Translated into *Hebrew*. The last are written orignally in *Greek*.

The Twelve lesser Prophets composed but one Book among the *Hebrews*. *Hosea* the Son of *Beeri* is the first (*oo.*) He Prophesied in the Days of *Uzziah*, *Jotham*, *Ahaz*, and *Hezekiah*, Kings of *Judah*; and 'tis very plain, that he wrote this Prophesie, because he frequently speaks of himself in the first Person. There is one passage in his Book that appears very extraordinary, and that is, God's commanding him *to take a Wife of Whoredoms, and Children of Whoredoms.* But either this ought to be simply understood of a Vision, as St. *Jerome* pretends, or we are to suppose that God did not command him to commit Adultery, but only to espouse a Prostitute, as St. *Basil* and St. *Austin* have explain'd this place. The Style of this Prophet is very pathetick, and full of short lively Sentences, as St. *Jerome* has observed.

The Prophet *Joel* follows *Hosea* (*pp.*) in St. *Jerome*'s Edition; but we don't certainly know the time when he Prophesied (*qq.*) Some Persons believe that he is more ancient than *Amos*; others say that he did not write till after the Captivity of the Ten Tribes; and there are plausible conjectures both of one side and the other. According to some he was of the Tribe of *Gad*, but others place him in the Tribe of *Reuben*.

Amos, a Herdsman of *Tekoah*, a Village two Leagues from *Bethlehem* to the South, was chosen of God to be a Prophet in the time of *Uzziah* King of *Judah*, and of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Joash* King of *Israel*, two Years before the Earthquake, which happen'd in the 24th or 25th Year of *Uzziah*.

The time of *Obadiah*'s Prophesying is altogether unknown (*rr.*) St. *Jerome*, with the *Jews*, believes that this Prophet was he, that was Governor of the House of King *Ahab*, who is mentioned in the first Book of *Kings*, Chap. 18. Vers. 4. he that fed the Hundred Prophets. Others believe he is the same with that *Obadiah*, whom *Josiah* made Supervisor of the Building of the Temple, who is mentioned in the Second Book of *Chronicles*, Chap. 34. Vers. 12. Most People make him Contemporary with *Hosea*, *Amos* and *Joel*. Some after all, believe that he lived in the time of *Jeremiah*, after the taking of *Jerusalem*.

Jonah, the Son of the Prophet *Amittai* (*ss.*) of the City of *Gath*, near *Dioceserea*, of the Tribe of *Zabulon* in *Galilee*, Prophesied under King *Jeroboam*, *Uzziah*, and *Azariah*. God sent him to the City of *Nineve* to Preach Repentance there, and his Book is an Account of his Message and Journey. He has written another Prophecy mention'd in the Book of *Kings*. This Book which we have, seems to be quoted by *Tobit* in the 14th Chapter, Verse the 4th, and is approved by our Saviour Jesus Christ himself.

The Prophet *Micah*, born at *Morasthai*, a Village of *Palestine* in the Tribe of *Judah*, Prophecied under the Reign of *Jotham*, *Ahaz* and *Hezekiah*, after the Prophets of whom we have spoken already,

but

but before *Jeremiah*, who cites him in the *26th Chapter*. He is a different Perſon from him, who lived in the time of *Ahab* and *Jehoſhaphat*, and 'tis commonly believed that he died a Martyr.

We don't certainly know the Country of the Prophet *Nahum*: Nor have we any better aſſurances of the time wherein he lived. His mentioning the Deſtruction of *Ninive*, makes ſome think that he lived in the time of *Sardanapalus* under *Jeaſh* and *Jehu*; which if it were ſo, he would be the moſt ancient of the Prophets. *Joſephus* is of Opinion, that he lived in the time of *Jotham*, and that he foretold the Ruine of *Ninive*, which happen'd many Years after the time of *Joſiah*. *St. Jerome*, *Theodoret* and *Theophylact* ſay, he Prophecied after the Captivity of the *Iſraelites*; others ſay under *Hezekiah*, and ſome under *Manaſſes*. The moſt received Opinion is, that he Prophecied after the Captivity of the Ten Tribes by *Shalmanezar*, before *Sennacherib*'s Expedition againſt the Tribe of *Judah*, which is foretold in the firſt Chapter of his Prophecy.

Nor have we any better Information either of the Country or time of the Prophet *Habakkuk*. The *Jews* ſay that he Prophecied in the time of *Manaſſes*, or *Jehoiachim*, a little before the Captivity. *St. Epiphanius*, and the falſe *Epiphanius*, make him Contemporary with *Zedekiah* and *Jeremiah*. Others ſay he lived in *Joſiah*'s time, *St. Jerome* in *Daniel*'s, confounding him with that *Habakkuk* who is mentioned by that Prophet. The moſt probable Opinion is, that he lived under the Reign of *Manaſſes*, whoſe iniquities he ſeems to deſcribe in his Firſt *Chapter Verſe* 13, and 14. and before the Expedition of the *Chaldeans* againſt the *Jews*, which he foretells in the Firſt *Chapter*, *Verſe* 6. as well as their Deſtruction, *Chap.* 2. *Verſe* 3.

The time wherein *Zephaniah* Prophecied, is exactly marked out to us in theſe Words at the beginning of his Prophecy, *The Word of the Lord came unto Zephaniah, the Son of Cuſhi, the Son of Gedaliah, the Son of Amariah, the Son of Hizkiah, in the days of Joſiah the Son of Amon King of Judah.* We don't know from what Country he came. *St. Cyril* makes him to have been of Noble Extraction, becauſe he mentions his Anceſtors.

Haggai, and the two following Prophets, Prophecied not till after the return of the *Jews* from the Captivity of *Babylon*. It is ſaid in the beginning of *Haggai*'s Prophecy, that it was written in the Second Year of *Darius* (*tt*) the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, and the Sixth Month.

Zechariah the Son of *Barachiah*, Grand-Son of *Iddo* (*uu*,) wrote his Prophecy in the ſame Year of *Darius*, two Months after the Prophet *Haggai*, as he himſelf has obſerved in the beginning of his Prophecy. He is a different Perſon from that *Zechariah*, of whom *Iſaiah* ſpeaks in his Eighth *Chapter* (*xx*,) and of him that was ſlain by the Command of King *Joaſh* between the Temple and the Altar, 2 *Chron.* 24. 20.

Malachi, whoſe name in *Hebrew* ſignifies *My Angel* (*yy*,) Prophecied ſince *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, after the Rebuilding of the Temple; For the two former exhort the People to build the Temple, but he exhorts them to obſerve the Law, and offer their Sacrifices with Purity: which does neceſſarily ſuppoſe that the Temple was already rebuilt. Beſides this, the Diſorders for which he reproves the *Jews*, are the very ſame with thoſe which *Nehemiah* lays to their charge, which is a manifeſt Argument that they both lived in the ſame time. *Malachi* is the laſt of the Prophets; and as there was none other to ſucceed him till the coming of Jeſus Chriſt, ſo he concludes his Prophecy with an Exhortation to the *Jews* to obſerve the Law of *Moſes*, and wait for *the great and dreadful Day of the Lord, who ſhould turn the Hearts of the Fathers to the Children, and the Hearts of the Children to their Fathers.* All which clearly and expreſly ſets before us *St. John Baptiſt* and Jeſus Chriſt.

The two Books of the *Maccabees* were not written by the ſame Perſon, as the ſenſible difference of the Style, of the Chronology, and the Hiſtory ſufficiently ſhew (*zz*,) We don't know who is the Author of the firſt; 'tis indeed very probable that it was Originally written in *Hebrew*, and afterwards Tranſlated into *Greek* and *Latin*. The Second is an Abridgment or Epitome of *Jaſon*, who was one of the *Jews* of *Cyrene*, as it appears by the Preface of that Book, which begins Chap. 2. Verſ. 23. It is preceded by two Letters of the *Jews* at *Jeruſalem* to the *Jews* inhabiting *Egypt*, added by the Author of this Abridgment which he has made with a great deal of Liberty. Theſe two Books are called *The Books of the Maccabees*, from the Name of *Judas* the Son of *Mattahias*, Sirnamed *Maccabeus*, becauſe he had placed in his Banner the firſt *Hebrew* Letters of the Words of a certain Sentence in *Exodus* (*a a a*,) which being joyned together make that word. Theſe two Books contain the Hiſtory of the *Jews* under the Government of the *Greeks*, from the Reign of *Alexander* to that of *Demetrius Soter*, which comprehends the ſpace of Forty Years, or thereabouts, and they conclude an Hundred and Thirty Years before the Coming of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

NOTES.

(*a*) *There is no Paradox more dangerous than the Opinion of thoſe who have preſumed to deny that the* Pentateuch *was compoſed by* Moſes.] I have already obſerved in the Firſt Edition, that this Paradox was ſtarted by Rabbi *Aben Ezra*, becauſe he is the firſt that raiſed theſe Objections, which have occaſioned ſome Perſons to believe, that *Moſes* was not the Author of the *Pentateuch*; and though he durſt not openly Declare his Opinion in this Matter, yet he expreſſes himſelf after ſuch a Manner, that it will evidently appear that he was not heartily perſwaded that the *Pentateuch* was written by *Moſes*. For in his Explication of theſe Words in *Deuteronomy*, *Behold what Moſes ſaid*

ſaid to the Iſraelites that were beyond Jordan, he not only makes uſe of that paſſage to ſhew that this Book was not *Moſes*'s, but he muſters up the moſt terrible Objections he could raiſe for this purpoſe. *You will know the Truth*, ſays he, *if you comprehend the Myſtery of the Twelve*: Moſes *wrote the Law*: The Canaanites *were then in the Land*: *In the Mountain of the Lord it ſhall be ſeen*: *Behold his Iron Bed*: Words which allude to ſome paſſages in the *Pentateuch*, and which he uſes to prove; that it was not written by *Moſes*. And 'tis principally upon the Authority and Reaſons of this Rabbi that *Hobbs*, *Pererius*, and *Spinoſa* eſtabliſhed their Doctrine, when they publickly maintain'd, that the *Pantateuch* was not written by *Moſes*. To theſe Authors we may add Monſieur *Simon*, who has wrote a Book, called, *A Critical Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament*. I was not willing to name him in the Firſt Edition of this Volume, though I took occaſion then to confute his Reaſons; but ſince he has been pleaſed to Declare that he was the Perſon, whom I meant, in a Letter to Monſieur *Labbe*, a Doctor of the Faculty, he ought not to reſent it as an injury, if I attack him by name, and endeavour to ſhew, that his Hypotheſis about the Book of *Moſes* is as raſh and dangerous as *Spinoſa*'s.

Monſieur *Simon* lays down his Opinion in the Firſt Chapter of the Firſt Book of his Critical Hiſtory, *p.* 3. of *Leer*'s Edition. *When we ſuppoſe that there have been ſuch publick Scribes, we aſcribe to them all the Hiſtorical part of the* Pentateuch, *and to* Moſes *all that belongs to the Laws and Ordinances; and 'tis this which the Scripture calls the Law of* Moſes. *And ſo one may ſay in this Senſe, that all the* Pentateuch *is really and truly written by* Moſes, *becauſe thoſe Perſons that made the Collection lived in his time, and what they did was by his particular Direction.* He ſays the very ſame thing in his 2 Chap. p. 17. *'Tis therefore not improbable that there were in* Moſes's *time ſuch ſort of Prophets, who were neceſſary to the State, becauſe they preſerved the moſt conſiderable Actions that paſſed in their Common-wealth. This being granted we ſhall diſtinguiſh in theſe Five Books of the Law that which was written by* Moſes, *from what was written by the Prophets and publick Scribes: We may attribute to* Moſes *the Commandments and Ordinances which he gave the People, in lieu of which we may ſuppoſe theſe ſame publick Scribes to have been the Authors of the greateſt part of this Hiſtory.* In the Seventh Chapter, p. 50. he adds: *As for what concerns the Book of* Moſes, *ſuch as they now are in the Collection which we have, the Additions which have been made to the ancient Acts hinder us from diſcerning what is truly his, and what has been added by thoſe who ſucceeded him, or by the Authors of the laſt Collection. Beſides, this Compilation being now and then Epitomized out of the ancient Memoirs, one cannot be aſſured, that the Genealogies there are ſet down in their full length and extent.*

From theſe Principles of Monſieur *Simon*, it follows in the firſt place, that *Moſes* is not the Author of the greateſt part of the *Pentateuch*, for the Controverſie here is not about ſome few Paſſages that are of ſmall conſequence, but even thoſe that make up the Body and principal Part of the *Pentateuch*; *Moſes* according to his Notions, being only concerned about the Laws and Ordinances, has no ſhare in any thing beſides, and ſo the Hiſtory of the Creation, and of the Deluge, in a word, all *Geneſis*, and whatever has a relation to the Hiſtorical part, is taken away from *Moſes*. It is to no purpoſe to ſay, as he has done already, *p.* 3. *That one may ſay, that all the* Pentateuch *is* Moſes's *becauſe they that made the Collection lived in his time, and did nothing but by his Order.* For would it not be a Jeſt to aſcribe to *Moſes* the Works of the publick Scribes of his time? If this were really true, a Man might aſcribe all publick Regiſters to thoſe Kings and Princes, in whoſe time, and by whoſe Order, they were compiled: But what is a great deal more ſurprizing, Monſieur *Simon*, or at leaſt one of his zealous Defenders, abandons this Hypotheſis as not to be maintained, and acknowledges that there is no convincing proof to make us believe there were ſuch publick Scribes divinely inſpired in the time of *Moſes*. This is taken notice of in the Marginal Note of the 17*th* Page of his Critical Hiſtory, and the ſame Edition that we cited before. *We find in truth*, ſays the Author of that Remark, *this ſort of publick Scribes in the time of the Kings amongſt the* Hebrews. .... *but we find no Foot-ſteps of them in the Book of* Moſes. The Author of the Anſwer to a Letter which Monſieur *Spanheim* wrote againſt F. *Simon* confeſſes the ſame thing. *If you now demand of me, what is my Opinion concerning theſe publick Scribes; I anſwer, That it would be very hard to reject 'em totally .... In the mean time I don't altogether agree with him as to the time, wherein he pretends, that theſe Prophets were Eſtabliſhed in the Jewiſh Commonwealth for the Reaſons he brings, and indeed the greater part of his Authorities clearly ſuppoſe, that this happened after* Moſes. If this Letter was Monſieur *Simon*'s, as the World was inclined to believe, he cannot poſſibly excuſe himſelf from having dealt very treacherouſly in a matter of the higheſt conſequence about Religion, ſince he has eſtabliſhed the Truth of the *Pentateuch* upon a ſuppoſition, which he himſelf acknowledges to be either falſe or uncertain. But ſuppoſe this Letter was not his, it ſhows at leaſt, that thoſe Perſons who are the moſt favourable to his Hypotheſis, freely own 'tis impoſſible to prove there were any of theſe publick Scribes Divinely inſpired in *Moſes*'s time; and conſequently that Monſieur *Simon*, who has grounded the validity of the *Pentateuch* upon this Hypotheſis, has done it upon a very weak Foundation, even in the judgment of thoſe Criticks who ſtand up the ſtrongeſt for him. Thus Monſieur *Simon* alledges this Conjecture as only a matter of probability. In the Second place, Monſieur *Simon* has of himſelf ruined whatever he ſays of the Antiquity and Authority of the *Pentateuch*, by confidently aſſerting, as he has done in the Third paſſage we quoted, that the *Pentateuch*, in the condition we find it in at preſent, is only an Abridgment of the Ancient Acts that were made in the time of *Moſes*, and that 'tis impoſſible to diſcern what is ancient, and what is not. Is not this formally to deny that *Moſes* was the Author of the *Pentateuch*, and that the Books which we now have are not ſo ancient, as is pretended?

In a word, he eſtabliſhes the Authority of the Books of Scripture upon the pretended Inſpirati-

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on of certain Scribes or Keepers of the publick Regiſters, whom he believes to have been from time to time among the *Jews*. Now nothing is more uncertain than the Exiſtence or Inſpiration of theſe publick Scribes, as we ſhall ſhew in the following Pages.

(*b*) *By expreſs Texts of Holy Scripture.*] It is very certain that *Moſes* wrote the Law, and that in Scripture we are to underſtand the *Pentateuch* by the Law. *Exod.* 24. *v.* 4. and 7. Moſes *wrote all the Words of the Law, and took the Book of the Covenant, and read it in the Audience of the People.* *Deut.* 31. *v.* 19. and 22. Moſes *therefore wrote this Law, and gave it to the Prieſts the Sons of* Levi .... *and to all the Elders of* Iſrael. In *Exodus*, *chap.* 17. *v.* 14. God commanded *Moſes* to write the Law, and give it to *Joſhuah*. And in the Book of *Joſhuah*, *ch.* 1. *v.* 7 and 8. God tells him, That the Volume of the Law which he received from *Moſes* ought to be always in his mind; *This Book of the Law ſhall not depart out of thy Mouth, but thou ſhalt meditate therein day and night* ..... *that thou mayſt obſerve to do according to all the Law which* Moſes *my Servant commanded thee.* Now thô the Word *Law* may indeed be applied to one part of the *Pentateuch*, yet we ought to take notice, that it is generally taken in Scripture for the whole *Pentateuch*. And 'tis certain, that in the 31ſt *Chapter* of *Deuteronomy*, where it is ſaid, Moſes *therefore wrote this Law*, it is meant of all this Book, and the Paſſage of *Joſhuah* ought likewiſe to be underſtood of the whole Law. To this may be added, that in the other Books of the *Old Teſtament*, they always conſider the entire *Pentateuch* as the Work of *Moſes*. In the Firſt of *Kings*, *Chap.* 2. *v.* 3. *David* ſpeaking to *Salomon*, tells him, That the Ceremonies, Precepts, and Laws of the *Jews*, were written in the Law of *Moſes*; *Keep the Charge of the Lord thy God to walk in his Ways, to keep his Statutes and Commandments, and his Judgments, and his Teſtimonies, as it is written in the Law of* Moſes. It is therefore believed, that all the *Pentateuch*, which contains theſe Ceremonies, Precepts, and Judgments, was the Law of *Moſes*. All the Law is likewiſe attributed to *Moſes* in the Second Book of *Kings*, *ch.* 21, and 23. *v.* 8. *v.* 25. *If they obſerve all the Law of* Moſes in the Second Book of *Chronicles*, *Chap.* 23. *v.* 18. *To offer the Burnt-Offerings of the Law as it is written in the Law of* Moſes. Is not *Leviticus* therefore *Moſes*'s Book? That which is delivered in the 30*th*, 31*ſt*, and 35*th Chapters* of the ſame Book, is taken out of *Leviticus* and *Numbers*; Are they not therefore the Books of *Moſes*? In the 25*th Chapter*, *Deuteronomy* is cited as one of *Moſes*'s Books; *As it is written in the Law in the Book of* Moſes, *the Father ſhall not die for the Children*: Which Words are to be found in the 24*th Chapter* of *Deuteronomy*. *Leviticus* quoted by *Baruch*, *Chap.* 2. as a Book that was written by *Moſes*; *As thou ſpeakeſt by thy Servant* Moſes, *in the day when thou didſt command him to write thy Law, before the Children of* Iſrael, *ſaying, If ye will not hear*, &c. Which Words are in the 26*th Chapter* of *Leviticus*, *v.* 14. In the Second Book of *Kings*, *Chap.* 22, and 23. as alſo in the ſecond Book of *Chronicles*, *Chap.* 34. it is ſaid, that *Hilkiah* found a Book of the Law of *Moſes*'s written, perhaps, with his own hand, as theſe Words ſeem to imitate, *Per manum Moyſi*. This Book of the Law, according to *Joſephus*, is all the *Pentateuch*, according to others *Deuteronomy*. However it is, yet it follows from hence at leaſt, that *Deuteronomy* is his. Now *Deuteronomy* ſuppoſes, that the other Books of the Law were written, becauſe it is as it were an Abridgment, and upon that account is called *Deuteronomy*, or *The Second Law*. In the Ninth Chapter of *Daniel*, it is ſaid, that the Curſe, which is written in the Book of *Moſes*, is fall'n upon the *Jews*, and in the Tenth Verſe the words of *Deuteronomy* and *Exodus* are particularly cited. The Prophet *Malachi*, *chap.* 4. exhorts the *Jews* to remember the Law of *Moſes*. *Raguel*, in the 7*th Chapter* of *Tobit*, ſays, He will give his Daughter in Marriage to *Tobias*, to obey the Law of *Moſes*. The Law of *Moſes* is frequently repeated in the *Pſalms*; the 77*th*, 104*th*, 105*th*, 135*th Pſalms*, contain the Hiſtory of the *Iſraelites*, which is plainly taken out of the *Pentateuch*. The Law of *Moſes* is often cited in *Ezrah*; (*Ez.* 9. 10. 23.) the Paſſages cited in theſe places are to be found in the Books of the *Pentateuch*. In the 10*th. Chapter* of *Nehemiah*, *Ver.* 29. the *Iſraelites* oblige themſelves by a new kind of an Oath, to keep the Law and Precepts of *Moſes*. Now among theſe Precepts, there are ſeveral that are taken out of the Books of the *Pentateuch*. In the Second Book of *Maccabees*, *Chap.* 7. *Eleazar* ſaith, *I will not obey the King's Commandment, but that of the Law, which was given unto Our Fathers by* Moſes. Laſtly, whatever is taken out of the *Pentateuch* in the *New Teſtament*, is always cited under the name of the Law of *Moſes*. St. *James* in the 15*th Chapter* of the *Acts*, ſays, The *Jews* read *Moſes* every Sabbath-day in their Synagogues; Moſes *of old time hath in every City them that Preach him, being read in the Synagogues every Sabbath-day.* And St. *Paul* in his Epiſtles, ſays, That the *Jews* did not underſtand *Moſes*, although they read him; *Uſque in hodiernum diem cum legitur Moſes.* Therefore they did not in the leaſt doubt, that the *Pentateuch* was written by *Moſes*, ſince they tell us, that thoſe who read that Book, read *Moſes*. All theſe Paſſages make it very evident in the firſt place, that *Moſes* wrote the Law of the *Jews*. Secondly, That by the name of the Law we ought to underſtand, the *Pentateuch*. Thirdly, That not only *Deuteronomy*, but alſo all the other Books of the *Pentateuch*, have been cited in Scripture for the Books and Law of *Moſes*. Fourthly, That this has ever paſſed for a conſtant Truth, of which no body doubted. Fifthly, That they not only believed *Moſes* to be the Author of the things contained in theſe Books, but of the Books themſelves, ſo that when they read them, one might ſay, they read *Moſes*; as when we read the *Æneids*, we ſay, we read *Virgil*.

(*c*) *By the Authority of Jeſus Chriſt.*] In St. *John*, chap. 5. *There is one that accuſeth you,* (ſaith our Saviour) *even* Moſes *in whom ye truſt: For had you believed* Moſes, *you would have believed me, for he wrote of me.* 'Tis plain therefore that *Moſes* wrote, and that he wrote thoſe Books, which the *Jews* read for his. Now who doubts that theſe Books were the *Pentateuch*. And indeed ſince our Saviour does always diſtinguiſh the Prophets from the Law of *Moſes*, by the Law he can mean only

only the *Pentateuch*. In the first Chapter of St. *John*, *Philip* saith to *Nathaniel*, *We have found him, of whom* Moses *in the Law, and the Prophets did write.* There are many other places where our Saviour cites the Books of the *Pentateuch* under the name of the *Law*, and consequently we ought not to doubt, that he has assured us that these Books were written by *Moses*.

St. *Luke*, in the 24th Chapter of his Gospel, saith, That our Saviour beginning with *Moses*, and continuing with the Prophets, Expounded to his Disciples, who were going to *Emmaus*, the Things that were said concerning himself in the Scriptures. Therefore *Moses* was the most ancient Author of the *Jews*, and the *Pentateuch* was acknowledged to be written by him, as they owned the Books of the Prophets to be written by the Prophets.

(*d*) *The Consent of all Nations.*] 'Tis certain, that not only the *Jews* were always of opinion, that these Books were written by *Moses*, but also that all People have considered *Moses* as the Author of the Law and Religion of the *Jews*. 'Tis the unanimous Consent of all Nations, and all Men, no one ever questioning the Truth of it before these last Ages. *Huetius* maintains, that all Religions have borrowed their *Theology* out of the Books of *Moses*, whose History they have purposely altered and disguised, to accommodate it the better to their Fables. He pretends, for Instance, That *Adonis* of the *Phœnicians*; that *Mercury*, *Osiris*, *Serapis*, *Anubis*, and the other Gods of the *Ægyptians*; that *Zoroaster* of the *Persians*, and the Divinities of the Western Nations; that *Cadmus*, *Apollo*, *Priapus*, *Æsculapius*, *Prometheus*, and the other Gods of the *Græcians*; that *Janus*, *Faunus*, *Vertumnus*, *Evander* of the *Latins*; in a word, that all these Fabulous Deities, were taken out of the Books of *Moses*, but disguised according to the *Pagan* manner, and put into a new Dress. But these Conjectures being only Probabilities, and no more, cannot serve to demonstrate a Truth, which does not need such Supports, as being clearly established upon indisputable Principles.

(*e*) *And by the Authentick Testimonies of the most ancient Authors.*] That is, a continual Tradition of Authors from the Times that came neareſt to *Moses* down to ours; and as we cannot doubt that *Homer*'s Poem is his, because all Writers that have appeared since his Age have attributed it to him; so neither can we reasonably doubt, that these Books were written by *Moses*. They commonly produce the Authority of *Sanchoniathon*, who, as they give out, lived before the *Trojan* War, and wrote the History of the *Phœnicians*, Translated afterwards into Greek by *Philo Byblius*, where he has borrowed several Passages out of the Books of *Moses*. But 'tis not certain that this Author is so ancient as they pretend. They likewise affirm, that *Homer* and *Hesiod* have taken many things out of him, and 'tis indeed extreamly probable. The same thing has been observed of the Philosophers, as *Thales*, *Pythagoras*, *Anaxagoras*, *Socrates*, and *Plato*, but all this is said by Conjecture. We ought therefore to rely principally upon the Testimony of those Authors, who tell us positively, that *Moses* was the Chief-Leader and Law-giver of the *Jews*, such as *Manetho*, cited by *Josephus* in his first Book against *Appion*, *Philochorus* the *Athenian*, whom the Author of the *Exhortation to the Gentiles*, commonly said to be St. *Justin*, mentions; *Eupolemus*, cited by the same Author; *Eupolemus*, cited by *Alexander Polyhistor*, mentioned by *Eusebius*; *Apollonius Molo*, cited by *Josephus*; *Castor*, cited by the Author of the *Exhortation to the Gentiles*; *Diodorus Siculus*, produced by the same Authors, and by St. *Cyril* in his first Book against *Julian*, though in our Copies he does not make mention of *Moses*, but of *Minues*, who is the *Osiris* of the *Ægyptians*; *Chæremon* Author of the *Ægyptian* History, cited by *Josephus*; *Trogus Pompeius*, Epitomized by *Justin*, who makes *Moses* the Author of the *Jewish* Laws; *Nicolaus Damascenus*, cited by *Josephus*; *Mendesius*, cited by the Author of the *Exhortation to the Gentiles*, by *Tatian*, by *Eusebius*, and by St. *Cyril*. *Strabo*, who makes *Moses* the Author of the Religion and Laws of the *Jews*; *Appion*, who although an Enemy to the *Jews*, yet supposes that *Moses* gave 'em their Laws; *Juvenal*, who speaks of the Volumes of *Moses*, Sat. 14. *Tradidit arcano quodcunque volumine Moses.* *Ptolomy* of *Alexandria*, who calls him the Legislator of the *Jews*; *Pliny*, *Tacitus*, and *Justin*, who have observed the same thing; *Numenius*, who has taken notice that *Plato* was a Grecizing *Moses*; *Longinus*, who commends the beginning of *Genesis*, and produces a Passage in it as an Example of Sublimeness, calling the Author in these words, *The wise Law-giver of the Jews*; *Porphyry* and *Julian*, who wrote against the *Christian* Religion, yet acknowledged that the Books of the *Pentateuch* were written by *Moses*. To these we may add several Authors, who have delivered Histories down to Posterity, that were undeniably taken out of the *Pentateuch*, such as *Hecatæus*, *Berosus*, *Abydenus*, *Manetho*, *Eupolemus*, *Alexander*, *Polyhistor*, *Artapanus*, *Demetrius* the *Jew*, and many others, cited by *Josephus* in his first Book against *Appion*, by the Author of the *Exhortation to the Gentiles*, by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, by *Eusebius* in his Books *De Præp. Evang.* I have not mentioned *Philo*, *Josephus*, and the other *Jews*, because they all take it for granted that *Moses* is the Author of the *Jewish* Laws, meaning by these words, the five Books of the *Pentateuch*. The *Samaritan Pentateuch* affords us yet more convincing Proofs; for after the division of the People of *Israel*, which happen'd under *Rehoboam* the Son of *Salamon*, the ten Tribes preserved the *Pentateuch* written in the *Samaritan* Character, which is the ancient Character of the *Hebrews*, from whence we may rationally conclude, that at that time they had the *Pentateuch* in the same condition, as it is in at present, which they constantly ascribe to *Moses*. One cannot with any tolerable pretence question the Antiquity of the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, since it is written in Characters, which were not in use after the *Babylonish* Captivity. The Version of the *Septuagint*, which is assuredly very ancient, is likewise another Proof that the Books of the *Pentateuch* are written by *Moses*. In a word, all those who have spoken of the *Pentateuch*, whether *Jews*,

Chriſtians, or *Pagans*, have taken it for granted, that theſe Books were written by *Moſes*. And certainly 'tis extravagant raſhneſs to oppoſe a few weak ill-grounded Conjectures to the Univerſal Conſent of all Mankind.

(*f*) *And conſequently Ruine the Foundation of our Religion.*] One of the great Proofs of the Truth of our Religion, is its Antiquity, which is principally ſupported by the Antiquity of the Books of the Law. Now if they are not *Moſes*'s and if they carry a falſe Name, what Proof can we give of their Antiquity? This is the ready way to give occaſion to *Libertines* to Ridicule 'em, and conſider 'em only as Fabulous Books, compoſed at pleaſure by the later *Jews* after the Captivity.

(*g*) *If what they alledged were true, yet they could only prove*] Here are the Objections which Rabbi *Aben-Ezra*, *Spinoſa*, the Author of the Book of the *Præadamites*, F. *Simon*, and ſome others, propoſe againſt the Antiquity of the Books of *Moſes*, and the Anſwers to them, from which we ſhall better diſcern their Weakneſs.

The *firſt Objection* is drawn from theſe words of *Deuteronomy*; *Behold the Words which Moſes ſpoke before all the Congregation of Iſrael beyond Jordan.* This could not be written, ſay they, by *Moſes*, who never paſſed the *Jordan*, no more than the Children of *Iſrael* did, while he was alive. *Anſwer.* The *Hebrew* word, as *Vatablus* obſerves, may ſignifie *on this ſide*, as well as *on the other ſide*. *Pigninus*, *Buxtorf*, and all Perſons that are converſant in *Hebrew* are of the ſame opinion. It literally ſignifies, *In tranſitu, in tranſeundo; In their paſſage, being ready to paſs.* Thus this Objection that appeared ſo terrible at firſt ſight, carries indeed no difficulty with it.

Second Objection. In the *Pentateuch*, *Moſes* is always ſpoken of in the third Perſon. He is commended there in ſeveral places, as in *Numbers*, *ch.* 12. where he is called, *The meekeſt man upon earth*; as alſo in *Deuteronomy*, ch. 34. *And there aroſe not a Prophet ſince in Iſrael like unto Moſes.* And is it credible that *Moſes* would have thus commended himſelf? *Anſwer.* 'Tis ordinary for thoſe who compoſe a Hiſtory, where themſelves are concerned, to ſpeak of themſelves in the third Perſon. *Cæſar* in his Commentaries always ſpeaks of his own Actions in the third Perſon. *Joſephus* does the ſame thing in his Hiſtory of the Wars of the *Jews*. St. *John* in his Goſpel ſpeaks likewiſe of himſelf in the third Perſon; *The Diſciple*, ſays he, *whom Jeſus loved.* And in another place, *If I will that he tarry, what is that to you?* St. *Matthew* relating his own Converſion, ſpeaks of himſelf in the third Perſon, and ſome ſay, that St. *Luke* was one of the two Diſciples, whom our Saviour met going towards *Emmaus*. The Praiſes which *Moſes* gives himſelf are not exceſſive. It was neceſſary that in his own Books he ſhould take notice of the ſignal Favours which God had conferred upon him, as well as conceal none of his own Miſcarriages. *Joſephus* and *Cæſar* often commend themſelves after the ſame manner.

Third Objection. In the 12th Chapter of *Geneſis* the Author has this remarkable Parentheſis, *And the Canaanite was then in the Land.* Which makes it evident, ſay they, that this was written when the *Canaanites* were no longer in *Paleſtine*, otherwiſe this Advertiſement had been impertinent. Now 'tis plain, they were not chaſed out of that Land till a long time after *Moſes*'s death, and conſequently he is not the Author of this Book. *Anſwer.* Since theſe words, *Cananæus erat in terrâ illâ*, bear this ſenſe, it may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that this Parentheſis was inſerted after *Moſes*'s time. This is an uſual thing, and it often happens that theſe ſorts of Explications, which at firſt were written in the Margin, to illuſtrate the Text, afterwards were inſerted into the Text by way of Parentheſis. But one may likewiſe ſay, that theſe words *Cananæus autem erat in terrâ*, don't ſignifie *Olim erat in terrâ*, but *Jam tum erat in terrâ, i. e.* That *Moſes* ſpeaking of the paſſage of *Abraham* through the Land of *Sichem*, obſerves, that the *Canaanites* were then in the Land. Thus the ſenſe is natural, and no ways forced.

Fourth Objection. In *Geneſis*, ch. 22. v. 14. the Mountain *Moria* is called *The Mountain of the Lord, who will provide*; *Appellavitque Abraham nomen loci illius, Dominus videt.* Now, ſay they, it had not this Name, till after it was ſet apart to make a Temple there. *Anſwer.* But how do they know this? For is not the contrary expreſly atteſted in that place of *Geneſis*? And does it not appear, that this Mountain received the name of *The Lord will provide*, becauſe of *Abraham*'s Anſwer to his Son, *My Son, God will provide?*

Fifth Objection. In *Deuteronomy, ch.* 3. *v.* 10. and 11. where mention is made of *Og*, King of *Baſan*, 'tis ſaid, That he alone was remaining of the Race of the Giants. *Behold his Bedſtead was a Bedſtead of Iron, is it not in Rabbath of the Children of Ammon? Nine Cubits was the length thereof, and four Cubits the breadth of it.* They ſay, theſe words make it evident, that the Author of *Deuteronomy* was of a later ſtanding than *Moſes*. For in the firſt place, why ſhould *Moſes* ſpeak of this Bed, to prove the Greatneſs of this Giant, ſince all the *Iſraelites* might have beheld it themſelves? 'Tis more probable to ſay, That this was written by an Author, who lived in a time when they had no knowledge of this King. Secondly, Why was not this Bed any longer in the Land of *Baſan*, but in *Rabbath* of the Children of *Ammon*? In ſhort, ſay they, this Bed was not diſcovered till the time of *David*, who ſubdued the *Ammonites*, and took *Rabbath*, as we find it related in the ſecond Book of *Samuel*, *ch.* 12. *v.* 13. *Anſwer.* Suppoſing all this to be true, 'tis eaſily anſwered, by ſaying that, as for what has a relation to *Og*'s Bed, it was added in a Parentheſis. But why might not *Moſes* give an account of that Bed, to prove the Greatneſs of that Giant, even when he addreſſed himſelf to the *Iſraelites*, ſince perhaps he was writing this Relation ſome conſiderable time after the King was ſlain, and 'tis not to be imagined that all the *Iſraelites* had ſeen the Bed? But admit the Matter was not ſo, yet *Moſes* might very well make uſe of this Proof to make the Matter of Fact credible to Poſterity. Thus the Hiſtorians of our Time, when they occaſionally diſcourſe of any extraordinary Thing, although it is never ſo well known to the World, yet they frequently ſay, We have ſuch and ſuch Proofs of it, the Monſter is ſtill kept in ſuch a,

place

place, *&c.* As for what follows, that this Iron Bed was in the Land of *Basan*, and not in *Rabbath* this is all taken upon supposition, for why might not the *Ammonites* possess it in the time of *Moses*?

Sixth Objection. The Author of the *Pentateuch*, say they, give such Names to several Cities and Countries as they had not, till a long time after the Death of *Moses*. In *Genesis*, *ch.* 14. 'tis said, That *Abraham* pursued the Kings, who had carried away his Nephew *Lot*, as far as *Dan*. Now the Name of *Dan* was not given to this Country till a long time after, when six hundred Men of the Tribe of *Dan* took the City of *Laish*, and, after they had taken it, gave it the Name of their Tribe, as we read in the Book of *Judges*, *ch.* 18. The same Author likewise speaks often of the City of *Hebron*, which was not so call'd, till after the Death of *Moses*, from *Hebron* the Son of *Caleb*, to whom *Joshuah* gave it; formerly it was called *Kirjath-Arba*, as we are particularly informed in *Joshuah*, *ch.* 14. *v.* 15. In *Deuteronomy*, *ch.* 3. *v.* 14. it is said, That *Jair the Son of Manasseh took all the Country of Argob unto the Coasts of Geshuri, and Maachathi, and called them after his own name Bashan-Havoth-Jair unto this day. Answer.* We may generally answer these Objections thus, by saying, That these Names were changed after *Moses*'s time, to render the History more intelligible to those, to whom the ancient Names of those Cities and Countries that *Moses* used, would be altogether unknown. But the first Difficulty may be cleared otherwise, by saying, That the Name of *Dan* is more ancient than they pretend: That the River *Jordan* was so called, because it had its Original from two Springs *Jor* and *Dan*. So we may say there was another City of that Name, called *Dan* or *Danna*, whereof mention is made in the 15th Chapter of *Joshuah*, Verse 49th, which was in the Tribe of *Judah*, in the Country of *Sodom*. To the second Instance we may return this answer, That it is not clearly said in the Book of *Joshuah*, that *Hebron* gave his Name to the City of *Kirjath-Arba*, but only that the City of *Hebron* was formerly called by that Name. Which may be well enough understood of an ancient Name, which it had heretofore. The last Difficulty is not considerable, 'tis only in these Words, *Usque in præsentem diem*. Now *Moses* might use this Expression to demonstrate that Country more clearly, or perhaps it might be added after him.

Seventh Objection. The Author of the *Pentateuch* speaketh of things that happen'd after the Death of *Moses*, in *Exodus*, Chap. 16. Verse 35. it is said that the Children of *Israel did eat Manna, Forty Years, until they came to a Land inhabited; they did eat Manna, until they came to the Borders of the Land of Canaan.* Now this could not be written by *Moses*, who died before the Forty Years were accomplished. After the same manner 'tis written in the 36th Chapter of *Genesis*, Verse 31. *And these are the Kings that reigned in the Land of Edom, before there reigned any King over the Children of Israel.* Which words put it beyond controversie, that he who wrote this, was alive after the *Israelites* had Kings set over them. To this we may add, that after this Author has given us a Catalogue of the eight Kings of the *Edomites*, he speaks of their Dukes. Now they had not Dukes in the place of their Kings till a long time after, as we may observe in the first Book of the *Chronicles*, Chap. 1. Verse 5. In short, 'tis said in *Deuteronomy*, Chap. 2. Verse 12. that *the Sons of Esau dwelt in Seir, after they had driven out and destroyed the ancient Inhabitants called Horims, as the Children of Israel did unto the Land of their possession.* Which passage, say they, seems to intimate, that the *Israelites* had subdued the *Edomites* when this was written. *Answer.* If all these places were to be taken in the sense that is given them, yet we might answer, that some of them have been since added, or that *Moses* sometimes spoke by a Prophetick Spirit. But we need not run to such Solutions. *Moses* might say, that the *Israelites* should eat Manna Forty Years, knowing, as he certainly did, that they were to tarry so long in the Desart, as it appears in the 14th Chapter of the Book of *Numbers*. Moreover, God had revealed to *Moses*, that the *Israelites* should afterwards have a King, as is clearly foretold in the 17th Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, Verse 14. The eight Kings of the *Edomites* there mentioned, might have reigned from *Esau* to *Moses*; and the Dukes, of whom he speaks, did not succeed the Kings, but govern'd at the same time. Lastly, these Words, *As the Israelites did to the Land in their possession*, don't at all signifie or intimate the Land of the *Edomites*, but the Land which was promised to the *Israelites*. And let not any one say, that the *Israelites* were not as yet in possession of the Land of Promise in *Moses*'s time, since 'tis certain that the Tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*, with a great part of that of *Manasseh*, had possessed themselves of the Country of the *Amorites*, and of the Men of *Basan*, after they had put 'em to the Sword.

Eighth Objection. The strongest Argument at first view is the Death and Burial of *Moses*, which is described at the end of *Deuteronomy*. To this there are two *Answers*. The first of those, who say with *Philo* and *Josephus*, That *Moses* wrote it himself by a Spirit of Prophecy. The second, which is the more common and solid of the two, That this Account was added either by *Joshuah*, or by *Ezrah*; or lastly, by the Synagogue of the *Jews*, to make the History of the *Pentateuch* more perfect.

Ninth Objection. They say, That *Moses* is so far from being the Author of the *Pentateuch*, that the Author there cites Books that were composed by *Moses*; as *The Book of the Covenant*, Exod. 24. *The Book of the Wars of the Lord*, Numb. 21. 14. in which there was likewise written the War against *Amelek*, which is mentioned in *Exodus*, Chap. 17. Verse 14. *The Book of the Law of the Lord* in *Deuteronomy*, Chap. 31. Verse 9. And lastly, a *Song*, which is referred to, in the two and thirtieth Chapter of *Deuteronomy*. From whence they conclude, that the *Pentateuch* was composed out of the several Books of *Moses*. *Answer.* This Objection carries no force with it; for what should hinder *Moses* from citing the Books which he had formerly composed? Besides, should we grant that all these passages are to be understood of those Books that were written by *Moses*, it would not invalidate our Opinion. But this

cannot certainly be proved. For in the firſt place, we don't know, whether there was any ſuch Book or no that was intituled, *The Battels of the Lord*; for the *Hebrew* Text does not intimate that it was already written, but that it might be. Neither is it evident whether there is any Book mentioned. For the *Hebrew* Word may ſignifie any manner of Narrative, and ſo the Words that are cited may bear this ſenſe, *As it will be related when the Iſraelites deſcribe the Battels of the Lord.* Mr. *Simon* quarrels with this Interpretation, which, I ſay, theſe Words will naturally bear; but however, he does not demonſtrate that they cannot be thus applied. Others underſtand this place of a certain Song, which they uſed to ſing in honour of their Victories. It is not ſaid in *Exodus*, Chap. 17. that the War of *Amalek* was written in the Book of the Battels of the Lord, but only God commanded *Moſes* to write it, and 'tis that which he did in that Place. That paſſage in *Exodus*, Chap. 24. does not prove that *Moſes* wrote a Book of the Covenant, but only that being come down from the Mountain, he recited to the People the Laws which God had given him in the Mountain, which are ſet down in the preceding Chapters. And this it is which is called in that place, *The Book of the Covenant*. *The Book of the Law*, of which mention is made in *Deuteronomy*, is not different from *Deuteronomy* it ſelf. And after all, it is not improbable that *Moſes* referred to a Song, which he himſelf had compoſed.

Tenth Objection. There were (ſays Mr. *Simon*) amongſt the *Hebrews*, Prophets inſpired by God, who had a particular Charge given 'em to preſerve in Writing the moſt important Actions that happened in that Government. 'Tis probable, there were ſeveral of theſe Prophets in the time of *Moſes*, and then we may rationally ſuppoſe, that *Moſes*, as a Legiſlator, wrote only the Edicts and Commandments which he gave to the People, and that he left the care of collecting and tranſmitting to Poſterity the moſt conſiderable Paſſages of State to theſe above-mentioned Scribes or Prophets. *Anſwer.* This Suppoſition is founded upon very uncertain Conjectures, and precarious Principles. The *Egyptians*, ſay they, had ſuch Scribes or Regiſters to write down their Sacred Tranſactions; and therefore there were ſuch alſo amongſt the *Jews*. A very fine Conſequence this! 'Tis credible however, that *Moſes* eſtabliſhed ſuch an Order of Men. But what Proofs have they to ſupport this tottering Suppoſition? Why, *Joſephus* and *Euſebius* tell us, that amongſt the *Hebrews*, it was not lawful for every one to write their Hiſtory, but only for the Prophets who were inſpired by God. All this may be very true; but then *Joſephus* and *Euſebius* underſtand by theſe Prophets no other Perſons but *Moſes*, and thoſe after him, who wrote the Books of the Old Teſtament down to the Reign of *Artaxerxes*. We muſt paſs the ſame Judgment of *Theodoret*, ſay they, and the other Fathers: Now this, in my Opinion, is to make 'em ſpeak things they never thought of, and not to underſtand them aright. As for what they add farther concerning theſe Prophets, whom they have inveſted with an Authority to add or diminiſh from the Books of Scripture, this is ſtill more improbable than the other. They barely tell us, inſtead of proving it, that in the Books of *Kings* ſeveral other Memoirs are quoted, from whence they draw this Concluſion, that all the Books of the *Bible*, which have come down to our Hands, are only Abridgments and Summaries of the ancient Acts. But does it follow from hence, that all the other Books of the *Bible* were uſed after this rate? Does it follow that they added to, or retrenched from them, after they were once made? Or laſtly, that they were compoſed by theſe Prophets? They would have it proceed from this Reaſon, that there are ſo many Contradictions in the Books of the Holy Scripture. They ſay that this is the Reaſon of the Differences between the *Chronicles* and other Hiſtorical Treatiſes of the *Bible*, of that variety of falſe Conjectures that ruine the Authority of the Scriptures; and what is yet more material, that 'tis not impoſſible to reconcile theſe ſeeming Contradictions. To this purpoſe they amaſs together a great quantity of other Conjectures of this Nature, very ſubtilely invented, but weak and ill-grounded, and yet upon the ſtrength of theſe, they make the Authority of the *Bible* to depend, after they have endeavoured to undermine the ſolid Foundations which bear it up. Thus by pretending to advance Criticiſm, they forſake the Rules of true Judgment, and follow the Fantaſtick Chimæra's of their own Imaginations. There is no weight in what they have invented themſelves, or what they have found ready invented to their Hands by ſome Rabbies; and yet at the ſame time they ſcruple and doubt of ſeveral things that are clearer and better eſtabliſhed.

Although I did not name Mr. *Simon* in my firſt Edition, yet he very well perceived that this reproach was addreſſed to himſelf. The manner wherein he anſwered me, ſufficiently ſhewed, that he was ſenſibly touched, however this his Carriage does not in the leaſt juſtifie him. For inſtead of demonſtrating by ſolid Reaſons, that the Reproaches I faſten'd upon him, weere undeſerved and ill-grounded, he has filled his Letter with nothing but Contumelies and ſcornful Reflections, which ſhews how heinouſly he reſented the Liberty I took in examining his Hypotheſis; and this all ſenſible Men obſerved as ſoon as ever his Letter appear'd in publick. But now to make it evident to the whole World, that I have Reaſon on my ſide, *viz.* that Mr. *Simon* is in the wrong for quarelling with me upon this occaſion, I ſhall only caſt my Eyes on the Preface of his Book, where he ſets down the Principles of his Work at length: *The World will obſerve,* (ſays he) *that having conſidered nothing in this Eſſay but the Profit of thoſe who have a mind to know the Grounds of the Holy Scriptures, I have inſerted abundance of Principles, very uſeful to reſolve the moſt weighty Difficulties of the* Bible, *and at the ſame time to anſwer thoſe Objections which are uſually made againſt theſe Holy Books.* Theſe Principles are reducible to three Heads: The firſt is, That there were always amongſt the *Hebrews* a ſort of Prophets, or Publick Regiſters, Divinely inſpired, who made what Alterations or Additions they thought fit, in the Books of the Old Teſtament. The ſecond is, That they heretofore wrote their Books upon

little Leaves, which they rowled one over another, round a ſmall piece of Wood, without ſtitching them together; whence it happen'd ſometimes, that not taking ſufficient care to preſerve the order of theſe ancient Leaves or Volumes, the things themſelves treated of, have ſometimes been miſplaced. The third is, That there is a great deal of Reaſon to believe, that thoſe Perſons who joyned theſe old Memoirs together, to keep up the Body of thoſe Canonical Books which are now remaining, made no ſcruple at all to cut off ſeveral Synonymous Terms, which were found in their Copies, and were perhaps inſerted only for a fuller Illuſtration. Theſe are the great and admirable Principles of Mr. *Simon*, his publick Regiſters, his Rolls and Synonyma's. Here is, according to him, a way to reſolve the moſt perplexed Difficulties of the Bible, and to defend its Authority againſt the Diſciples of *Spinoſa*. Here is an infallible Expedient whereby we may confound the Socinians and Proteſtants, and invincibly prove the Inſpiration of the Holy Books. And laſtly, here is a never-failing Salve to ſilence all the Objections that can be urged againſt the Scripture. I am of Opinion that Mr. *Simon* will find very few People who will be inclined to ſubſcribe to the Uſefulneſs of theſe Principles. But this is not the Buſineſs I deſign to examine, 'tis their Solidity I deſire to ſee, upon which he values himſelf ſo exceedingly. For if it be made evident, that theſe Principles are only eſtabliſh'd upon weak frivolous Conjectures, then adieu to all thoſe Advantages, ſay I, that may be drawn from thence. Let us therefore examine all the Proofs that Mr. *Simon* has brought together in his *Critical Hiſtory*, and other Books.

The firſt of his Principles, is that about the Scribes or Regiſters that were divinely inſpired. But he gives us no Proofs of this matter in his Preface; it ſeems that was not the proper place. In the firſt Chapter of his *Critique*, which is a ſort of a ſecond Preface, he contents himſelf with ſaying, That he gives the name of Prophets to the Authors of the Books of the Bible, and with repeating what he ſaid before in his Preface concerning the great advantage of theſe publick Scribes; as if it were enough for him barely to aſſert theſe things, without giving himſelf the trouble of proving them. But in the ſecond Chapter he endeavours to make this whole matter evident, and therefore let us conſider by what Reaſons he offers to do it. In the firſt place he obſerves, that the *Jewiſh* State acknowledged no other Chief or Head, but God. From this Principle he concludes that God himſelf gave 'em Laws by the Miniſtry of *Moſes*, and of the other Prophets who ſucceeded him. This Concluſion is undeniable, but it was not neceſſary to prove it by a Principle more obſure than the Concluſion that is drawn from thence. But we are not concerned to know, whether there were any of theſe Prophets amongſt the *Hebrews*, for that is a conſtantly received Truth; but 'tis our buſineſs to know, In the firſt place, Whether there were in all Ages amongſt the *Jews* thoſe Scribes or Regiſters whom he talks of, who looked after the Records and Hiſtories of the Affairs of that Nation. Secondly, Whether they were divinely inſpired. Thirdly, Whether they are the Authors of the Books of the Bible. 'Tis Mr. *Simon*'s buſineſs to prove theſe three Propoſitions, and not barely to tell us in general, that there were Prophets amongſt the *Jews*. The ſecond Remark made by Mr. *Simon*, is this, *That in all well-regulated Kingdoms, and eſpecially in the Eaſtern Nations, they had always certain Perſons, who tooke care to ſee, that the moſt important Occurrences of State were preſerved in Writing.* I thought indeed that Mr. *Simon* would have concluded from this Obſervation, that they had ſuch Perſons likewiſe amongſt the *Jews*. He diſowns this Conſequence, and therefore this can only paſs for a Compariſon, and ſo we muſt look for other Arguments to ſhew there were ſuch publick Scribes amongſt the *Jews*. *It carries a great deal of Probability with it*, continues he, *that* Moſes, *upon the firſt eſtabliſhment of that State, ſet up this ſort of Scribes, whom we may call Publick or Divine ones, to diſtinguiſh 'em from particular Writers, who uſually engage to write the Hiſtory of their own Times from no Motives but thoſe of Intereſt.* However, 'tis not certain that *Moſes* ever did inſtitute theſe Scribes, 'tis a mere Conjecture and nothing elſe. But how does Mr. *Simon* endeavour to prove it? He gives us two Reaſons in a Parentheſis; the firſt is, *Becauſe* Moſes *was bred up in the* Ægyptian *Court, where they had Prieſts, to whom they gave the name of Scribes or Regiſters, of Sacred Things.* As if it were neceſſary, or indeed probable, that *Moſes* would appoint amongſt the Children of *Iſrael* whatever he ſaw practiſed by the *Ægyptians*. He ought to have produced ſome Reaſon, or at leaſt ſome Conjecture, to prove that *Moſes* imitated them in this. But Mr. *Simon* omits to do it. The ſecond Reaſon which he alledges to prove that *Moſes* eſtabliſhed this ſort of Scribes amongſt the *Jews*, is, *Becauſe he was a perfect Law-giver*; as if it was neceſſary for a perfect Law-giver to inſtitute ſuch a Cuſtom. Was not *Lycurgus* a perfect Law-giver? And yet, by the acknowledgment of Mr. *Simon* himſelf, he did not appoint any of theſe publick Scribes in his Commonwealth. But for what purpoſe I wonder ſhould *Moſes* ſet 'em up amongſt the *Jews*, when he himſelf had written their Laws and Hiſtory. Beſides, could Mr. *Simon* undeniably prove, that there were theſe publick Scribes in the time of *Moſes*, yet it would not follow from thence, that they were the Authors of the *Pentateuch*. And thus we ſee that all Mr. *Simon*'s admirable Conjectures to ſhew, that the Books of the *Pentateuch* were written by the Scribes divinely inſpired, fall to the ground, without doing what they were produced for.

Let us now ſee if he is more fortunate in his Citations. The firſt is from *Joſephus*, who tells us *That amongſt the* Jews *it was not lawful for every one to write their Annals but that this Province was only reſerved for the Prophets, who knew remote and future Things by Divine Inſpiration, and committed to Writing all the remarkable Paſſages of their time.* Now to this I formerly anſwered, *That* Joſephus *by the Prophets underſtands no more than* Moſes, *and thoſe that wrote the Books of the* Old Teſtament *after him.* Mr. Simon anſwers, *That the Reaſons of* Joſephus are

too general to be explained by ſuch a Reſtriction. But this is a matter where we need not wholly depend upon Conjectures: tis but reading the whole paſſage in *Joſephus*, and it will evidently appear, that in this place he only ſpeaks of thoſe Books that were received by the *Jews* for Canonical, The Words faithfully Tranſlated are theſe; *It is not lawful for every body amongſt us to write Hiſtory, there is no contrariety at all in our Hiſtories. They are the Prophets who write, either about ancient Things that happened along time ago, and which they learn by Divine Inſpiration, or about Things that happened in their own time, and thoſe they ſet down in order as they were Tranſacted. We have not Millions of Books that contradict one another, and only ſerve to perplex the Reader. We have only Twenty two, which contain the Hiſtory of all times, and to which we reſign our Belief with a great deal of Juſtice. Of theſe Books there are five by* Moſes .... *From* Moſes *down to* Artexerxes *King of* Perſia, *who lived after* Xerxes, *the Prophets in thirteen Books wrote the Hiſtory of their Times. The four following contain Hymns in praiſe of God, and ſeveral Moral Precepts. In ſhort, from* Artaxerxes *down to our Times we have our Hiſtory very well written, but theſe Books are not of the ſame Authority with the former, becauſe there has not been a continued and regular Succeſſion of Prophets.* Nothing in the whole World can be more directly oppoſite to Mr *Simon*'s Hypotheſis than this paſſage of *Joſephus*. Mr. *Simon* ſuppoſes, that in *Moſes*'s time there were publick Scribes, who cited the Memoirs from whence they compoſed the *Pentateuch*; and *Joſephus* expreſly tells us, that theſe five firſt Books were written by *Moſes*. Mr. *Simon* ſuppoſes, that the following Books are only Abridgments of thoſe Ancient Memoirs, that were from time to time written by the publick Scribes, and afterwards collected together by others of the ſame Character; and *Joſephus* ſuppoſes they were written in the ſame manner as we now find 'em, by the Prophets that lived upon the ſpot when theſe things which they have delivered were tranſacted. Mr. *Simon* would needs have it, that in the *Jewiſh* Nation there were always publick Scribes divinely inſpired; and *Joſephus* plainly tells us, that the Succeſſion of Prophets failed after *Artaxerxes*. Now what can be more irreconcileable than all this? Beſides, 'tis obſervable that *Joſephus*'s Prophets are different from Mr. *Simon*'s publick Scribes. They were not Men intruſted with the Regiſters, and appointed to write Hiſtory: But Prophets, whom from time to time we find amongſt the *Jews* who took care to tranſmit the paſſages of their time to Poſterity; and their Books are not at all different from thoſe, which the *Jews*, acknowledged for Canonical in the time of *Joſephus*. From all which it neceſſarily follows, that this paſſage confirms my Hypotheſis, and utterly deſtroys Mr. *Simon*'s: For we maintain with *Joſephus* againſt Mr. *Simon*, That *Moſes* is the Author of the *Pentateuch*, and that the other Authentick Books of the *Old Teſtament* were written by Men Divinely inſpired, or by Prophets who lived near the times wherein thoſe Occurrences happened which they delivered, though we do not certainly know their Names: 'Tis to theſe Books, and not to the *Pentateuch*, that we are to apply the Words of *St. Gregory* upon *Job*, which Mr. *Simon* manifeſtly perverts and abuſes in his firſt Chapter, *Quis hæc ſcripſerit valde ſupervacue quæritur, cum tamen Auctor Libri Spiritus Sanctus fideliter credatur.* For this Father ſpeaks this only with relation to the Book of *Job*, whoſe Author is unknown to us.

The Second Author that Mr. *Simon* alledges in his *Critical Hiſtory* to prove theſe Scribes divinely inſpired, is *Euſebius*: *Euſebius*, ſays he, *confirms this Opinion, when he takes notice, that amongſt the* Jews *it was not allowed for all ſorts of People to paſs their judgment upon thoſe Men that were inſpired by the Holy Spirit to write Holy Books.* He cites in the Margin, *Euſebius de præparatione Evangelicâ*; that is to ſay, a great Book in *Folio*; I have diligently hunted after this paſſage there, but have not been ſo happy as to meet with it. But let the matter be how it will, I don't ſee what Aſſiſtance it brings to Mr. *Simon*'s Hypotheſis; The *Jews* had Writers that were divinely inſpired; Who queſtions it? As alſo, That it did not belong to all the World to judge who they were, that were thus divinely inſpired; but this Province was reſerved for thoſe Perſons, who had the ſame Inſpiration themſelves. Well then, ſuppoſe it were ſo, does it therefore follow that the Books of *Moſes* were compoſed by the Keepers of Regiſters? Does it follow that thoſe who were appointed to write Hiſtory, and that too out of the publick Memoirs, were divinely Inſpired? Or laſtly, That all the Books of Scripture which we now have, are but ſo many Abridgements extracted out of theſe Memoirs. As for what remains, Mr. *Simon* could not have cited any Author more contrary to his own Hypotheſis, than *Euſebius*, and that even in this very Book *De Præpartione Evangelicâ*. For one of the great Principles, which he there eſtabliſhes in ſeveral places, is the Authority and Antiquity of the Books of *Moſes*, which he always ſuppoſes to have been written by that Prophet in the ſame manner as we have 'em at preſent. The Truth of this Aſſertion he confirms by theſe three Propoſitions which he lays down in the beginning of the 14th Book. The firſt is, That *Moſes* is ancienter than any *Greek* Author. The ſecond, That he has written what he had learned of his Anceſtors. The third, That the *Jews* have neither added nor diminiſhed from the Writings which he left them. And now I'll leave the World to judge whether theſe Principles of *Euſebius* agree with thoſe of Mr. *Simon*.

The third Author cited by Mr. *Simon* is *Theodoret*. It muſt be confeſſed, that this Father owns, (as well as ſeveral other Authors have done) that the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* were compoſed from very ancient Memoirs. But this is not the point in Queſtion. We confeſs, we are not aſſured of the Authors of theſe Books. We acknowledge they are a Collection drawn out of old Memoirs. But we demand of Mr. *Simon*, whether it follows from hence, that the *Pentateuch*, and other Books of the *Bible*, are of the ſame Nature. This is a thing which *Theodoret* wou'd beware of ſaying, becauſe he owns *Moſes* to be the Author of the *Pentateuch*. 'Tis with

with this Assertion he begins his Preface to the Books of *Kings*, from whence Mr. *Simon* has drawn these passages which he quotes. *After having explained the Books of* Moses, *&c.* To these three Authors has Mr. *Simon* in his Letter to Monsieur *L'Abbe*, added the Author of the *Synopsis*, attributed to St. *Athanasius*. This Author follows the Opinion of *Josephus*, and after having observed that the five first Books of the *Bible* do without dispute belong to *Moses*, he says, that all the following Books are not written by those whose Names they bear, but that *they were composed by Prophets who lived from time to time*. Lastly, he observes, when he is speaking concerning the *Chronicles*, that one finds several Historical Books of the Prophets quoted there. And what does all this make for Mr. *Simon*'s Hypothesis? Have not we said the very same thing? Does not all the World agree as to this particular? Had Mr. *Simon* kept himself here, no body would have fell upon him.

The last Author whom Mr. *Simon* cites to justifie his Hypothesis, is the Author of the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*. This Author in the place transcribed by Mr. *Simon* tell us, that there were some Prophets *who wrote their own Prophecies themselves, as* David *the Book of* Psalms, *and* Daniel *his Prophecy; and that there were others who did not write themselves, but that they had Scribes in the Temple, who wrote down, as it were in a Journal, the Words of each Prophet.* ..... *That the Books of* Kings *were thus composed by Parts, that under* Saul's *Reign they wrote whatever passed in his time, and so likewise in* David's *time, and the other Kings; That the* Chronicles *are but a Collection of Registers, and several Papers of their Kings; That* Moses *wrote the* Pentateuch; *That* Joshuah *is the Author of the Book which bears his Name; That the Book of* Judges *was written by the Scribes in the Temple from time to time, as well as that of* Ruth; *That* Solomon *composed the* Proverbs, *the* Canticles, *and* Ecclesiastes. This Author's Hypothesis is extreamly different from that of Mr. *Simon*. 1. He supposeth for a certain truth, that *Moses* was the Author of the *Pentateuch*, and does not attribute his Works to the Publick Scribes or Abbreviators. 2. He does not say, that these publick Scribes were inspired by God, or that they wrote the History of themselves. He supposes the Prophets dictated that to them as well as their Prophecies. 3. He believes that the Books of *Kings* and *Judges* were the very Originals from the Prophets, which were joyned together. Instead of which Mr. *Simon* believes, that these Books are Abridgments. I won't lose so much time as to answer the Rabbi's, and other Authors of that stamp, whom Mr. *Simon* has mustered up in his last Letter. 'Tis visible there's not one single Author he quotes that is of the same Opinion with himself. For, In the first place they all of 'em acknowledge, That the Books of the *Pentateuch* ought not to be attributed to Scribes or to Prophets Divinely Inspired, but to *Moses* himself. Secondly, they say, That the following Books were written by Persons divinely Inspired, to whom they gave the name of Prophets, but they don't tell us, that these Prophets were Supervisors of the Registers, or publick Scribes. Thirdly, they acknowledge, that there were ancient Memoirs, or ancient Histories often quoted in the Books of *Kings*, and the *Chronicles*. No body doubts this, I have frequently observed it, and have made a Catalogue of the Books that are quoted in the *Old Testament*. But it does not follow from hence, that all the Books of the Bible are extracted from these Memoirs, and Compiled a long time after. Mr. *Simon* has given these publick Scribes authority to change, to enlarge, and abridge these Sacred Books as they see convenient. To prove this, he quotes Don *Isaac Abarinbel*, a Learned *Spanish Jew*, as if we were obliged to take all for Gospel that these Rabbi's have been pleased to deliver. He joyns *Procopius* and *Theodoret* to this *Jew*, as Men that have observed, that the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* were drawn out of several other Historical Books. Not to displease Mr. *Simon*, he has mightily altered the Point, for this is not the Question under debate. We agree with him, that the Authors of the Books of *Kings* and the *Chronicles*, compiled their Histories out of Memoirs and particular Historians whom they found, as *Livy* and *Mezeray* made use of the ancient Historians to compose their Histories: But for all this, we dare not say, they have changed or diminished the ancient Histories, that always continued in the same condition they were in, nor that they had a Priviledge to do this, much less that they have made any considerable Alterations or Additions to the Books of *Moses*. Mr. *Simon* at last brings in a very dangerous Maxim, though he covers it under a specious appearance of Usefulness: *It would be dangerous*, says he, *to pretend to Correct one Book of Scripture by another, because they don't agree altogether themselves.* 'Tis very truly said, that we ought not to Correct one Book of Scripture by another; But it is not true, that two Books of the Scripture don't altogether agree with each other. There is not any real Contradiction between the Books of the Bible; if there are any apparent ones, the fault does not lie in the Authors but in our want of Understanding them. 'Tis a piece of extraordinary Rashness and Presumption to suppose with Mr. *Simon* that there are real Contradictions in the Books of the Bible, that the Author of the *Chronicles* has reported Matter of Fact otherwise than it is in other places, or that the Genealogies and Chronology of the Scriptures are faulty, and the like, *I know*, says Mr. *Simon*, *that it is expressly forbidden in* Deuteronomy *to add or diminish a Tittle from the Word of God*. Here then there is an express Text against Mr. *Simon*'s Hypothesis. Now to answer this Passage, he ought to alledge some other place of Scripture, which restrains and limits this Prohibition to private Persons, or gives Permission to the Prophets and publick Scribes to do the contrary. But Mr. *Simon* thinks it enough to quote the Author of the Book *Cozri*, who is of the same Opinion; but by a peculiar Misfortune that attends him, we find, that a certain Commentator towards the bottom of the Page, where this Book is quoted, observes, *That the Author of the Book* Cozri *does not speak of the Scripture in that place, but only of the Explication of the Commandments, which depended upon the Judges of the* Sanedrim.

Sanedrim, *who had power to extend or limit them according to the circumſtances of Time and emergent Occaſions.* What becomes then of Mr. *Simon's* Anſwer? It ſtood only upon the Authority of the Author of the Book *Cozri*, and now we ſee, that this very Author will not be brought to ſay what he would have him. After all, Mr. *Simon* quotes *the Common Opinion of the Fathers, who believe, that the Collection of the Old Teſtament, ſuch as it now is, was compoſed by* Ezrah, *which confirms*, ſays he, *what I am now maintaining; for* Ezrah *could not correct and reſtore theſe Books, which, according to them, had been corrupted during the time of the Captivity, but in the Quality and Character of a Prophet and publick Scribe, and therefore he is called a Scribe by the way of Excellence in the Bible.* I would willingly know what neceſſity there was, that *Ezrah* ſhould reſtore the Holy Scripture in quality of Publick Scribe, or Maſter of the Rolls. Is it not infinitely more probable to imagine he did it, becauſe he was commanded to reſtore the Religion and Laws of the *Jews* in their ancient Purity, as being their Chief and High-Prieſt. Whenever he is called a Scribe in Scripture, 'tis not in Mr. *Simon's* Senſe, but becauſe he was well skill'd and knowing in the Law of the Lord. We need only give our ſelves the trouble to read this paſſage, *Ezra 7. v. 6.* Ezra *went up from Babylon, and he was a ready Scribe in the Law of Moſes, which the Lord God of Iſrael had given.* That is to ſay, he perfectly nnderſtood the Law, the Word *Scribe* being taken in the ſame Senſe in *Jeremiah*, Ch. 8. v. 8. And it does not ſignifie any thing elſe in the *New Teſtament*, where this Name is given to all the Doctors of the Law.

The Second Principle of Mr *Simon* depends upon the changing of the Rolls or Volumes in which theſe Sacred Books are written. I ſaid before, that *this Conjecture is only pleaſant becauſe it is new, and that it was a* Chimæra, *that had nothing at all to do with the Argument in hand.* Mr. *Simon* anſwers me immediately, That what I call a *Chimæra, was a very ancient Opinion, and likewiſe taken notice of by the moſt ancient Criticks.* It was therefore his buſineſs to look after his Proofs. But I have no Exceptions to make to the Antiquity of Rolls, (for 'tis very plain that they formerly wrote upon Leaves which they Rolled together) but only to the ill uſe he makes of 'em. He ought to have ſhewn by convincing Inſtances, that theſe Rolls frequently occaſioned Tranſpoſitions, and he ought likewiſe to have applied this Conjecture to ſome Examples in Scripture which had ſuffered by this diſorder. But this I defie him to do after all his attempts, he dares not undertake any thing of that nature, but contents himſelf to ſay in general terms, That it may be ſo. I ſaid alſo, That this Conjecture had nothing to do with the Subject, becauſe if we ſuppoſed, that *ſome little confuſion might accidentally happen in the Rolling of theſe Leaves, yet the Abridgers might eaſily rectifie 'em and ſet 'em in order.* To this Mr. *Simon* replies, that *'tis to no purpoſe to talk of the Abridgers, becauſe theſe Leaves were diſordered long after the Collection of the Abridgments.* I did indeed believe Mr. *Simon* had ſpoken of the Leaves of the Originals or Memoirs, out of which, as he pretends, they made an Abridgment of the Bible, and I am ſtill of Opinion, that he is thus to be underſtood, where he ſays, *pa.* 35. *I much doubt whether we are to attribute to* Moſes *and the publick Scribes, that lived in his times, the diſorder and confuſion which we find in ſeveral places of the* Pentateuch: *There is great probability for us to believe, that as they wrote their Books then upon little Rolls, or ſingle Leaves, which they rolled one upon another, the order of theſe Leaves has been changed.* Now it was very probable, that this *then* had a relation to *Moſes*, and the publick Scribes: But ſince Mr. *Simon* is willing to have it underſtood of the Times that followed theſe Abridgments, he ought to inform us, that the little Order which we find, as he pretends in the *Pentateuch*, proceeded from the changing of theſe Rolls. But this he can never be able to do, and I challenge him to apply this Conjecture to the Examples which he produces; as one may readily rectify a printed Sheet of Paper which was tranſpoſed in binding a Book. Hence it follows that this ſecond Principle of Mr. *Simon* is ſo very far from being well grounded, that 'tis indeed wholly uſeleſs. As for what concerns his third Principle, which is the Repetition of the Synonymous Terms, from whence he pretends to conclude, that the Books of the Bible are compoſed from ſeveral ancient Memoirs, 'tis a falſe and frivolous Conjecture; for there is much greater reaſon for a Man to believe, that theſe Repetitions came from one Author, who wrote theſe Things as Memoirs at firſt, than from an Epitomizer, who has weaved one continued Hiſtory without making any repetition of the ſame Things, or the ſame Words: Beſides, that theſe Repetitions which Mr. *Simon* produces as Examples, are not abſolutely needleſs, but ſerve either to Illuſtrate what has been ſaid, or elſe to Corroborate ſome Circumſtance or other, or laſtly, to give more Force and Efficacy to what is written. 'Tis no unuſual thing to meet with Repetitions of that nature in moſt Authors, and principally in thoſe, that write the Hiſtory of their own times with an air of Simplicity and Unaffectedneſs.

Eleventh Objection. 'Tis pretended that the Repetitions, which we meet with in the *Pentateuch*, were not in all probability made by *Moſes*, but rather by them who made a Collection of the Holy Books, and have joyned together ſeveral Precepts or Explications of the ſame Words. There are abundance of theſe Repetitions which they produce. They ſay moreover, that there are many Repetitions of the ſame thing differently related, and this makes it appear, that this Hiſtory is drawn from ſeveral different Memoirs. They add, That we cannot rationally attribute them to *Moſes*, becauſe of the little Order or Regularity we find them in. They produce upon this occaſion a Conjecture that is pleaſant enough, becauſe new. *There is reaſon to imagine*, ſay they, *that as they wrote their Books in thoſe times upon Rolls, or ſeparate Leaves, which they rolled one upon another, the order of the Leaves has been changed and inverted.* And ſo they pretend, that the diverſity of Style, which is to be found in the Books of the *Pentateuch*, is a ſatisfactory Proof, to ſhew that the ſame Writer was not the Author. *Anſwer.* All theſe Objections

jections are extremely weak and impertinent, and rather deſtroy, than contribute any thing to the Hypotheſis they are produced to eſtabliſh. For can any Man in the World believe, that an Author, who had abridged any Hiſtory, would ſo often repeat the ſame things, that he would preſerve no order, and not write in the ſame ſtyle throughout. On the contrary, Don't all Abbreviators make it their buſineſs to make their Relations in as few Words as poſſible, regularly, and after an uniform manner? The contrary Faults more frequently belong to the firſt Authors of Hiſtory, who naturally and ſimply recount all Affairs which they know. This ſort of Repetition is very familiar and common among the Ancients, and particularly amongſt thoſe, who wrote an Hiſtory or Fable firſt; and they are rarely found in Hiſtorians, who compile their Works out of the Memoirs of other Men, the reaſon is, becauſe the firſt write naturally, juſt as they ſpeak, without Meditation and Study, and the others on the contrary, having all their Matter ready fitted to their hands, are only at the Expence of ranging, and digeſting it Methodically. The Repetitions, which we find in the *Pentateuch*, are often neceſſary to explain the Particularities of thoſe Things, which at firſt they were forced to relate in general; for this reaſon it is, that the particular Circumſtances of the Creation of the World, which were ſet down in the firſt Chapter of *Geneſis*, were afterwards told over again, more particularly in the ſecond. 'Twas the Genius and Cuſtom of the *Hebrews* to repeat the ſame Words, as it was indeed the faſhion of all the Ancients.

But we are not to believe, that there is ſo little order, as they would make us believe, in the *Pentateuch*, and if there were leſs than there really is, that would be rather an Argument to ſhow it belongs to *Moſes*, who wrote without Art, Method, and Affectation, as thoſe People generally do, who leave Memoirs behind them of thoſe Paſſages, wherein themſelves bore a ſhare. The conjecture about the Rolls is an extravagant Whimſie, that makes nothing at all to the purpoſe, for if there were any confuſion of the Leaves, the Abbreviators might without any great difficulty ſet them right in their true order. Laſtly, what they pretend about the conſiderable difference of ſtyle in the *Pentateuch*, is notoriouſly falſe: On the contrary, a Man may obſerve all along the Genius of the ſame Author; and if he ſometimes does not happen to enlarge upon the Affairs, which he relates, 'tis becauſe his Matter required ſhortneſs, or becauſe he did not judge it convenient to uſe that liberty. Now we cannot in juſtice call this a Difference of Style, when all the reſt is agreeable, and of a piece.

But let us leave Mr. *Simon* to anſwer his Adverſary, who pretends, as well as himſelf, that the *Pentateuch* does not belong to *Moſes*, but to a *Jewiſh* Prieſt ſent from *Babylon* to inſtruct the *Chriſtians*. His Conjectures, which are eaſily anſwered, are theſe:

In the firſt place, he ſays, That the 11th and 12 Verſes of the ſecond Chapter in *Geneſis* could not be written by *Moſes*. *The name of the firſt is Piſon, that is it which compaſſeth the whole Land of Havelah, where there is Gold. And the Gold of that Land is good, there is Bdellium, and the Onyx Stone.* Theſe Remarks, ſays Mr. *Simon*'s Adverſary, ſeem to proceed from an Author who had been in that Country, that is to ſay, in *Chaldee*, for *Piſon* is an Arm of *Euphrates*, that diſcharges it ſelf into the *Perſian* Gulf. It is by no means probable, that *Moſes*, who never went far from *Ægypt*, ſhould be able to give ſo particular a relation of a Country ſo remote and diſtant, in a time when ſuch Voyages were very rare, and attended with abundance of Difficulties. But I would willingly underſtand what would hinder *Moſes* from knowing, that this Country was watered with the River *Piſon*, and how was it poſſible for him to give a Deſcription of the Place, unleſs he had given the moſt publick and commonly known Marks. We ſee plainly, that ſome Countries, though never ſo remote, are yet known well enough for thoſe excellent and precious Commodities that are found there, which are to be met with no where elſe, and which are tranſported from thence to others places. 'Tis not neceſſary for a Man, to go to *Potoſi*, to be informed, that the Gold of that Country is very fine, and in great plenty; or to make a Voyage to the *Indies*, to know that Pearls and precious Stones, are found there; nor is there any more ſtrength in the ſecond Reaſon, which ſuppoſeth, that the exactneſs wherewith this Author deſcribes the erecting of the Cities of *Meſopotamia* and *Aſſyria*, *v.* 18. of the 10th Chapter of *Geneſis*, is a clear indication, that the Writer thereof had been in that Country. For is it neceſſary that an Hiſtorian ſhould have been in all the Places he mentions? On the other hand, Was there ever any Hiſtorian in the World that has ſeen all the Countries which he gives an account of?

Theſe are this Author's private Gueſſes: We have already anſwered thoſe which have been ſtarted by *Hobbs*, *Spinoſa*, and Mr. *Simon*, as well as himſelf, but don't think it worth the while to throw away any time in refuting thoſe extravagant Whimſies he makes ſo much noiſe about, to prove that the *Pentateuch* was written by a *Samaritan* Prieſt. They are ſo weak and pitiful that they deſerve no body's Conſideration, and indeed if ſuch Reaſonings were to be allowed, I don't know one ſingle Book in the World which might not upon as good Grounds be taken away from the true Author, and beſtowed upon another. From hence we may ſee, of what ill conſequence it is to give ones Imagination too large a Scope, and miſtake bare Conjectures for eternal Truths.

[*b*] *They would only prove, that the ſame thing has happened to the Books of* Moſes, *which has almoſt happened to all the ancient Authors*, viz. *That ſome few Words, Names, and Terms, have been added or altered to render the Narrative more intelligible.*] If one examines all theſe Objections that I have already anſwered, he will be convinced they prove no more, and that one might have anſwered almoſt all of them by this very Remark. Mr. *Simon*, who cannot contradict me in this Point, is mighty deſirous to ſet upon me another way, by objecting, that in my Preface, and other places of my Book, I have laid down Rules which ſeem to prove from theſe Additions, that the *Pentateuch* is a ſuppoſititious Work: For it ſeems I had

affirmed in the firſt part of my Preface, *That impoſtors for the moſt part relate Matters of Fact that happened after the Death of thoſe whom they ſpeak of, and they give an Account of Cities and People that were not known in the time of thoſe Authors whoſe Names they aſſume.* From whence Mr. *Simon* draws this Conſequence, that ſince I own there are ſeveral ſuch Additions in the *Pentateuch*, a Diſciple of *Spinoſa* may thence conclude, that according to my Rule 'tis a ſuppoſititious Work. To this I anſwer, that this Objection of Mr. *Simon* ſhews, that he has not ſo great a ſhare of good Senſe, and cloſeneſs of Arguing, as he has Rabbinical Learning. For if he had only conſidered the General Remark which I made in my Preface about the Rules of Criticiſm there laid together, he could not have been guilty of ſo manifeſt a Soleciſm as this. I deſire him to mind theſe Words a little: *A Man may ſay, that all theſe Rules which I have here laid down, are convincing and probable in different degrees, but that the Sovereign and Principle Rule is the Judgment of Equity and Prudence, which inſtructs us to ballance the Reaſons* of this and t'other ſide, *in diſtinctly conſidering the Conjectures that are made* of both ſides. Now this is the General Rule of Rational Criticiſm, and we abuſe all the reſt if we don't chiefly make uſe of this. Let us now apply it to the preſent Queſtion. There are in the *Pentateuch* ſome Terms, and Names of Cities, and other Paſſages that could not come from *Moſes*; muſt we therefore haſtily conclude, that it was not written by *Moſes*, becauſe 'tis a certain ſign that a Book is ſpurious, when one finds ſuch Occurrences in it, as have happen'd after the Death of the Author to whom it is attributed, and becauſe we there meet with ſome Names of Cities and People that were not known in his time? Or on the other hand, Does it follow, becauſe the *Pentateuch* was writ by *Moſes*, notwithſtanding ſome Additions which are there to be found, does it I ſay thence follow, that the above-mentioned Rule is falſe? Theſe two Conſequences are very indiſcreetly drawn, but the Rule is ſtill good, and the Books of the *Pentateuch* may yet be written by *Moſes*. The Rule is good, but we ought to make a good uſe of it. When there are no certain Proofs of the Antiquity of a Book, and beſides there are other Conjectures to incline us to doubt of it, we may in purſuance to this Rule, conclude it ſpurious. But when it is paſt Diſpute that ſuch a Book is written by ſuch an Author, and there is an infinite number of evident Arguments to demonſtrate the truth of it; then we are neceſſarily to conclude, that theſe Words, and Terms, and Names, were afterwards added. After all, where there are Reaſons on one ſide, as well as on the other, we ought carefully to ballance them, to weigh one againſt the other, and at laſt to determine the matter on that ſide, where the greateſt appearance of probability lies. Theſe are the true Rules of Criticiſm, which it ſeems Mr. *Simon* is ignorant of, or at leaſt does not rightly examine, otherwiſe he could never have forgot himſelf ſo far, as to accuſe me wrongfully for giving favourable Rules to the Diſciples of *Spinoſa*. The fault is by no means to be imputed to theſe Rules, which almoſt every Critick has given before me, but 'tis his way of Arguing, and drawing of Inferences that has been favourable to the *Spinoſiſts*. His Conjectures, and Objections, and in ſhort his Hypotheſis, has ſerved to confirm thoſe Perſons in their Errors, beſides that ſeveral places of his Book give the greateſt Blow imaginable to the Authority of the Holy Scripture; When he asks me, *What anſwer I will return to a* Spinoſiſt, *who to prove that the* Pentateuch *was not written by* Moſes, *ſhall uſe my own Reaſons to ſhew that the Liturgy of St.* James, *as 'tis commonly received by the Oriental Nations, was not made by him?* I will anſwer him, that there are not the ſame Reaſons to induce a Man to believe that St. *James* was the Author of that Liturgy, which goes under his Name, as that the Books of *Moſes* were written by him: That this was never affirmed in any of the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles, that the Ancients never ſpeak of it, that this Liturgy does not agree with the Diſcipline that was in uſe in St. *James*'s time. Whereas the Scripture informs me that *Moſes* was Author of the *Pentateuch*, and Jeſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles have aſſured me of the truth of it, and all the ancient Writers have teſtified ſo much, beſides the Univerſal Agreement of all People in this matter. 'Tis therefore a manifeſt Injuſtice and Calumny in Mr. *Simon* to accuſe me for *deſigning to deſtroy the Books of* Moſes, *under a pretence of defending them againſt the* Spinoſiſts.

Nor does Mr. *Simon* reaſon better in applying what I have ſaid with regard to the Book of *Joſhuah*, to the Books of the *Pentateuch*; 'tis but comparing the Arguments I brought to prove that the Books of the *Pentateuch* belonged to *Moſes*, with thoſe that are commonly produced to prove that the Book of *Joſhuah* was written by *Joſhuah*, and any Man will ſoon perceive the mighty difference between one and the other, and that the Reaſons that are alledged in favour of *Moſes*, are infinitely ſtronger than thoſe that are urged to prove that *Joſhuah* compoſed the Book that bears his Name. No Man ever yet doubted that the *Pentateuch* was written by *Moſes*, but 'tis not the ſame caſe with the Book of *Joſhuah*. Mr. *Simon* ſuppoſeth there is as much evidence for one, as the other; in order to prove this, he imagines that all thoſe former places of Scripture that are produced to ſhew that *Moſes* was Author of the *Pentateuch*, reduce themſelves to this Head, *viz.* That *Moſes* wrote the Law; and he pretends there is the ſame reaſon to affirm, that *Joſhuah* added the Book of his Hiſtory to the Books of the Law. But if any one will give himſelf the trouble to conſider the paſſages that are to be found in the Notes (*b*) and (*c*), he will be perſwaded that they are very poſitive as well as numerous, and don't lie in ſo narrow a compaſs as thoſe which are brought in behalf of *Joſhuah*: Beſides, 'tis but reading the 24th Chapter of the Book of *Joſhuah*, where we find this laſt paſſage, and we ſhall ſee that it may be very well underſtood of the Moral and Ceremonial Precepts that are mentioned in that place. From hence it evidently appears, that there's a vaſt difference between the Reaſons that prove *Moſes* to be the Author of the *Pentateuch*, and thoſe that ſeem to intimate that *Joſhuah* compoſed the Book which contains this Hiſtory; and that a Man without incurring the guilt of raſhneſs, may doubt whether he

he is the Author of that Book; but that he cannot doubt whether *Moſes* wrote the *Pentateuch*, without being guilty of that crime to the higheſt degree. At the ſame time I will not abſolutely deny that *Joſhuah* was Author of the Book that carries his Name; I have only obſerved, that it is not abſolutely certain, and 'tis an eaſie matter to take notice, that I rather incline to that Party which aſſigns it to *Joſhuah*.

(i) *We don't certainly know when theſe Books were written by* Moſes.] Some ſay that *Geneſis* was written by *Moſes*, after the departure out of *Egypt*; ſo *Pererius* and *Tena*. 'Tis moſt probable, that all of them were written after the departure out of *Egypt*, and particularly that *Geneſis* was compoſed after the Promulgation of the Law. This is the Opinion of *Euſebius* and the Ancients, and indeed we find in *Geneſis* ſeveral Alluſions to the *Law*; as for example, in Chap. 2. there is mention made of the Law of the Sabbath; and in the 7th and 8th Chapters of clean and unclean Beaſts: Which are ſufficient Intimations that *Moſes* wrote thoſe things, when his Thoughts were full of the Law then newly made. *Deuteronomy* is the laſt, for beſides that it is a Repetition of what we find in the Law, it plainly tells us, that *Moſes* ſpoke thoſe things to the People of *Iſrael* when they were ready to go over *Jordan*. To this we may add, that he there relates whatever happen'd towards the end of his Life; and laſtly, that the Account of his Death is inſerted there, as being his laſt Work.

(k) *Though 'tis commonly believed that this Book was written by* Joſhuah.] Moſt of the Modern Writers are of this Opinion, as was alſo *Iſidore* in the 6th Book of his *Origines*, *Junilius*, and *Dorotheus*, *Vatablus*, *Abulenſis*, *Driedo*, and *Bellarmine* ſay the ſame, as do likewiſe the *Talmudiſts Babatra*, c. 1. This Opinion is chiefly ſupported by theſe Words in the laſt Chapter, Verſ. the 26th, where it is ſaid, that *Joſhuah wrote all theſe things in the Book of the Law of God*. However, this paſſage may have a relation only to what is written in this Chapter, or elſe perhaps *Joſhuah* might have written another Book, of which this was an Abridgment. 'Tis ſaid in *Eccleſiaſticus*, Chap. 46. that *Joſhuah was the Succeſſor of Moſes in Prophecies*; But this does not prove that he wrote any thing. *Theodoret* aſſures us, that the Book of *Joſhuah* is nothing elſe but an Extract out of the *Book of Jaſher*, which is mention'd in the 10th Chapter, Verſe 13.

The Reaſons that are brought to prove that this Book was not written by *Joſhuah*, are generally theſe. In the firſt place, ſay they, it is obſerved there in the 10th Chapter, Verſe 13. that the Book of *Jaſhar*, where the Wars of *Joſhuah* were written, is quoted, therefore the Book of *Joſhuah* is later. 2. We meet there this faſhion of ſpeaking, *Uſque in præſentem diem, unto this day*, frequently repeated: As for inſtance, when it's ſaid in the 4th Chap. Verſe 9. *That the twelve Stones which Joſhuah took out of the midſt of Jordan, continue there unto this day.* And in the 5th Chap. Verſe 9. *The name of the place is called Gilgal, unto this day.* 3. The taking of the City of *Lachiſh* is related Chap. 10. Verſe 35. thô it happen'd not till after the Death of *Joſhuah*, as we may ſee, *Judges*, Chapter 18. Verſe 19. So likewiſe, Chap. 11. Verſ. 14. and the following, there is an account of *Caleb* and his Daughter *Achſah*, which paſſage did not fall out till after the Death of *Joſhuah*, as it is written in the firſt Chapter of the Book of *Judges*. In the ſame Chapter, Verſe 28. there is mention made of the Land of *Cabul*, which received this Name from *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, as we may find it in the 9th Chapter of the firſt Book of *Kings*. Laſtly, in the 9th Chapter, Verſe 23. and the laſt, it is ſaid, *That Joſhuah made the Gibeonites Drawers of Waters and Hewers of Wood in the Houſe of his God*, which is probably to be underſtood of the Temple, that was not built long after the death of *Joſhuah*. Theſe Arguments are not wholly unanſwerable. Firſt, We don't know what manner of Book *the Book of Jaſher* was; 'tis not ſaid that all the Wars of *Joſhuah* were ſet down there, but only the relation of the Sun's ſtanding ſtill. Some think that *Geneſis* is there called the *Book of Jaſher*, where, as they pretend, this memorable Event was foretold. Others believe 'tis the *Pentateuch*; *Grotius* ſays, it was a Song compoſed upon that occaſion. *Huetius* ſuppoſes that it is a Book of Morality. Laſtly, others imagine it to have been a Book of Annals. If this laſt Opinion were the only true one, yet it by no means follows, that *Joſhuah* was not Author of that Book where theſe Annals are quoted. Secondly, Suppoſing that *Joſhuah* wrote this Book towards the end of his Life, as is moſt reaſonable to think he did, when he had occaſion to ſpeak of thoſe things that happen'd at the beginning of his Miniſtry, he might very well make uſe of that Expreſſion, *Uſque in præſentem diem, unto this day*, even as St. *Matthew* himſelf, who wrote a little after the Death of our Bleſſed Saviour, tells us, that the Field *Aceldama* was called, *The Field of Blood unto this day*. Theſe, and the following Objections, may be anſwered, by ſaying, that theſe things have been added ſince, and particularly the taking of the City of *Lachiſh* by the *Danites*: Or at leaſt we may ſay that the City of *Lachiſh*, mentioned in *Joſhuah*, is a different place from *Laiſh* in the Book of *Judges*. The ſecond Objection may be anſwered by ſaying, That whatever is ſaid concerning *Othoniel* and *Achſa* in the Book of *Judges*, is only a Recapitulation of what happened in the time of *Joſhuah*. The Land of *Cabul*, mentioned in *Joſhuah*, is different from that in the Book of *Kings*: *Joſephus* has diſtinguiſhed them; one is a Country, the other a Village. The Houſe of God, mentioned in the Ninth Chapter, may be underſtood well enough of the Tabernacle and Ark, which was in the time of *Joſhuah*.

(l) *Be it as it will, the Book of* Judges *is ancient.*] To prove that this Book was not compoſed till after the Captivity, they commonly inſtance in theſe words in Chap. 18. Verſe 30, 31. *Untill the day of the Captivity of the Land*; and in theſe, *In thoſe days there was no King in Iſrael.* Words, ſay they, which demonſtrate that this Book was written after the Captivity, and in the time when they had Kings in *Iſrael*. But the Captivity ſpoken of in this place, is not that of *Babylon*, but the Captivity that happened in

the time of *Heli*, when the Ark was taken by the *Philiſtines*, and the Idol of *Micah* was deſtroyed, as it is obſerved in this place of the Book of *Judges*. And as for theſe words, *In thoſe days there was no King in Iſrael*, they don't neceſſarily ſuppoſe that there were any when this Author lived, and perhaps they were added by *Ezrah*.

(*m*) *Which has made Men think, that the Books of* Samuel *were written by that Prophet.*] This Opinion is not certain, becauſe Chap. 9. Verſe 9. it is ſaid, That *he that is now called a Prophet, was before-time called a Seer*, which *Samuel* could not ſay. In the fifth Chapter, Verſe the fifth, the Author of this Book, relating the Hiſtory of the taking of the Ark, tells us, that the Prieſts of *Dagon* did not tread upon the Threſhold of *Dagon* unto this day. But this might well enough be ſaid by *Samuel*, becauſe that happen'd when he was young, and he wrote not this Book till towards the end of his Life.

(*n*) *Ezrah ſpeaks there in the firſt Perſon.*] He ſpeaks of himſelf in the firſt Perſon, *Ezrah*, Chap. 7. Verſe 27, and 28. *God hath extended his Mercy towards me before the King, and I* &c. And Chap. 9. Verſe 5. *I fell upon my Knees, and ſpread out my Hands.*

(*o*) *The Conjecture of* Huetius *is not ſo ſtrong as to make us quit the common Opinion.*] He ſays, that the Author of the ſix firſt Chapters was at *Jeruſalem* in the time of *Darius*, as it appears by theſe words in the fifth Chapter, *ad quod reſpondimus eis quæ eſſent nomina.* Now *Ezrah* came not to that City till after *Darius*'s Reign under that of *Artaxerxes*, as is eaſily proved by the beginning of the ſeventh Chapter. But 'tis no hard matter to refute this Conjecture, by obſerving that when *Ezrah* ſaid, *Reſpondimus eis*, he only ſpoke in the Name of the *Jews*; and 'tis an uſual thing with the Hiſtorians of any Nation to cry, We did ſuch or ſuch a thing, although the Hiſtorian had no ſhare in the doing it.

(*p*) *The ſecond Book is conſtantly attributed to* Nehemiah.] He begins thus, *The Words of* Nehemiah; and after the ſame manner, *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and *Timæus*, &c. begin their Works, not to mention the Prophets. The Author of *Eccleſiaſticus* ſpeaks of the Actions of *Nehemiah*, Chap. 40. and the Author of the ſecond Book of the *Maccabees* commends his Writings.

(*q*) *'Tis commonly believed, that* Tobit *and* Tobias *wrote their own Hiſtory.*] This Opinion is principally founded upon the Angels commanding them in the 12th Chapter, Verſe 20. *Narrate omnia mirabilia ejus.* In the *Greek* Interpreter it is γεγράπται, that is, *Write all his wonderful Works.* Secondly, becauſe in the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Editions they ſpeak of themſelves in the firſt Perſon.

(*r*) *The time wherein the Hiſtory of* Judith *happen'd is no leſs uncertain.*] Some ſay this Hiſtory happen'd before the Captivity, and prove it, firſt, becauſe it is ſaid in this Book, that it happen'd a little after the City of *Ecbatana* was built by *Arphaxad* King of the *Medes*. Now that City, according to *Euſebius* and *Herodotus*, was built by *Dejoces*, who lived a long time before the Captivity. Secondly, King *Nebuchadnezzar*, who ſent *Holofernes* into *Judea*, reigned in *Ninive*, which City was deſtroyed before the Captivity of *Babylon*. Thirdly, This *Nebuchadnezzar*, they tell us, is *Saoſduchinus*, Grandſon of *Sennacherib*, and Son of *Aſſaradon* King of the *Babylonians*, who gave the Name of *Nebuchadnezzar* to their King. Fourthly, They ſay that *Eliachim*, or *Joachim*, was High-Prieſt under *Manaſſes*, as we may ſee in the 22d Chapter of *Iſaiah*. Thoſe who are of the contrary Opinion, return the following Anſwers to theſe Conjectures. To the firſt they reply, That *Ecbatana* was ſeveral times rebuilt. To the ſecond, That *Ninive* was reſtored to its ancient Splendor by the Kings of *Perſia*. To the third, That the Name of *Nebuchadnezzar* was common to the Kings of *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*. To the fourth, That *Eliachim*, of whom mention is made in *Iſaiah*, and in the ſecond Book of *Kings*, Chap. 18. was not High-Prieſt. The Reaſons which they alledge for this Opinion are as follows: Firſt, That this Hiſtory happen'd at a time when there were no Kings at *Jeruſalem*, and the High-Prieſts had the whole Authority in their Hands: Now this was not before the Captivity. Secondly, We read that there was one *Eliachim*, or *Joachim*, High-Prieſt after the Captivity. Thirdly, *Achior*, Prince of the *Edomites*, being ask'd by *Holofernes*, Chap. 5. Verſe 3. Who the People of *Iſrael* were? He tells him, That they were lately carried away Captives into a ſtrange Land, but now poſſeſſed the City *Jeruſalem*. *Et plurimi eorum captivy abducti ſunt in terram non ſuam, nuper autem reverſi ad Dominum Deum ſuum, ex diſperſione quâ diſperſi erant adunati ſunt, & aſcenderunt Montana hæc omnia, & iterum poſſident Jeruſalem.* And in the *Greek* it is added, Καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ αὐτῶν ἐνῳκίσθη εἰς ἔδαφος. *Et Templum Dei eorum factum eſt in ſolum.* Words that ſhew, that this paſſage ought to be underſtood of the Captivity, and Deſtruction of the Temple. Laſtly, They add, that it is ſaid in the 16th Chapter that *Judith*, who lived an Hundred and five Years, ſaw no more War in *Iſrael*; and in the 8th Chapter, that when ſhe went to find out *Holofernes*, ſhe was young and beautiful. Hence they ſay it evidently follows, that this Hiſtory did not happen during the Reign of *Manaſſes*, becauſe from the War which *Pharoah Necho* made in the time of King *Joſiah*, it was but Forty five or Forty ſix Years to the Captivity, ſo that by this account ſhe muſt have been Sixty four Years old, when ſhe went to meet *Holofernes*, which is by no means probable. Theſe Reaſons, I confeſs, are not unanſwerable; but however, this Opinion ſeems to me to be moſt agreeable to Truth. The greateſt part of the Proteſtant Criticks, as *Luther*, *Chytræus*, *Beroaldus*, *Scaliger*, and *Grotius*, believe that this Hiſtory is a Fiction, or Allegory, which *Grotius* has very handſomely explained; but this is a raſh Opinion, and ought not to be followed.

(*f*) *The time and Author of the Hiſtory of* Heſter *are ſtill uncertain.*] *Scaliger* aſſures us that it happened under *Xerxes*. Firſt he ſays, that the Name of *Aſſuerus*, in *Greek* Ὀξυάρης, reſembles that of *Xerxes*: That *Xerxes*'s Queen, whoſe Name is *Ameſtris* according to *Herodotus*, is the ſame with *Heſter*: That the Feaſt whereof

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mention is made in this Book, is that which is related by the ſame Hiſtorian, which *Xerxes* made before his Expedition againſt *Greece*, This Opinion is eaſily confuted, becauſe from hence it would follow, that *Heſter* was very old when ſhe was married to *Xerxes*, and that her Uncle *Mordecai* was an Hundred and ſixty years old; for being one of thoſe who were carried away Captives into *Babylon* in the time of King *Jeconiah*, when he was Ten Years old, if we thereto add the Seventy Years of Captivity, and the Years of the Kings of *Perſia* after *Cyrus*, it will by the leaſt Computation make up an Hundred and fifty Years. Secondly, *Ameſtris* was Married to *Xerxes* a long time before his Expedition into *Greece*, as it appears by the joint Teſtimonies of *Herodotus* and *Cteſias*. The Father of *Ameſtris* was *Onophes* a *Perſian*, and no *Jew*. In ſhort, that Queen was ill-natured and cruel. The Opinion of thoſe, who place this Hiſtory under *Artaxerxes*, is confuted by the ſame reaſon that is urged againſt the former; for 'tis preciſely ſaid in the ſecond Chapter, Verſ. 6. that *Mordecai* was of the number of thoſe who were carried away by the King of *Babylon* along with *Jeconiah*. The third Opinion of thoſe, who believe it was *Cyaxares*, is no leſs improbable. For firſt of all, the King who is mentioned in that Book, is called King of the *Perſians*, and not of the *Medes*. Secondly, It is ſaid that he Ruled from *India* to *Æthiopia*; now the *Medes* were never ſo powerful. Thirdly, *Ahaſuerus* commonly reſided in the City of *Suſa*, which as *Solinus*, *Diodorus*, and *Plutarch* teſtifie, was the place of reſidence of the Kings of *Perſia*, and not of the *Median* Kings. Laſtly, it could not happen under *Cyaxerxes* the Father of *Aſtyages*, as the Authors of this Opinion are agreed. As for *Cyaxaris*, who is ſuppoſed to be the Son of *Aſtyages*, he is altogether unknown to *Herodotus*, and other ancient Hiſtorians. None mention him but *Xenophon*, and all the World knows he is no exact Hiſtorian in his *Cyropædia*. So that after all, the Opinion of thoſe who believe that *Ahaſuerus* was the ſame with *Darius* the Son of *Hiſtaſpes*, as it is by far the moſt probable, ſo it carries no difficulty with it. The firſt Reaſon alledged againſt the other Opinions, makes it evident that it could not be any of the *Perſian* Kings after *Darius*; and as for what is ſaid of him in this Book, that he Ruled from *India* to *Æthiopia*, it excludes all the Kings before *Cambyſes*, and at the ſame time excludes *Cambyſes* himſelf, who never conquered *Egypt*, and conſequently belongs to none but *Darius*. It is ſaid there that *Ahaſuerus* reſided in the City of *Suſa*, which agrees very well with *Darius* the Son of *Hiſtaſpes*, becauſe as *Ælian* has obſerved, that King built himſelf a Palace in that City; and beſides *Herodotus* adds, that he kept his Treaſure there. The ſame Hiſtorian tells us, that he paſſionately loved one of his Wives, whom he calls *Artiſſone*, and that he put a Diadem upon her Head. This paſſage ſuits mightily with the Hiſtory of *Heſter*, and the Name too bears ſome Conformity, for *Heſter* is likewiſe called *Hadaſſa*. King *Ahaſuerus* made all the Iſles of the Sea Tributary to him. Now according to *Thucydides*, *Darius* the Son of *Hiſtaſpes* conquered them, as it is alſo obſerved by *Plato* in his *Menexenus*, and after him none of the *Perſian* Kings brought them under their Command. They object, That *Ahaſuerus* was deſcended of the *Perſian* Kings, as it appears in the 16th Chapter, whereas *Darius* was the Son of *Hiſtaſpes*, who was no King. But *Herodotus* aſſures us, that he was of the Royal Family. They likewiſe tell us, that it is witten in the ſame Chapter that *Haman* would have tranſlated the Empire to the *Macedonians*. Now, ſay they, the *Macedonians* were not known till a long while after the time of *Darius*. Some People ſay, that *Haman* was no *Macedonian*, and that in ſtead of Μακεδόνα, we ought to read Ἀμαλήκιτην, becauſe he was of the Race of *Agag*, but this Conjecture is not ſolid. *Anſwer*, The Hiſtory of *Heſter* could not happen after this King, as we have already ſhewn, and the contrary Opinion is very weak. It was Natural for *Haman*, who was a *Macedonian*, to endeavour to Tranſlate the Empire to his own Nation, which was very Famous and Powerful at this time, as *Juſtin* has informed us. Laſtly, they ſay, That *Ahaſuerus* is alſo called *Artaxerxes* in the 16th Chapter; Now there were but three Kings of that Name, *viz.* one Sirnamed *Longimanus*, another *Mnemon*, and the laſt *Ochus*. *Ahaſuerus* therefore was one of theſe three. *Anſwer*, *Artaxerxes* is a Name that might perhaps be given to all the Kings of *Perſia*, as *Cæſar* to all the Roman Emperors.

(*t*) *The greateſt part make* Mordecai *the Author of it.*] It ſeems that *Mordecai* was the Author of this Book, by Chap. 9. Verſ. 20. and 23. and by Chap. 12. Verſ. 4. where it is ſaid, That he wrote down all that happened. In the Septuagint, Chap. 9. *Heſter* is joyned to *Mordecai*, which made *Serrarius*, and ſome others, believe, that *Heſter* and *Mordecai* compoſed it together. Thoſe that pretend it was done by the Synagogue, draw their Conjecture from hence, becauſe the Original and Ceremonies of the Feaſt of the *Jews*, called *Purim*, are there largely deſcribed, upon which occaſion the Book ſeems to have been written.

(*u*) *The Author of the Book, that recounts the Hiſtory of* Job, *is no leſs uncertain.*] Thoſe that attribute it to *Job* ground their Opinion chiefly upon this, that he twice wiſhes in the 19th and 31ſt Chapters, that his Words were written down: But 'tis eaſie to obſerve, that he does not here ſpeak of an ordinary Book, and that 'tis only a Figure, to ſhew how well he was ſatisfied of the Truth of them. *Quis mihi tribuat ut ſcribantur Sermones mei: Quis mei det ut exarentur in libro Stylo ferreo, & plumbi laminâ, vel certè ſculpantur in ſilice?* Thoſe that make *Moſes* the Tranſlator of it, as particularly the Author of one of the Commentaries upon *Job*, commonly aſcribed to *Origen*, does ſay, That he Tranſlated it out of the Arabick or Syriack. The Talmudiſts and Rabbins make *Moſes* the Author of it; and this is likewiſe the Opinion of the Author of the ſecond Commentary upon *Job*, attributed to *Origen*, of *Methodius* in *Photius*, of *Polychronius*, of *Julianus Halicarnaſſeus* in the *Catena*, and of *Nicetas* upon *Job*. St. *Jerome* alſo ſeems to be of the ſame Judgment. The only

Reaſon

Reaſon they alledge to ſupport this Opinion, is the reſemblance of the Style, but for my part, I profeſs I cannot find it out. The Style of the Book of *Job* is Figurative, Poetical, Obſcure, and full of Sentences. One finds there an infinite number of Arabick or Syriack Terms, and 'tis extreamly different from the Style of the *Pentateuch*. *Origen* rejects the Opinion. *Tom.* 5. *in Johannem*, where he formall denies that *Moſes* wrote any other Books beſides the *Pentateuch*. St. *Gregory*, who attributes it to *Salomon*, brings nothing to prove this conjecture of his. Thoſe that aſcribe it to *Jeremiah*, juſtifie themſelves by the Conformity of the Style, and the Syriack Words that occur ſo frequently there. *Codurcus* makes an Edomitiſh Prophet Author of it, but upon very frivolous idle Surmiſes. Some attribute it to the Captive Jews in *Babylon*, without any Foundation, ſo that we can ſay nothing of the Author of this Book, but that he is altogether unknown.

(*x*) *Who ſay that the Hiſtory of* Job *is wholly feigned.*] This is the Opinion of the Talmudiſts, of *Maimonides*, and ſeveral Rabbins; but *Ezekiel*, *ch.* 14. *v.* 14. *Tobit*, *ch.* 2. *v.* 12. and St. *James* in his Epiſtle, ſpeaks of him as a Man that really was. The proper Names of *Job*, of his Friends, of his Country, of the Number of his Children, ſerve to ſhew that it is a true Hiſtory. St. *Cyprian* in his Treatiſe of *Patience*, St. *Jerome* in his Ep. 103, St. *Baſil*, Homily the 4th, St. *Auſtin* in his Sermon 103, and all the Fathers, ſpeak of him after this manner. 'Tis alledged againſt this Opinion, that the proper Names of this Book have Myſtick Significations; That *Job* ſignifies a Man in Grief; *Uz*, Counſel; *Zophar*, one that is Watchful; *Eliphaz*, the Law of God; *Elihu*, God himſelf. To this it is anſwered, That moſt Hebrew Names have ſuch ſort of Significations. All the other Objections only prove, That this Hiſtory is deliver'd Poetically. This is really true in this Hiſtory, that there was a certain great Perſon named *Job*, who was reduced to the extremity of Miſery, by the loſs of his Goods, and his Children, heighten'd by a very ſevere fit of Sickneſs; that he ſupported himſelf under all theſe Afflictions with incredible Patience; and at laſt was reſtored to a proſperous Condition. Upon the occaſion of this remarkable Event, ſome one or other compoſed the Book of *Job*, the Diſcourſes of his Friends, the Anſwers of *Job*, &c.

(*yy*.) *Some Perſons make* Job *to have deſcended from* Nahor *the Brother of* Abraham.) This is the Opinion of *Bellarmine*, who makes him the Grandſon of *Nahor*, and older than *Moſes*. He concludes, that 'tis probable he lived long, and that he lived not in *Moſes*'s time, but he produces no Authorities to back this Opinion. Amongſt the Grand-Children of *Eſau* there is one called *Jobab*, which Name is eaſily formed into that of *Job*. Hence it is, that ſome People believe he was one of the Deſcendants of *Eſau*, and an *Edomite*. This is particularly obſerved in the Greek Addition, which is without queſtion very ancient, ſince *Theodotion* has acknowledged it. *Grotius* believes, that in Chap. 26. Verſ. 12. there is mention made of the Drowning of the *Ægyptians* in the *Red Sea*, but that is not certain. *Caſtellio* aſſures us, that in Chap. 28. Verſ. 28. there is a paſſage taken out of *Deut.* chap. 4. verſ. 56. but theſe two paſſages are different. The firſt is, *Ecce timor Domini ipſa eſt Sapientia.* The ſecond is, *Hæc eſt enim vera Sapientia & Intellectus.* *Grotius* adds, That this Book was written after *David* and *Salomon*, but before *Ezekiel*, pretending, that as it is quoted by that Prophet, ſo there are ſeveral paſſages in it drawn out of the *Pſalms*, and the Books of *Salomon*; but this is not evident, and it ſhould rather ſeem, that *David* and *Salomon* borrowed ſome of their Thoughts out of *Job*, although it is not neceſſary either to lay one or the other.

(*aa*) *'Tis certain, as* St. Jerome *has obſerved, that all the Pſalms were not written by* David.] *St.* Jerome, Epiſt. ad Cypr. *Scimus errare eos qui Pſalmos omnes David arbitrantur, & non eorum, quorum nominibus Inſcripti ſunt.* Epiſt. ad Sophronium. *Pſalmos eorum Teſtamur Autorum, qui ponuntur in titulis; ſcilicet Aſaph, Idithum, filiorum Chore, Emon Eſraitæ, Moſes, Salomonis, & reliquorum quos Eſdras uno volumine comprehendit.* This is alſo the Opinion of *Origen*, of St. *Hilary*, and the Author of the Abridgment attributed to St. *Athanaſius*. St. *Auguſtine* in his Expoſition of the Second *Pſalm* ſeems to be of that opinion: But in his *Book of Hereſies*, *Hereſie the* 26*th*, he takes the other Opinion to be the more probable of the two. *Theodoret* alſo is doubtful in the matter, as he teſtifies in his Preface upon the *Pſalms*. Some others of the Fathers ſeem to have been perſuaded, that they were all compoſed by *David*, as St. *Chryſoſtome*, *Euthymius*, *Caſſiodorus*, and particularly *Philaſtrius*, who in *Hereſie* the 126*th* reckons all thoſe for *Hereticks* that doubt the truth of it. Nevertheleſs it is very certain, that they were not all written by *David*, for in the firſt place, there are ſome of them that bear other names; and ſecondly, ſome paſſages are to be found there, which happened after *David's* death, as in *Pſalm* the 137th, where mention is made of the Captivity of the *Jews* in *Babylon*. One may obſerve the ſame thing in *Pſalm* the 64th and 124th.

(*bb*) *It is difficult to name the Authors of them.*] St. *Jerome* pretends, that theſe *Pſalms* belong to thoſe whoſe names they carry; but this is not certain. 'Tis believed, that the *fifty* next immediately after that carries for its Title *the return of Haggai* and *Zechariah*, were written by thoſe Prophets. The Author of the *Abridgment*, commonly attributed to St. *Athanaſius*, believes, that all the *Pſalms* entituled to *David*, *ipſi David*, are nevertheleſs done by ſome other hand. Our Bleſſed Saviour cites the hundred and tenth, *Dixit Dominus*, which is found to have that Title under the name of *David*, *Matt.* 22. *v.* 42. The hundred and thirty ſeventh *Pſalm* carries the name of *David* and *Jeremiah*, τω Δαβιδ Ιερεμιου, which makes it apparently thus to be underſtood. 'A *Pſalm* of *Jeremiah* compoſed in imitation of *David*. The 64th *Pſalm*, in the Vulgar Tranſlation, bears the name of *Iſaac* and of *Ezekiel*; the 70th that of the Sons of *Jonadab*

[*I believe it ſhould be* 5 *inſtead of* 50, *becauſe the* 146*th Pſalm has this Title in the* LXX, of Haggai and Zechariah.

dah, and the chief Captives. The *Jews* make *Salomon* the Author of the 92d, and of several others. *Origen* says, that the 90th was composed by *Moses*, whose name it bears; and the *Jews* tells us, he made it upon the occasion of a Sedition that happened amongst the Children of *Israel*, upon the return of those that were sent to discover the Land of Promise. St. *Jerome* is of the same opinion. The ten following *Psalms* are also attributed to *Moses*, not only by the *Jews*, but even by St. *Hillary* and *Jerome*. This cannot possibly hold true of the 99th, where mention is made of *Samuel*. Some of the Rabbies attribute the 92d, to *Adam*, as the *Talmudists* do some to several of the ancient Patriarchs. There is a *Greek Psalm*, which is not of the number of the 150 attributed to *David*, but written by some *Hellenist* who has borrowed it out of *David*, *Isaiah*, and *Ezekiel*.

(*cc*) *They have been cited as Books inspired by God both in the Old and New Testament.*] The 105th, the 96th, and the 136th *Psalms* are to be found in the 16th Chapter of the First Book of *Chronicles*, and in the 7th of the Second Book it is said, that the Priests did sing the *Psalms* which *David* had composed for the Lord, singing, *For his mercy endureth for ever*. This is the 136th *Psalm*, which is yet to be found quoted in Chapters 5, and 20, of the same Book, in the 3d of *Ezrah*, in the 13th of *Judith*, in the 33d of *Jeremiah*, and the 3d of *Daniel*, [according to their Computation, who esteem the Song of the Three Children to be part of the Canonical Scripture.] In *Ecclesiasticus*, Ch. 47. v. 9. it is said that *David* praised God with all his Heart, and set Singers before the Altar, *In quorum sono dulces fecit modos*. I have not leisure to speak of those many passages in the Prophets which allude to several places in the *Psalms*. In the Second of *Maccabees*, *Ch.* 2. *v.* 13. there is mention made of the Psalms of *David*; St. *Matthew*, *Ch.* 13. *v.* 35. and 27. *v.* 35. recites the Prophecies about our Blessed Saviour, contained in the *Psalms*. Jesus Christ himself cites the Psalm *Dixit Dominus*, *&c.* under the name of *David*; and in *St. Luke*, *Ch.* 24. it is said, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the Law of *Moses*, and in the Prophets, and in the *Psalms* concerning him: The *Acts*, and the *Epistles of the Apostles*, are full of Citations out of the *Psalms*.

(*dd*) Grotius *has pretended upon slight conjectures it was composed by* Zorobabel.] This Opinion is not supported by any solid Reason. He says, that the Shepherd mentioned towards the end of the last Chapter is *Zorobabel*, and his Son *Abiud*, but he brings no Proofs to recommend this Opinion. They commonly object when they would prove that this Book was not written by *Salomon*, that there are abundance of *Chaldee* words to be found in it, that are only to be met in *Daniel*, *Ezrah*, *&c.* but perhaps these words might be in fashion amongst the *Jews* towards the end of *Salomon*'s Reign, or it may be they were added since. One might also object this passage of *Ch.* 2. *v.* 8. *Os regis observa*, which makes it credible that it is not a King that speaks; but we ought to read *observa*, as it is in the *Septuagint*. [It looks also a little strange that *Salomon* should so often say, that he did so or so, *above all that were before him in Jerusalem* (*Eccles.* 1. 16. 2. 7. 9.) since his Father *David* was the first King that ever Reigned in *Jerusalem*.]

(*ee*) *This Book of Wisdom is commonly attributed to* Salomon.] This is St. *Cyprian*'s Opinion in his Book of Morality, of St. *Augustine* in his second Book of the Christian Doctrine, *Ch.* 8. The ancient Versions, the Rabbins, *Origen*, St. *Chrysostome*, St. *Clement* of *Alexandria*, St. *Cyprian* have likewise attributed it to *Salomon*. The most ancient Fathers call the *Proverbs*, *The Wisdom of* Salomon.

(*ff*.) St. Jerome *says, he saw in his time an Hebrew Copy*.] *Munster* and *Fagius* still make mention of an *Hebrew* Copy of this Book: *Buxtorf* tells us, he saw one that was Printed at *Constantinople*, but 'tis probable that that Text was made upon the *Greek*.

(*gg*) *Some of the Ancients have attributed this Work to* Salomon.] St. *Cyprian* and St. *Ambrose* have cited it under his name. St. *Hilary* testifies, that several Persons in his time attributed it to him. This Opinion is impossible to be maintained, not only because we know who is the Author, but also because in *Ch.* 47. there is mention made of the Prophets that lived after *Salomon*. *Eusebius*, St *Jerome*, the Author of the Abridgment attributed to *Athanasius*. St. *Epiphanius*, St. *Chrysostom*, St. *Austin*, *Cæsarius* of *Arles*, and many others, have acknowledged the true Author of it, who was Jesus the Son of *Syrach*. St. *Jerome* says, he lived under the High Priest *Simon* the Son of *Onias* the Second, and that he wrote this Book after the Version of the *Septuagint*, or at least, that he lived in their time: And first he proves it by the Preface of his Grandson, who says he collected these Books of his Grandfather in the time of *Ptolomy Euergetes*, who immediately succeeded *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. Secondly, because he commends the High Priest *Simon* the Just, Son of *Onias* the First, *Ch.* 50. and afterwards the Translator praises *Jesus* the Son of *Sirach*, as one that lived in the time of that High Priest. Thirdly, because, *Ch.* 2. he seems to speak of the Persecution, which the *Jews* suffered under *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*, and in the first year of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. *Huetius* believes, that *Joseph* the Son of *Syrach* is the same with a certain *Jew* named *Ben Sira*, who has written the *Proverbs* in *Hebrew*, but this Opinion does not appear to be well grounded.

(*hh*) *The Son of one* Amos, *whom we must not confound with the Prophet that bears this name.*] The name of the Prophet is *Amos*, and that of the Father of *Isaiah*, is *Amots*. The first was a Shepherd, the second was of Royal Extraction. The first lived in the time of *Uzziah* King of *Judah*, the later is more ancient. St. *Jerome in Ch.* 1. *Isaiæ*, St. *Austin* in the 18th Book *De Civitate Dei*, *Ch.* 27. St. *Cyril* in his Preface upon *Amos*, and others, have distinguished between these two. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *l.* 1. *Strom.* the Author *of the Life and Death of the Prophets*, attributed to St. *Epiphanius*, and the Rabbins, have confounded them. St. *Jerome* tells us, that the Father of *Isaiah* was Father-in-law to *Manasses*.

(*ii*) *By whose Command, they say, he was cruelly put to death, and sawn asunder with a Wooden Saw.*] This is a common Tradition amongst the *Jews*, and is confirmed by the Testimonies of *Tertullian*. St. *Jerome*, and St. *Basil*.

(*kk*) *The*

(*kk*) *The Conjectures they bring to prove it are very frivolous.*] They ſay, that the Prophecy of *Iſaiah* does not begin before the 6th Chapter, when, after he has ſaid that he held his Tongue, he ſays, *I heard a voice of the Lord, ſaying, whom ſhall I ſend?* In the ſecond place they pretend, that what he ſays in the firſt Chapter concerning the deſolation of *Judah*, does not at all agree with the Reign of *Uzziah*, and therefore 'tis not the beginning of his Prophecy. Thirdly, we don't find, ſay they, in this Book, the Life and Actions of *Uzziah* that were written by *Iſaiah*, as we are informed in the *Chronicles*. Fourthly, *Iſaiah* propheſied alſo under *Manaſſes*, but there are no Prophecies under his Name, that have any Relation to the Reign of that King. Fifthly, the order of things frequently reverſed as well in *Iſaiah*, as in the other Prophets. *Anſwer.* To the firſt Objection we return this anſwer, That the Prophet does not ſay, he had as yet wrote nothing, but only that he tarried a long time without writing, and at laſt God commanded him to write. 'Tis believed, he wrote this in the laſt year of King *Uzziah*. To the ſecond we reply, That he might foretel a future deſolation, even at a time before it happened. Tis an eaſie matter to anſwer the Third, by ſaying, that the Book of the Actions of *Uzziah* mentioned in the *Chronicles*, is different from that of his Prophecies. In order to anſwer the fourth, it ſufficeth to obſerve, that it is no where ſaid, that *Iſaiah* wrote thoſe things which he propheſied under *Manaſſes*. Laſtly, as for the fifth, we ſay, that we ought not to expect a continued Hiſtorical ſtyle from the Prophets. On the contrary, their Prophecies are generally written without connexion and order. There was formerly another Prophecy of *Jeremiah* mentioned by *Origen*, where theſe words were to be found, *Appenderunt mercedem meam, &c*, The *Nazarens* made uſe of it, as St. *Jerome* teſtifies *in cap.* Matth. 27.

(*ll*) *We don't certainly know at what time.*] Some are of Opinion, that *Baruch* went not to *Babylon* till after the death of his Maſter *Jeremiah*, to whom he was too far engaged ever to quit him, and they confirm this Opinion by the 2d Verſe, where mention is made of the burning of *Jeruſalem*. Others ſay, he wrote his Book before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, becauſe he there ſpeaks of Sacrifices and Conſecrated Veſſels, which makes them believe, that he was one of thoſe that were deputed in the fourth year of *Zedekiah*, of whom *Saraiah* the Brother of *Baruch* was chief. They affirm therefore, that having carried the Book of *Iſaiah* thither, he compoſed his Prophecy the year following to comfort the Captives, and that the fifth year after the taking of *Jeruſalem*, which is mentioned in the ſecond Verſe, ought to be computed from the Captivity of *Jechoniah*.

(*mm*) *Which ſeems to be confirmed by a certain paſſage in his Book.*] In the firſt Chapter, *verſe* 3. *Et ait rex Aſphenes præpoſito Eunuchorum ... fuerunt ergo inter eos Daniel*, &c. *Origen* and *St. Jerome* are of this Opinion. The Author of the *Life and Death of the Prophets* attributed to St. *Epiphanius*, and the falſe *Dorotheus*, are of the contrary opinion.

(*nn*) *The truth and antiquity of the two laſt Chapters, that contain the Hiſtory of* Suſanna *and of* Bel, *are mightily doubted.*] *Africanus*, *Euſebius*, and *Apollinarius*, reject both theſe Stories as fabulous, and maintain, they were not written by *Daniel*, but that they make a part of the Prophecy of *Habakkuk*. St. *Jerome* ſeems to be of this opinion in his Preface upon *Daniel*. *Origen* has defended the truth of this Hiſtory, without being willing to affirm that it was Canonical. The Author of the Book of *the Wonderful things in Scripture* attributed to St. *Auſtin*, *Tom.* 3. *lib.* 2. *chap.* 32. does not mention the Hiſtory of *Suſanna*, and rejects that of *Bel*. *Theodoret* in his Comments upon *Daniel* ſpeaks not a word of theſe Hiſtories. *Nicephorus* places the Hiſtory of *Suſanna* amongſt the *Apochryphal* Books. The Action of *Suſanna* is related and commended by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *l.* 4. *Strom.* by *Tertullian*, *libr. de Corona*, *c.* 4. by St. *Cyprian*, *Ep.* 4. by St. *Auſtin* in his 18th Sermon, and in ſeveral other places; by St. *Baſil*, *lib.* 3. *de Spir. ſancto. cap.* 7. by St. *Ambroſe*, *lib.* 2. *de Spir. Sancto*; by St. *Chryſoſtome* in an Homily which is in *Tom.* 5. by *Gregory Nazienzene* in his 29th Oration; by *Avitus* in his Epiſtle to his Siſter; by St. *Fulgentius* in his Anſwers to *Ferrandus*; and by *Bede*. The Author of the *Abridgment* attributed to S. *Athanaſius*, and *Ruffinus*, ſeem to own it for a Canonical Book, as well as St. *Ambroſe*, and *Sulpitius Severus*. The Objections that are urged againſt this Hiſtory are theſe. In the firſt place they tell us, that the Hiſtory of *Suſanna* could not happen when *Daniel* was a youth, as he is called in that Story. For in the 13th *Chapter*, *Verſe* 65. it is obſerved, that *Aſtyages* was dead, and *Cyrus* reigned in his place. Now *Daniel* was then well in years. *Anſwer.* This Hiſtory happened a long time before, and as for the above-mentioned paſſage it is put out of its place. For in the ancient Verſions it is placed at the beginning of the Book of *Daniel*, and 'tis therefore ſet at the end of it in the Vulgar Edition, becauſe it is not to be found in the *Hebrew* Text. Wherefore theſe words of the 13th *Chapter*, *verſe* 65. *And King* Aſtyages *was gathered to his Fathers*, do not at all concern the Hiſtory of *Suſanna*, but that of *Bel*, which immediately follows, and accordingly in the Edition of *Sixtus Quintus* it is joyned to it.

Africanus objects, that it is not credible that *Joachim* the Husband of *Suſanna* was ſo rich and powerful in the Captivity, as he is ſaid to be in that Book; nor that the Captive *Jews* had authority to condemn their own Criminals. To this *Origen* anſwers, That the *Jews* that were carried away Captives into *Babylon* were not plundered, but that they were both rich and powerful, and that there is a great deal of reaſon to believe they had authority to judge and condemn their Malefactors by their own Laws, as they had afterwards, when they were conquered by the *Romans*. In the ſecond place, *Africanus* raiſes an Objection about an alluſion that is to be found in this Hiſtory, where *Daniel* is introduced diſcourſing to the Elders in certain words, that allude to the *Greek* names of the Trees, under which they found *Suſanna* committing wickedneſs. For the firſt of them having ſaid, that it was under a Maſtick Tree, in *Greek* σχινος, he anſwer'd him, that an Angel ſhould cut him in two, becauſe the word

σχιζειν

πρίειν signifies in *Greek* to cut asunder; and the other having said, that it was under a Holm-Oak πρίνῳ, he makes use of the word πρίζειν which allusions, says *Africanus*, makes it appear, that it was a *Greek* that wrote these things. On the other hand *Origen* answers, that *Daniel* never made use of these terms, or names of Trees, but of some other *Hebrew* or *Chaldee* word, to which the Verb that signifies to *cut asunder*, answered, and that the *Greek* Interpreter endeavoured to render this sense by finding out some names of Trees, which alluded to those *Greek* Verbs that signifie to *cut asunder*: And thus in *Genesis*, when it is said in the *Hebrew*, that a Woman is called *Isha*, the feminine of the word *Ish* that signifies a Man, the *Latin* Translation has render'd it *hæc vocabitur virgo*, and in the *Greek*, *Symmachus* has translated it ἀνδρὶς, which is a better word than γύνη that the Septuagint have used.

'Tis commonly objected against the History of *Bel*, that the ancient Title in the Septuagint attributes it to *Habakkuk*, and that the *Daniel* mentioned in that History was a Priest; 'tis therefore another *Daniel* to whom all this happened. *Answer.* St. *Jerome* observes, that the *Greek* Interpreter of *Daniel*, whose Version goes under the name of the *Septuagint*, has allowed himself a great deal of liberty. Secondly, 'tis said, that *Habakkuk*, who lived in the time of *Manasses*, was dead about that time. Likewise 'tis replied by way of answer, that we ought to distinguish between the two *Habakkuks*, one that was a Prophet and lived in the time of *Manasses*, and the other who is spoken of in this place of *Daniel*, the last was of the Tribe of *Levi*, the former of *Simeon*. Lastly, they tell us, that in the History of *Bel* and the *Dragon* it is said, that *Daniel* was six days in the Lions Den, whereas in the sixth Chapter, *v.* 19. we are told that he continued there but one Night. But to this they answer, that *Daniel* was twice cast into the Lions Den, under *Darius*, because he prayed to his God contrary to the express command of that King, and under *Cyrus* upon occasion of the Dragon. The Prophecy of *Daniel* is quoted by *Ezechiel*, *ch.* 14. *v.* 14. in the first Book of the *Maccabees*, *ch.* 2. *v.* 59. and 60. *Matth.* 24. *v.* 15.

(*oo*) Hosea *the Son of* Beeri *is the first.*] 'Tis believed, that he is the most ancient not only of the twelve Minor, but also of all the Prophets. The false *Epiphanius*, and false *Dorotheus* report, that he was of the Tribe of *Issachar*, and the City of *Balenor*, but these two are not very credible Authors.

(*pp*) *The Prophet* Joel *follows* Hosea.] This order is observed in the *Hebrew* Text, but the *Greeks* place *Amos* and *Micah* between them.

(*qq*) *'Tis not certainly known at what time* Joel *prophesied.*] *Huetius* pretends, that he prophesied after the Captivity of the ten Tribes, because it is said, *chap.* 3. *v.* 2. *that they have scattered the People of* Israel *amongst the Nations.* But why might not he speak of a future thing, as if it were already done? He likewise says, that there is not a word spoken of the Kingdom of *Israel* in the whole Prophecy, but this is not certain. Those Persons that say he prophesied before *Amos* ground themselves principally upon his prediction of a Famine towards the end of the first Chapter, whereof *Amos* speaks as of a thing already past in the 4th Chapter of his Prophecy. But *Huetius* thinks, that these are two several Famines, that the Famine mentioned in *Amos* happened naturally, whereas the other, which *Joel* foretold, was to be occasioned by the incursions of Enemies.

(*rr*) *The time of* Obadiah *is uncertain.*] 'Tis not probable, that this Prophet was he, of whom mention is made in the Book of *Kings*, for he is only called there *one that feared God.* 'Tis more probable, that he lived in the time of *Ahaz*, when the *Edomites*, in conjunction with the *Israelites*, made War upon the Tribe of *Judah*, because he perpetually declaims against the *Edomites*.

(*ss*) Jonah *the Son of the Prophet* Amittai.] The *Hebrews* say, he was the Widows Son of *Sarepta*, but this is only a groundless fancy.

(*tt*) *He that was the Son of* Histaspes.] This is the opinion of *Josephus*, of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, of St. *Jerome* and *Theodoret*. *Scaliger* thinks, that it was *Darius Nothus*, because there is mention made here of *Ahasuerus* and *Artaxerxes* his Predecessors, whom he takes to be *Xerxes* and *Longimanus*; but it is an easie matter to answer him, by saying, that these names are given in Scripture, without any discrimination, to all the Kings of *Persia*; and that by them we may understand *Cyrus* and *Cambyses* the Predecessors of *Darius* the Son of *Histaspes*, or *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*, or, if we please, *Cambyses* himself, to whom the Scripture gives two Names. *Scaliger*'s others Argument is stronger; he says that *Zechariah* and *Haggai* Prophesied at the same time. And *Zechariah* in the first Chapter, vers. 12. and in the 17, vers. 5. testifies, That when he wrote, the People of *Israel* had been Threescore and Ten years in Affliction, and that God was Angry with them. Now the Second year of *Darius*, the Son of *Histaspes*, is not the 70th year of the Captivity. To this it is answered, That the Prophet *Zechariah* does not say, that it was 70 years since the Children of *Israel* were in Captivity; neither that they were then in Captivity, but he only says in general Terms, that they had been in Affliction, and that God had poured down his Indignation upon them for the space of Threescore and Ten years, which ought to be understood of the 70 years of the Captivity, although it was already past. The Hebrew and Greek Phrase in this passage no more denotes the present time, than the past. One undeniable Argument to prove, that *Haggai* wrote in the time of *Darius*, the Son of *Histaspes*, is this, that speaking of the second Temple, in ch. 2. ver. 3. he says, *Who is left amongst you that saw this House in her first Glory? Quis in vobis est derelictus, qui vidit Domum istam in Gloriâ suâ Primâ?* Now if this had been Written under *Darius Nothus*, these Persons ought to have been 176 years old, or thereabout; and it wou'd follow, that *Ezrah* was 100 years old, *Zorobabel* and *Joshua* 140, for so great a space of time there is from the first year of *Cyrus* down to the time of *Darius Nothus*.

(*uu*) *Grandson of* Iddo.] He is called in *Ezrah* the Son of *Iddo*; in the Septuagint; and St. *Jerome*'s Version, the Son of *Barachiah*, the Son of *Iddo*. St. *Jerome* is of Opinion, that he was the Natural Son of *Barachiah*, and the Son of *Iddo* by

Imitation; Others ſay he was the Son of the latter, according to the Law, but 'tis far more probable that he was his Grandſon, as it is obſerved in our vulgar Tranſlation. St. *Jerome* is miſtaken in confounding this *Iddo* with him, that was ſent to *Jeruſalem* in the time of *Jeroboam*, ſince there were 240 years from *Jeroboam* to *Darius*, a time too long to allow between Grandfather and Grandſon.

(*xx*) *He is different from* Zechariah, *mentioned by* Iſaiah.] By Chronology it appears, that this was not the Prophet, no more than he who is mentioned in the *Chronicles*, and died in the time of *Joaſh*. The Firſt was the Son of *Barachiah*, the Second of *Jehoiada*. That which has occaſioned this difficulty, is the ſaying of our Saviour, in St. *Matthew*, chap. 25. *That* Zechariah *the Son of* Barachiah *was Slain between the Temple and the Altar*; which agrees with what is related in the *Chronicles*, with *Zechariah* the Son of *Jehoiada*; and this introduced St. *Jerome* to believe that our Bleſſed Saviour ſpoke of him, and that we ought to Read, as we find it in the Goſpel of the *Nazarens*, the Son of *Jehoiada*, and not of *Barachiah*. *Origen* on the contrary, and ſeveral others, underſtand this place of the Prophet, who, they ſay, was Slain after the ſame manner. They have this Text of the Goſpel on their ſide; and beſides our Saviour ſpeaks of a Prophet, which cannot be underſtood of the Son of *Jehoiada*.

(*yy*) Malachi, *whoſe Name in the Hebrew, ſignifies*, My Angel.] And this has made *Origen* and *Tertullian* believe, that he was an Angel Incarnate. He is called *an Angel* by the greateſt part of the Fathers, and in the Verſion of the Septuagint, but he was *Angel* by *Office* and not by *Nature*, as he himſelf calls the Prieſts *Angels*. Some Perſons, as *Jonathan* the Chaldee Paraphraſt, St. *Jerome*, and ſeveral Jews believed, that it was an Appellative Name which *Ezrah* aſſumed, and that he was Author of this Book, but this Opinion is eſtabliſhed upon very weak Conjectures; and beſides, *Ezrah* is no where in Scripture called a Prophet. St. *Jerome* proves his Opinion in this firſt place, becauſe *Malachi* and *Ezrah* lived at the ſame time; Secondly, Becauſe what is in *Malachi* is very like what we find in *Ezrah*; And laſtly, Becauſe in chap. 2. verſ. 7. he ſeems to point at *Ezrah* by theſe Words, *Verba Sacerdotis cuſtodiunt Scientiam, &c.* But theſe Conjectures are light and frivolous. For the firſt only proves that *Malachi* and *Ezrah* lived at the ſame time, not that they were one and the ſame: The ſecond is not true, and if it were, it would prove juſt nothing. The Words quoted in the third ought to be underſtood of *Levi*, and all the Prieſts of the Law. He adds, that in *Eccleſiaſticus*, chap. 49. where mention is made of all the Prophets, the Name of *Malachi* is not to be found. To this it is anſwered, That we ought not to be ſurprized, becauſe he is not Named there, ſince in the ſame place there is no mention made of *Daniel*, and ſeveral others.

(*zz*) *The difference of the Style, of the Chronology, and of the Hiſtory make it appear.*] The firſt Book of *Maccabees* was written by an Hebrew, the ſecond by a Greek; the ſecond begins the Hiſtory a great deal higher than the firſt. One follows the Jewiſh Account, the other that of *Alexandria*, which begins Six Months after. Some Perſons attribute the firſt to *Joſephus*, others to *Philo*, others to the Synagogue, and others to the *Maccabees*. The Phraſe of the firſt is Jewiſh; and St. *Jerome* tells us, he had the Hebrew Copy of it. It was Intituled, *The Scepter of the Rebels againſt the Lord*, or rather, *The Scepter of the Prince of the Children of God*. The ſecond was Written by *Jaſon*, as it is obſerved in the Preface. *Huetius* believes, that the third and fourth Chapter, as well as the two laſt, don't belong to *Jaſon*, becauſe it is ſaid in chap. 2. verſ. 20. that he wrote down all that paſſed under *Antiochus* and *Eupator*, but then the remainder, which is the end and the beginning of that Hiſtory, ought to be underſtood.

(*aaa*) *From a Sentence in* Exodus.] This Sentence is in Hebrew, *Mi Camacha Be Elim Jehovah*: *Who is like to the Lord amongſt the Powers?* Now taking the firſt Letters of each Word we make *Maccabee*: Others give a different Etymology of this Name, but this is the moſt probable.

SECT. II.

The Canon of the Books of the Old Teſtament, of Books Doubtful, Apocryphal, and Loſt, that belonged to the Old Teſtament.

WE call the Books of the Bible Canonical Books, becauſe they are received into the Canon, or the Catalogue of Books, that we look upon as Sacred (*a*). Oppoſite to theſe are thoſe Books, we uſually call Apocryphal (*b*), which are not acknowledged as Divine, but rejected as ſpurious. The firſt Canon or Catalogue of the Holy Books was made by the Jews; 'tis certain they had one, but 'tis not ſo certainly known who it was that made it. Some Perſons reckon upon three of them, made at different times by the Sanedrim, or the great Synagogue of the Jews (*c*); But 'tis a great deal more probable, that they never had more than one Canon (*d*), or one Collection of the Holy Books of the Old Teſtament, that was made by *Ezrah* after the rebuilding of *Jeruſalem*, and was afterwards approved

proved and received by the whole Nation of the Jews, as containing all the Holy Books. *Joſephus*, ſpeaking of this buſineſs, in his firſt Book againſt *Appion*, ſays; 'There is nothing in the World that 'can boaſt of a higher degree of certainty, than the Writings Authorized amongſt us, for they are not 'ſubject to the leaſt Contrariety, becauſe we only receive and approve of thoſe Prophets, who wrote 'them many years ago, according to the pure Truth, by the Inſpiration of the Spirit of God. We 'are not therefore allowed to ſee great numbers of Books that contradict one another. We have 'only Twenty two that comprehend every thing of moment that has happen'd to our Nation, from 'the beginning of the World till now, and thoſe we are obliged firmly to believe. Five of them 'are Written by *Moſes*, that give a faithful Relation of all Events, even to his own Death, for about 'the ſpace of Three Thouſand years; and contain the Genealogy of the Deſcendants of *Adam*. The 'Prophets that ſucceeded this admirable Legiſlator, in Thirteen other Books, have Written all the 'memorable Paſſages that fell out, from his Death until the Reign of *Artaxerxes*, the Son of *Xerxes*, 'King of the *Perſians*. The other Four Books contain Hymns, and Songs, compoſed in the Praiſe 'of God, with abundance of Precepts, and Moral Inſtructions, for the regulating of our Manners. 'We have alſo every thing Recorded that has happen'd ſince *Artaxerxes* down to our own Times; 'but becauſe we have not had, as heretofore, a Succeſſion of Prophets, therefore we don't receive 'them with the ſame Belief as we do the Sacred Books, concerning which I have diſcourſed already: 'and for which we preſerve ſo great a Veneration, that no One ever had the boldneſs to take away, 'or add, or change, the moſt inconſiderable thing in them. We conſider them as Sacred Books, and 'ſo we call them; we make ſolemn Profeſſion inviolably to obſerve what they Command us, and to 'die with Joy if there be occaſion, thereby to preſerve them. *Origen*, St. *Jerome*, the Author of the Abridgment attributed to St. *Athanaſius*, St. *Epiphanius*, and ſeveral other Chriſtian Writers do teſtifie, that the Jews received but Twenty two Books into the Canon of their Holy Volumes. The Diviſion that St. *Jerome* has made of them, who diſtributes them into three Claſſes, is as follows. The firſt comprehends the Five Books of *Moſes*, which is called, The Law; The ſecond contains thoſe Books that he calls the Books of the Prophets, which are nine in number; namely, the Book of *Joſhuah*, the Book of *Judges*, to which, ſays St. *Jerome*, they uſe to joyn the Book of *Ruth*; the Book of *Samuel*, which we call the firſt and ſecond Book of *Kings*; the Book of *Kings*, which contain the two laſt. Theſe Books are followed by Three great Prophets, *viz. Iſaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and *Ezekiel*, which are three different Books, and by the twelve Minor Prophets, which make up but one Book. The third Claſs comprehends thoſe Books that are uſually called, the *Hagiographa*, or *Holy Scriptures*; the firſt of which is the Book of *Job*; the ſecond the *Pſalms* of *David*; the three following are the Books of *Salomon*, which are, the *Proverbs*, *Eccleſiaſtes*, and the *Canticles*; the ſixth is *Daniel*, the ſeventh the *Chronicles*, the eighth *Ezrah*, which is divided into two Books by the Greeks and Latins, and the laſt is the Book of *Eſther*. 'Thus, *ſays St.* Jerome, all the Books of the Old Teſtament 'amongſt the Jews, juſt make up the number of Twenty two, five whereof were Written by *Moſes*, 'eight by the Prophets, and nine are the Hagiographa. Some Perſons make them Twenty four in 'number, by ſeparating *Ruth*, and the *Lamentations* of the Prophet *Jeremy*, and placing them amongſt 'the Hagiographa. This Prologue to the Bible, *continues he*, may ſerve as a Preface to all thoſe Books, 'that we have Tranſlated out of the Hebrew; and we ought to underſtand, that whatſoever Book 'is not to be found in this number is Aprocryphal. From hence it follows, that the Book of *Wiſdom*, 'commonly attributed to *Salomon*, the *Eccleſiaſticus* of *Jeſus* the Son of *Syrach*, *Judith*, *Tobit*, and the 'Paſtor, don't belong to the Canon no more than the two Books of *Maccabees* do; one of which was 'originally Written in Hebrew, and the other in Greek, as the ſtyle ſufficiently ſhews. Thus we ſee how St. *Jerome* has clearly explained the Canon of the Scriptures, as they are received by the Jews; yet we have reaſon to doubt, whether he has been very exact in this Catalogue, ſince in ſome particulars it does not agree with *Joſephus*. For although they are agreed about the number of the Books, yet they notoriouſly differ in the manner of diſtributing them. *Joſephus* places all the Hiſtorical Books, to the number of Thirteen, amongſt the Prophets, adding to St. *Jerome*'s nine, *Daniel*, the *Chronicles*, *Ezrah*, and *Job*. And conſequently he ſets only thoſe in the third rank that are purely Moral Treatiſes, as the Pſalms of *David*, and the Three Books of *Salomon*. But beſides this difference, we may probably ſuppoſe, that *Joſephus* has not reckon'd the Book of *Eſther* in the number of the Canonical Books. For he is opinion, that they were all written before the Reign of *Artaxerxes*, but as for the Hiſtory of *Eſther*, he believed it fell under the Reign of that King, as we may ſee in his Antiquities.

'Tis therefore very likely, that he never conſidered that Book as Canonical, but that to make up the number of the 13 Books of the Prophets, he reckoned the Book of *Ruth* ſeparately from that of the *Kings*. 'Tis in purſuance of this Canon, that *Melito*, and the Author of the *Abridgment of the Scriptures*, attributed to St. *Athanaſius*, reject the Book of *Eſther*, and ſeparate the Book of *Ruth* from that of the *Kings*. Some Perſons pretend, that he has not owned the Book of *Job*, becauſe he makes no mention of that Hiſtory, but we ought not to wonder, that he paſſes it by, ſince it has no relation to the Nation of the Jews, and he only deſigned to ſpeak of them in his Antiquities. Others imagine, that he acknowledged *Eccleſiaſticus* for a Canonical Book, becauſe he has cited a paſſage out of it in his ſecond Book againſt *Appion*. But it is viſible, as *Pithœus* has remarked, that this Citation, which is not to be found in the ancient Verſion of *Ruffinus*, has been ſince inſerted into the Text of *Joſephus* (*e*).

The ancient Chriſtians have followed the Jewiſh Canon in the Books of the Old Teſtament. There are none quoted in the New Teſtament (*f*), but thoſe that were received into the Canon of the Jews, and the greateſt part of theſe (*g*) are frequently cited there. The firſt Catalogues of the Canonical

Books made by the Eccleſiaſtick Greek and Latin Authors, comprehend no more, but at the ſame time we ought to affirm, that even thoſe Books, that have been ſince added to the Canon, have been often quoted by the Ancients, and indeed ſometimes under the Name of Scripture.

The firſt Catalogue, we find of the Books of Scripture amongſt the Chriſtians, is that of *Melito* Biſhop of *Sardis*, ſet down by *Euſebius* in the 4th Book of his Hiſtory, *chap.* 26. It is entirely conformable to that of the *Jews*, and contains but twenty two Books, in which number *Eſther* is not reckon'd, and the Book of *Ruth* is diſtinguiſhed from that of the *Judges*. *Origen* alſo in a certain paſſage drawn out of the Expoſition of the Firſt *Pſalm*, and produced by *Euſebius* in his 6th Book, *chap.* 25. reckons twenty two Books of the Old Teſtament, but he places the Book of *Eſther* in this number, and joyns the Book of *Ruth* with that of *Judges*. The Council of *Laodicea*, which was the firſt Synod that determined the number of the Canonical Books, St. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* in his fourth Catechetick Lecture, St. *Hilary* in his Preface to the *Pſalms*, the laſt Canon falſly aſcribed to the *Apoſtles*, *Amphilochius* cited by *Balſamon*, *Anaſtaſius Sinaita* upon the *Hexameron*, *lib.* 7. Saint *John Damaſcene* in his fourth Book of *Orthodox Faith*, the Author of the *Abridgment of Scripture*, and of the *Feſtival Letter*, attributed to St. *Athanaſius*, the Author of the Book *of the Hierarchy*, attributed to St. *Dionyſius*, and the *Nicephori*, follow the Catalogue of *Melito*. *Gregory Nazianzen* is of the ſame opinion in his Thirty third Poem, where he diſtributes the Books of Scripture into the three Claſſes, *viz.* Hiſtorical, Poetical, and Prophetical (*h*). He reckons up twelve Hiſtorical Books, namely, the five Books of *Moſes*, *Joſhuah*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, the two Books of *Kings*, the *Chronicles*, and *Ezrah*; The five Poetical Books are *Job*, *David*, and the three Books of *Salomon*; and there are likewiſe five Prophetical Books, *viz.* the four Great, and the twelve Minor Prophets. *Leontius* in his Book of Sects follows this Catalogue and Diſtribution, only he reckons the Book of *Pſalms* by it ſelf. St. *Epiphanius*, in his *Eigth Hereſie*, counts Twenty ſeven Canonical Books of the Old Teſtament; nevertheleſs, he adds nothing to *Origen*'s Canon, but he ſeparates the Book of *Ruth* from that of *Judges*, and divides into two the Book of *Kings*, the *Chronicles*, and the Book of *Ezrah*. Several of the Latines reckon twenty four Books, whether it be that they add *Judith* and *Tobit*, as Saint *Hilary* has obſerved of ſome in his time, or whether they ſeparate *Ruth*, and the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*, as St. *Jerome* has obſerved. *Victorinus* upon the *Apocalypſe*, St. *Ambroſe* upon the ſame Book, *Primaſius* the Author of the Poem againſt *Marcion*, *Bede*, and the Author of the Sermons upon the ſame Book, attributed to St. *Auſtin*, and ſeveral others, reckon twenty four Books of the Old Teſtament, and ſay, they are repreſented by the twenty four Elders in the *Revelations*. The firſt Catalogue of the Books of the Holy Scriptures, where they added ſome Books to the Jewiſh Canon, is that of the third Council of *Carthage*, held *Anno Dom.* 397. when the Books of *Judith*, *Tobit*, the *Wiſdom of Salomon*, *Eccleſiaſticus*, and the two Books of the *Maccabees* were reckon'd in the number of Canonical Books. There is at the end of this Canon a Poſtil that is very remarkable: *Let the Church beyond the Sea be conſulted (to confirm, or) before this Canon is confirmed. De confirmando iſto Canone Eccleſia Tranſmarina Conſulatur.* This Catalogue of Canonical Books is confirmed by the Authority of Pope *Innocent* the Firſt, in an Epiſtle to *Exuperius*, and by that of a Roman Council held under *Gelaſius*, *Anno Dom.* 494. (*i*), and is followed in the Decree of *Eugenius* to the *Armenians*, and by the Holy Council of *Trent*. All theſe Catalogues ſerve to acquaint us in general, what were the Books that were not received to be certainly Canonical, and which they are, whoſe Authority have been queſtioned by Antiquity. But nevertheleſs we ought to ſpeak of them particularly, for although they were not received in the firſt Ages by all Churches, nor reckoned by all Authors in the Canon of the Books of the Bible, yet they were frequently cited by the Ancients, and ſometimes too as Books of Scripture, and for this reaſon were afterwards admitted into the Canon along with the firſt.

The Book of *Eſther*, according to ſome, was in the Jewiſh Canon, but others ſay, it was not reckoned at all. It is placed in the Canon, as we have already obſerved, by *Origen*, by the Council of *Laodicea*, by St. *Jerome*, by St. *Epiphanius*, by St. *Hilary*, by St. *Cyril*, not to mention the Council of *Carthage*, or the Deciſions of Pope *Innocent* and *Gelaſius*. *Joſephus*, *Melito*, St. *Athanaſius*, and the Author of the *Abridgment of the Scripture*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Leontius*, the Author of the Book of *the Hierarchy*, and *Nicephorus*, reject it. The Action of *Eſther* is commended by *Clemens Romanus* in his Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, and by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *lib.* 1. *Pædag.* and *l.* 5. *Strom.* which makes it appear, that this Book was known and eſteemed by the firſt Chriſtians. The ſix laſt Chapters of this Book are not to be found in the *Hebrew*. *Origen* is of opinion, that it was formerly extant in that Language, and has been ſince loſt. But it is very evident, that they are taken out of ſeveral places, and that they contain ſome Pieces that were probably collected by the *Helleniſt Jews*. And for this reaſon *Dionyſius*, *Carthuſianus*, *Nicolaus de Lira*, *Hugo Cardinalis*, and afterwards *Sixtus Senenſis*, and ſeveral of the Moderns, turn them out of the Canon of the Holy Books.

The Book of *Baruch* is not to be found by name in the Jewiſh Canon, but perhaps it was joined together with *Jeremiah*. *Melito*, *Origen*, St. *Hilary*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, and St. *Epiphanius*, don't make any mention of it, confounding it perhaps with *Jeremiah*, but St. *Jerome* expreſly rejects it out of the Canon in his Preface to *Jeremiah*. On the contrary, the Council of *Laodicea*, St. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, St. *Athanaſius* in his *Feſtival Letter*, and the Author of *the Abridgment*, annex it to *Jeremiah*, along with the Lamentations of that Prophet. It is cited under the name of *Jeremiah*, and as a Book of Scripture by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *lib.* 1. *pedag. ch.* 2. by St. *Cyprian* in the Fourth Book of his Teſtimonies to *Quirinus*, *ch.* 6. by *Euſebius* in his Books of *Demonſtration*; by St. *Baſil* in his Fourth Book againſt *Eunomius*; by St. *Ambroſe* in his Firſt Book of Penance, as alſo in his Firſt

Book

Book of *Orthodox Faith*, *ch.* 2. by St. *Auſtin*, *lib.* 18. *de Civ. Dei*; by St. *Chryſoſtom* in his Homily of the *Trinity*, and by many other Church-Writers that are more modern. It is not neceſſary to take notice, that it was received by the Council of *Carthage*, by Pope *Innocent*, by the Roman Council under *Gelaſius*, by the Decree of *Eugenius*, and by the Canon of the Council of *Trent*.

The Book of *Tobit* is rejected in all the ancient Catalogues of the Books of the Bible, and not received into the number of the Canonical Books. *Origen* in his 27th Homily upon the *Numbers* ſays it is one of thoſe Books that were read to the *Catechumens*, but that it is not Canonical (*k*.) St. *Jerome*, who frequently rejects it as an Apocryphal Book, that was neither to be found in the Jewiſh or Chriſtian Canon, yet gave himſelf the trouble to Tranſlate it, ſpeaks of it very advantageouſly in his Preface, and calls it a Sacred Volume in his Hundred and fortieth Epiſtle. *Ruffinus* in his Expoſition of the Creed expreſly rejects it as an Apocryphal Book. But beſides that it is received by the Council of *Carthage*, and by Pope *Innocent* and *Gelaſius*, it appears, that in *Irenæus*'s time it was reckoned amongſt the Books of the Prophets, becauſe this Author. *l.* 1. *ch.* 34. has obſerved, that the *Gnoſticks*, who diſtributed the Prophets into ſeveral Claſſes, and attributed them to their pretended Divinities, aſſign the Prophets *Haggai* and *Tobit* to *Eloi*. This Book is often cited by St. *Cyprian*, who likewiſe calls it Holy Scripture in his Book of *Alms and Good Works*. It is alſo cited by St. *Hilary* upon the 129th *Pſalm*, where he makes uſe of the Authority of this Book to prove the Interceſſion of Angels. The ſame Father making a Catalogue of the Canonical Books, obſerves, that ſeveral Perſons have made the number of them twenty four, by adding the Books of *Tobit* and *Judith*. St. *Ambroſe* explained it throughout as a Book of Scripture, and cited it in his *Hexameron*, and ſo has St. *Chryſoſtome* in his 13th Homily to the People of *Antioch*, and the Author of the *Apoſtolick Conſtitutions* in the 8th Book, chap. 45.

The Book of *Judith* is not only rejected in all the ancient Catalogues of the Canonical Books, but it is alſo ſcarcely mentioned by the Ancients, though *Clement Romanus* in his Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *l.* 4. *Strom. Tertullian* in his Book of *Monogomy*, and in his firſt Book againſt *Marcion*, commend the Heroick Action of *Judith*, which makes it evident, that they had all of them an eſteeem for that Book. St. *Jerome*, after having ſeveral times rejected it as an Apocryphal Book, and obſerved in his Preface before it, that we ought not to prove any conteſted Doctrines out of it, adds, that we read, that the Council of *Nice* reckoned it in the number of the Holy Scriptures; *Sed quia hunc librum Synodus Nicæna in numero Sanctarum Scripturarum legitur computaſſe.* We ought to believe that St. *Jerome* reported this paſſage upon the Faith of another, there being not the leaſt appearance of its truth. For beſides, that we find nothing like it in the Creed, in the Canons, and Letters of the Council of *Nice*, and that it is highly probable, there are no other Acts of that Aſſembly, Is it to be imagined, that if they had made a Canon concerning the Sacred Books, not ſo much as one Man, that aſſiſted in that affair, would make mention of it? Is it to be thought that St. *Athanaſius*, St. *Epiphanius*, St. *Cyril*, who cou'd not be ignorant of the Deciſions of the Council of *Nice*, wou'd have rejected the Book of *Judith* as Apocryphal, if it had been reckoned amongſt the Canonical Volumes by the Authority of a Council they ſo highly reverenc'd? In ſhort, wou'd St. *Hilary* have contented himſelf with ſaying, that ſome Perſons added this Book to the Canon, and not rather have openly declared, when he was ſpeaking of the Canonical Books, that the Church received it? St. *Jerome* himſelf, if he had been aſſured of this buſineſs, wou'd he have rejected this Book ſo often, and not alledged this Catalogue of the Council of *Nice*, which ought to have been the infallible rule for him to follow? We muſt therefore ſay, that this Father received this Information from another. But if the Council of *Nice* reckoned not this Book of *Judith* in the number of Canonical Books yet the Latine Church has ſince done it by the Council of *Carthage*, by the Mouth of *Innocent* the Firſt, by the Roman Council under *Gelaſius*, and by the Council of *Trent*, which followed the Decree of *Eugenius*.

The Book of *Wiſdom* and *Eccleſiaſticus* (*l*,) in the ancient Catalogues are placed in the number of thoſe Books that are very profitable, but not Canonical; Nevertheleſs, theſe Books are cited by St. *Barnabas*, by *Clemens Romanus*, by *Tertullian* in his third Book againſt *Marcion*, and in his Book of *Preſcriptions*, by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, by St. *Cyprian* in ſeveral places; likewiſe frequently by *Origen*, by St. *Hilary* upon the 140th *Pſalm*; and according to ſome by St. *Baſil*, by St. *Ambroſe*, by St. *Jerome*, and St. *Auſtin*; but it does not follow, that all theſe acknowledged them for Canonical. On the contrary, *Origen*, St. *Jerome*, and St. *Hillary*, ranked them amongſt the Apocryphal Books; And St. (*m*) *Baſil* plainly ſays, in the Preface to his Commentary upon the *Proverbs*, That there are but three Books of *Solomon*; and he ſufficiently ſhews in ſeveral other places, that he did not own the Books of *Wiſdom* and *Eccleſiaſticus* for Canonical Books. *Philaſtrius* and *Ruffinus* reject them as well as St. *Hilary*, who has written a Letter about them to St. *Auſtin*. *Theodoret* is of the ſame Opinion in his Preface to the *Canticles*, One cannot ſay that of St. *Cyprian*, St. *Ambroſe* and St. *Auſtin*, who ſeem to own them for Canonical, as it has been determined by the Council of *Carthage*, by *Innocent* the Firſt, by the Roman Council under *Gelaſius*, by the Decree of *Eugenius*, and by the Council of *Trent*.

To conclude the two Books of *Maccabees* are not entred into the Canon of the Books of the Holy Scripture in the Catalogues of *Melito*, of *Origen*, of the Council of *Laodicea*, of St. *Cyril* of St. *Hilary*, of St. *Athanaſius*, of St. *Jerome*, and others whom we have Named. In *Euſebius*'s *Chronicon*, they are oppoſed to the Canonical Books, in theſe words, *That which we have hitherto reported of the Annals of the Jews, is drawn out of the Holy Scripture; that which follows is taken out of the Books of the* Maccabees, Joſephus, *and* Africanus. *Tertullian* in his Book againſt the Jews, relates the Hiſtory of

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the *Maccabees*, but yet he does not cite the Books of the *Maccabees* as Books of Scripture. St. *Cyprian* quotes them very often under that Character, and ſo does St. *Ambroſe* and St. *Chryſoſtome*. St. *Jerome* himſelf, who rejects them in ſeveral places, cites them ſometimes as Books of Scripture. St. *Auſtin* quotes them in his Book *of the concern which we ought to have for the Dead*, to prove that we may offer Sacrifice for the Deceaſed; and he aſſures us, *l.* 18. *de Civit. Dei*, that although theſe Books were never received as Canonical by the Jews, yet they were acknowledged for ſuch by the Church. But in his firſt Book againſt *Gaudentius*, taking occaſion to ſpeak of the action of *Razias*, who killed himſelf, he thus delivers his Thoughts about the Books of the *Maccabees*; *The Jews don't receive theſe Books of the* Maccabees *as they do the Law, the Prophets, and the Pſalms; but the Church receives them, and they are not unprofitable, provided one reads and underſtands them with ſome ſort of Moderation, and they deſerve eſteem particularly for the Hiſtory of the Seven* Maccabees. In the laſt Canon attributed to the Apoſtles, we find the three Books of *Maccabees* reckoned amongſt the Canonical Books, but there is reaſon to believe, that this paſſage has been added, becauſe they are not acknowledged for Canonical Books by *Nicephorus*, *Johannes Damaſcenus*, and ſeveral others, who have owned the Authority of the Apoſtolical Canons. They are received by the third Council of *Carthage*, and by *Innocent* the Firſt. There is but one of them approved by the Roman Council under *Gelaſius*. It is a very ſurprizing thing, that after all theſe Authorities, St. *Gregory* the Great ſhould thus ſpeak of them in the Nineteenth Book of his Morals; *We don't without Reaſon*, ſays he, *produce Teſtimonies drawn out of thoſe Books that are not Canonical, ſince they have been Publiſhed for the Edification of the Church.* We ought to make the ſame Reflection upon all the reſt of the Greek and Latin Eccleſiaſtical Writers, whom we have cited, and who ſince the Deciſions of the Councils of *Carthage* and *Rome*, and the Declaration of *Innocent* the Firſt, reckon but Twenty two or Twenty four Canonical Books of the Old Teſtament. Which makes it evident, that theſe Definitions have not been followed by all Authors, and all Churches, till at laſt it was intirely determined by the Council of *Trent*.

I ſhall not ſpeak of the Hiſtory of *Suſanna* and *Bel*, that are in *Daniel*, and have been rejected as falſe, or as Apocryphal, by ſeveral of the Ancients, ſince I have already diſcourſed largely about them.

Beſides theſe Books, that were at laſt received into the Canon of the Books of the Old Teſtament, there are many others, that either were not admitted into the Jewiſh Canon, although they were more Ancient, or that having been compoſed ſince, have been eſteem'd and cited by ſome Chriſtian Authors, but never found any place in the Canon, or thoſe laſtly that were ſuppoſititiouſly obtruded upon the World by Hereticks, and by conſequence were always rejected.

In the firſt place, there are ſeveral Books cited in the Old Teſtament, that have been totally loſt long ſince, and are not Named in the Jewiſh Canon. The firſt of theſe Books, as they commonly pretend, is the Book of *the Battels of the Lord*, that is cited in the 21ſt Chapter of *Numbers*, verſ. 24. But it is not certain, as we have elſewhere obſerved, that there is any mention made of a Book in this place: we ought to paſs the ſame Judgment upon the Book of the Covenant, that is mentioned, as they aſſert, in *Exodus*, chap. 24. but is in reality nothing elſe, but the Body of the Laws which *Moſes* received from God, and delivered to the People. Neither is there any greater certainty, that the Book of *Jaſher*, cited by *Joſhuah*, chap. 10. verſ. 13. and in the ſecond Book of *Samuel*, chap. 11. verſ. 18. was an Hiſtorical Book, although I confeſs there is ſome reaſon to believe it was. But one cannot hardly doubt, that the Books of *Nathan*, of *Gad*, of *Shemaiah*, of *Iddo*, of *Ahijah* and *Jehu*, cited frequently in the Books of the *Chronicles*, were Memoirs compoſed in all probability by theſe Prophets. We muſt ſay the ſame thing of the Book of the Sayings and Acts of the Kings of *Iſrael*, oftentimes cited in the *Kings*, which is different from the *Chronicles*, as we have already obſerved. To theſe muſt be added the Book of *Samuel*, cited in the firſt Book of *Chronicles*, and the laſt Chapter. The Diſcourſes of *Hoſai* [or *of the Seers*] that are mentioned in the ſecond Book of *Chronicles*, chap. 33. verſ. 19. The Hiſtory of *Uzziah*, written by the Prophet *Iſaiah*, and cited in the ſecond Book of *Chronicles*, chap. 26. verſ. 22. The three Thouſand Parables written by *Solomon*, as it is ſaid in the firſt of *Kings*, chap. 4. verſ. 32. The Five Thouſand, or rather the Thouſand and Five Songs, with the ſeveral Volumes concerning all manner of Plants and Animals, that were likewiſe compoſed by *Solomon*, as we are informed in the ſame place. The Deſcriptions of *Jeremiah*, that are mentioned in the ſecond Book of *Maccabees*, chap. 2. verſ. 1. The Prophecy of *Jonas* that is loſt The Memoirs of *Johannes Hircanus*, [mentioned 1 *Maccab.* 16. 23, 24.] and the Books of *Jaſon*, that are mentioned in the ſecond Book of *Maccabees*.

'Tis uſually Ask'd, Whether theſe Books cited in the Old Teſtament were Canonical or no? This Queſtion in my Opinion is asked to no purpoſe, ſince we have not any remainders of them at preſent; but however, certain it is, that they are not Canonical in the ſame Senſe as we uſually take the Word; that is to ſay, they were never received into the Canon, either of the Jewiſh or Chriſtian Church; and no body knows whether they ought to have been admitted there, in caſe they had been ſtill preſerved. Neither can we poſitively tell, whether they were written by the Inſpiration of God, or were the mere Works of Men, only the later Opinion ſeems to be more probable. In the firſt place, becauſe the greater part of them having been compoſed before *Ezrah*, he had without queſtion reckoned them in the Jewiſh Canon, if he had looked upon them to be Divine Books. Secondly, becauſe we muſt otherwiſe be obliged to ſay, that the Church has loſt a great part of the Book of God. Thirdly, becauſe the Apoſtles never cited any other Books, than what we now have, as Books of Scripture. Fourthly, becauſe the Fathers are all agreed, that theſe Books were Apocryphal,

phal, and place the Book of *Enoch*, cited by St. *Jude*, in the ſame rank. This is the Opinion of *Origen*, of St. *Jerome*, St. *Auſtin*, and indeed of all the Fathers except *Tertullian*. For although *Theodoret*, and ſome other Greek Fathers, give the Title of Prophets to the Authors of theſe Books that are cited in Scripture; yet it does not follow from thence, that they compoſed theſe ancient Memoirs by the Inſpiration of God. It is not neceſſary, that all the Writings and Diſcourſes of a Prophet ſhould be inſpired by Heaven. Upon this account St. *Auſtin* has very Judiciouſly obſerved, *cap.* 38. *l.* 28. *de Civit. Dei*, that although theſe Books cited in the Holy Scriptures, were written by Prophets that were Inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt; yet it is not neceſſary to ſay, that they were Divinely Inſpired: For, ſays he, theſe Prophets might one while write like paricular Men, with an Hiſtorical Fidelity, and another while like Prophets that followed the Inſpiration of Heaven: *Alia ſicut homines Hiſtoricâ diligentiâ, alia ſicut Prophetas Inſpiratione Divinâ ſcribere potuiſſe.*

Let us now go on to the Books that are not in the Canon of the Old Teſtament, and which we have at preſent. The Catalogue of them is as follows. The Prayer of King *Manaſſes*, who was Captive in *Babylon*, cited in the ſecond Book of *Chronicles*, where it is ſaid, that this Prayer was written amongſt the Sayings of *Hoſai*, who has Tranſlated into *Greek* the Diſcourſes of the Seers, or Prophets. It is to be found at the end of the ordinary Bibles, there is nothing lofty in it, but it is full of pious Thoughts. The Latin Fathers have often quoted it: It is neither in Greek nor Hebrew, but only in Latin.

The third and fourth Books of *Ezrah* are alſo in Latin in the common Bibles, after the Prayer of *Manaſſes*. The third, which is to be found in the Greek, is nothing but a Repetition of what we find in the two former; it is cited by St. *Athanaſius*, St. *Auſtin*, and St. *Ambroſe*, St. *Cyprian* likewiſe ſeems to have known it. The fourth, that is only to be had in the Latin, is full of Viſions and Dreams, and ſome Miſtakes. 'Tis written by a different Author from that of the third; for beſides the great difference of Style, one of them reckons Nineteen Generations from *Aaron* down to him, and the other but Fifteen.

The third Book of *Maccabees* contain a miraculous Deliverance of the Jews, whom *Phiſcon* had expoſed in the Amphitheatre at *Alexandria*, to the fury of Elephants. *Joſephus* relates this Hiſtory in his ſecond Book againſt *Appion*. This Book of the *Maccabees* is to be found in all the Greek Editions. It is reckoned in the number of Canonical Books, in the laſt Canon attributed to the Apoſtles, but perhaps that has been added ſince; it's alſo mention'd in the Chronicle of *Euſebius*, and in the Author of the *Abridgment of Scripture*, attributed to St. *Athanaſius*. This Hiſtory, if it be true, happened about Fifty years before the Paſſages that are related in the other two Books, and therefore ought to be the firſt; It is without any Reaſon called the Book of *Maccabees*, ſince it does not ſpeak of them in the leaſt.

The fourth, containing the Hiſtory of *Hircanus*, is rejected as Apocryphal by the Author of the *Abridgment of Scripture*, attributed to St. *Athanaſius*. It is mentioned by ſcarce any of the Ancients Perhaps it was taken out of the Book of the Actions of *Johannes Hircanus*, mentioned towards the end of the firſt of *Maccabees*. *Sixtus Senenſis* aſſures us, that this account very much reſembles *Joſephus*'s, but that he has abundance of his Hebrew Idiotiſms there.

There is towards the end of *Job* in the Greek Edition, a Genealogy of *Job*, that makes him the fifth from *Abraham*, with the Names of the Edomitiſh Kings, and of the Kingdoms of his Friends. This Addition is neither in the Latin nor in the Hebrew. There is likewiſe in the Greek a Diſcourſe of *Job*'s Wife, that is not in the Hebrew, rejected by *Africanus* and St. *Jerome*. Towards the end of the *Pſalms* in the Greek Editions, we find a *Pſalm* that is not of the number of the Hundred and Fifty, made in the Perſon of *David*, when he was yet a Youth, after he had ſlain the Giant *Goliah*. The Author of the *Abridgment of Scripture*, attributed to St. *Athanaſius*, cites it, and places it alſo in the number of the Canonical Pſalms. To conclude, at the end of *Wiſdom* there is a Diſcourſe of *Solomon* drawn from the eighth Chapter of the firſt Book of *Kings*.

We have not the Book of *Enoch*, ſo celebrated by Antiquity, and cited by St. *Irenæus*, by St. *Clement* of *Alexandria*, by *Tertullian*, by *Origen*, by *Athenagoras*, by St. *Jerome*, and ſeveral other Fathers: But we learn from thoſe paſſages of it which the Fathers have quoted, and which ſtill remain in the Teſtament of the Twelve Patriarchs, and in the Chronography of *Syncellus*, that it principally treated of the Stars, and their Virtues, of the Deſcent of Angels to the Earth to entertain a Commerce with the Daughters of Men, of the original of Giants occaſioned by this correſpondence, of Things that were to befall the Jews, of our Saviour, of the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, of the Diſperſion of the Jews, and the laſt Judgment. It contains a World of Fictions upon theſe Subjects; For which Reaſon all the Fathers, except *Tertullian*, have look'd upon it as an Apocryphal Book, that does not belong to the Patriarch *Enoch*. That which has cauſed all the difficulty, is that this Book ſeems to have been cited under *Enoch*'s Name by St. *Jude*, in his Canonical Epiſtle, verſe 14. *And of this*, ſays he, Enoch *the Seventh from* Adam *Propheſied? ſaying, Behold the Lord cometh*, &c. from whence one may conclude, That we ought either to reject the Epiſtle of St. *Jude*, or believe that the Book of *Enoch* truly belonged to that Patriarch. St. *Auſtin* avoids this difficulty, by ſaying, That the true Book of *Enoch*, cited by St. *Jude*, is loſt, and that a ſpurious one has been ſince Father'd upon him. But it is not probable, that the Book of *Enoch*, cited by St. *Jude*, is different from that which was known to St. *Irenæus*, to St. *Auſtin*, and the other Fathers that lived in the firſt Ages of the Church; And therefore St. *Jerome*, after *Origen* anſwers, That St. *Jude* might cite an Apocryphal Book if he pleaſed, and that this hindered not his Epiſtle from being Canonical, that even in the other Books of the New Teſtament, we find ſome paſſages that are drawn out of Apocryphal Books, which

which ought not to diminish the Authority of the Canonical Books, or give any new power to the Apocryphal ones. Some of the Modern Criticks have pretended to unravel this difficulty with greater ease, by maintaining, that St. *Jude* does not here speak of the Book of *Enoch*, but only of a Prophecy of that Patriarch, which he had learnt by Tradition, as St. *Paul* reports the Names of *Jannes* and *Jambres*, the Egyptian Magicians of *Pharoah*, from the common Tradition of the Jews; but this Opinion being contrary to the Determination of all the Ancients, is in my Judgment very improbable and ill grounded, and we had much better relie upon St. *Jerome*'s Solution.

The Book of the Assumption of *Moses*, from whence, as they pretend, St. *Jude* took the Relation of *Michael* the Archangels Disputing with Satan about the Body of *Moses*, is not so famous in Antiquity; nevertheless it is cited by *Origen*, *l.* 3. *Princ.* and by St. *Clement*, *l.* 3. *Strom.* who there gives us an account of a Vision of *Joshuah* and *Caleb*, that was taken out of this Book. *Oecumenius* in his Commentary upon the Epistle of St. *Jude*, recites these words of the Archangel to the Devil, *the Lord rebuke the Satan: Increpet te Deus O Diabole*; as quoted from hence. St. *Jerome* tells us, it is an hard matter to say from whence St. *Jude* took this passage; only he observes, that there is something like it to be found in the Prophecy of *Zechariah*, chap. 3. vers. 2.

Origen likewise cites a Book, Entituled, *The Assumption, the Apocalypse, or the Secrets of* Elias. *Syncellus* after him, pretends, that out of this Apocryphal Book, St. *Paul* has taken this Sentence in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*; *The Eye hath not seen, nor the Ear heard the good Things that God hath prepared for them that love him*: As also that in the Epistle to the *Galatians*; *Circumcision availeth nothing*, &c. Moreover he is of Opinion, that this Sentence in the *Ephesians*, *Awake thou that sleepest*, is taken out of the Apocryphal Book of *Jeremiah*. But it may so happen sometimes, that like Sentences may be found in two different Books, and yet it is not necessary to say, that one Author borrowed them from the other.

Some Jews have Forged and Counterfeited those Books, that are by some attributed to the Patriarchs; as for Example, the Books Intituled, *The Generations, and the Creation*, ascribed *to Adam*, The Revelation of the same, cited by St. *Epiphanius*. 'Tis also commonly believed, that he composed a Book about the Philosophers Stone; and that there was a Book of Magick extant, said to have been written by *Cham*, as we find in *Cassian*'s eighth Conference, chap. 21. The *Abridgement of Scripture* that goes under the Name of St. *Athanasius*, makes mention of the Book of the *Assumption of* Abraham. The Author of the Homilies upon St. *Luke*, attributed to *Origen*, in the 15th Homily, and some others quote the Book of the Twelve Patriarchs. The same Author in the 35th Homily, cites an Apocryphal Book, where Angels and Devils Dispute about the Salvation of *Abraham*. The Author of the above-mentioned *Abridgment of Scripture*, speaks of two Apocryphal Books, one of which is the Prophecy of *Habakkuk*, from whence, as they pretend, the History *Bel*, that is in *Daniel*, was taken; and an Apocryphal Book that carries the name of *Ezekiel*. *Hermas*, one of the most ancient Christian Writers, in his *Pastor*, ch. 2. cites the Prophesies of *Eldad* and *Medad*, that are mentioned in chap. 11. of *Numbers*. *Origen* and St. *Ambrose* cite a Book of *Jannes* and *Jambres*, the Magicians of *Pharaoh*, that is rejected by *Gelasius*, as an Apocryphal Book. There is also a Book of King *Og* placed in the number of Apocryphal Books by *Gelasius*.

The Ebionites have imposed a Book upon the World, Entituled, Jacob's *Ladder*, as *Epiphanius* testifies. *Manes* composed a Genealogy of the Sons and Daughters of *Adam*, as we are informed by St. *Austin*, and Pope *Gelasius*. In short, there were abundance of such kind of Books formerly to be found, composed either by the Jews, who had an admirable Talent at Fiction, or else by the Hereticks, who made use of them to give the greater Reputation to their Errors, so that it wou'd be an unprofitable, as well a tedious Thing, to make an exact Catalogue. But I ought not to omit two passages cited in the New Testament, as if they were in the Prophets, which upon strict search are not to be found there, and which have given occasion to some Persons to imagine they were taken from other Books; The first is in St. *Matthew*, ch. 2. v. 23. *Jesus*, says he, *dwelt in a City called* Nazareth, *that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Prophet. He shall be called a* Nazarene. Now these Words, *He shall be called a* Nazarene, are not to be found in any of the Prophets that we now have, which has induced St. *Chrysostome* to imagine, that they are taken out of some other Prophet that is lost. Others pretend, that they are cited out of the 11th Chapter of *Isaiah*, vers. 1. where it is foretold, *That a branch shall grow out*, which they call in Hebrew *Netzer*. *Huetius* thinks, that this passage is taken from the 13th Chapter of the Book of *Judges*, vers. 5. where it is said, that *he shall be a Nazarite from the Womb*. But the most probable Opinion is that of St. *Jerome*, who supposes, that St. *Matthew* does not cite any Prophet in particular, but only all the Prophets, who have predicted, that our Blessed Saviour should be Holy, and Consecrated to God, as the Nazarites were.

The second passage is cited in the same Gospel, chap. 27. vers. 9. *Then*, says he, *was fulfilled that which was spoken in* Jeremy *the Prophet, saying, And they took the Thirty pieces of Silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the Children of* Israel *did value, and gave them for the Potters Field, as the Lord appointed me.* This Prophesie is not to be found in *Jeremiah*, but there is something that seems to resemble it in *Zechariah*, chap. 11. vers. 13. *Origen* in his 35th Treatise upon St. *Matthew*, pretends, that it ought to be said, that this passage is taken out of an Apocryphal Book called, *The Secrets of* Jeremiah, or else that we must affirm, that in this Gospel, the Name of one Prophet is used for that of another. Some other Authors say, that this Prophesie has been struck out of the Book of *Jeremiah*. Others run to Tradition, which, as they give out, preserved this Prophesie of *Jeremiah* down to the time of St. *Matthew*. It is very probable, say some others, that this Prophesie being composed of the Words of *Jeremiah*, and the Thought of *Zechariah*, has been cited only under the Name

Name of *Jeremiah*, as in another Place a Prophecy of *Malachi* being joyned to one of *Isaiah*, is attributed to the latter: But yet 'tis a great deal more probable, that St. *Matthew* having only wrote, *as it is spoken in the Prophet*, without Naming any one, they added in the Text of the Gospel, the Name of *Jeremiah*, that Evangelist not being accustomed to Name the Prophets, whom he cites. This is St. *Jerome*'s Solution of the Matter, which seems to be by far the Solidest.

NOTES.

(*a*) *WE call the Books of the* Bible *Canonical*,&c.] Some Persons say that they are thus called, because they are the Rule of Faith; but the other Opinion is far more probable.

(*b*) *Books that are called Apocryphal.*] We don't know well why they are so called. This word comes Originally from the Greek, where it signifies to *hide* or *conceal*. St. *Austin*, *L.* 15. *de Civit. Dei*, *Ch.* 23. says, they are so called, because the Original of them is not known. Others, as St. *Jerome* and *Gelasius*, believe they had this Name given them, because they contained the hidden Mysteries of the Hereticks. St. *Epiphanius* imagines this distinguishing Appellation was set upon them, because they were not kept in the Ark. The Signification also of this word is doubtful, one while they give this Name to all Books that are not in the Canon, another while only to erroneous or ill Books. Some of the Fathers make three Distinctions of Books, *viz.* The Canonical, the Doubtful, and the Suppositious. Consult *Origen* upon the 4th Chapter of St. *John*. St. *Athanasius* in his Festival Letter, St. *Gregory* in the Poem to *Seleucus*. *Eusebius*, and the other Fathers, divide them but into two sorts, Canonical and Apocryphal: But then they distinguish the Canonical into two Classes. Indeed generally speaking they are ranged into three Classes, the Canonical of the first Rank, the Canonical of the second Rank, and the Apocryphal.

(*c*) *Some Persons distinguish three Canons made at several times by the Sanedrim, or the great Synagogue of the* Jews.] *Serarius* makes only two: The first made by *Ezrah*, and the Synagogue in his time: The second, either when they sent the LXX Elders to Translate the *Bible*, or when the Dispute about the Resurrection was so warmly discussed between the *Sadducees* and *Pharisees*: *Genebrard* supposes there were three; The first, composed by *Ezrah*, and approved of by the Synagogue; The second, appointed by a Grand Assembly of the Synagogue, when they sent the LXX, at which time, as he pretends, *Tobit*, *Judith*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and the Book of *Wisdom*, were added to the Canon; The third, at the time of the famous Controversie between the Sadducees and Pharisees, when the Books of the *Maccabees*, according to him, were Solemnly approved and received.

(*d*) *But 'tis a great deal more probable, that they never had but one Canon.*] It is unquestionably true, that *Ezrah* received, and collected the Sacred Volumes, and consequently that he was the Author of the Canon amongst the Jews. Neither they, nor the ancient Christians acknowledged any other. As for the Books, which, as they pretend, were inserted into the other Canons, 'tis certain they were never owned by the Jews; and what they talk about the two great Assemblies of the Synagogues, that were Convened upon that Occasion, is all a Chimera and Fiction. The Ancients themselves never make the least mention of the Approbation of the Synagogue or Sanedrim of the Jews, which our Moderns boast of so mightily. Some are of Opinion, That *Nehemiah* added the two Books of *Ezrah* to the Canon, and found their Notion upon what is said in the 2d. Book of *Maccabees*, ch. 2. v. 13. that he gathered together the Books of *David*, and the Prophets, and the Books of the *Kings*, &c. But this only proves, that he erected a Library, as it is intimated in that place, and not made a Collection of the Sacred Books. Others say, that we ought to attribute this Canon to *Judas Maccabeus*, because it is said in the first of *Maccabees*, Chap. 1. Verse 56. that *Antiochus* and his Ministers burnt and tore to pieces the Books of the Law: And in the second Book, Chap. 2. Verse 13, 14. the *Jews* of *Jerusalem* acquaint their Brethren that were in *Ægypt*, that *Judas Maccabeus* had gathered together all those things *that were lost by reason of the War*. This does not prove that *Ezrah*'s Canon was intirely lost, and that *Judas* composed another, but only that he got other Copies of those Sacred Books that were burnt and torn under *Antiochus*, and made a Collection of several pieces relating to the History of their Wars, which was never received into the Jewish Canon. Our Opinion is invincibly proved by the Concurring Testimonies of *Josephus* and St. *Jerome*.

(*e*) *But it is visible, that this Citation has been since inserted into the true Text of* Josephus.] The passage which, as they pretend, is cited by *Josephus*, is in Chap. 42. of *Ecclesiasticus*, Verse 14. *Better is the Churlishness of a Man, than a Courteous Woman.* 'Tis beyond dispute, that it was afterwards added, for *Josephus* proposes in that place to cite the Laws of *Moses*, and this passage makes nothing at all to the purpose. In the Ancient Version of *Ruffinus* this Quotation is not to be found, which makes it evident, that it has been added since.

(*f*) *There are no others cited in the* New Testament, *but those that were received into the Canon of the Jew.*] Some Persons say, that the Book of *Wisdom* is cited by St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 11. in these words, *Who hath known the Mind of the Lord? Or who hath been his Counsellor?* Which they say are the very same in effect with those in *Wisdom*, Chap. 9. *For what Man can know the Counsel of God?* But this passage cited by the Apostle is to

be found word for word in *Iſaiah* Chap. 40. Verſ. 13. where the *Greek* Terms are the ſame that are uſed by St. *Paul*, St. *Baſil*, *L. de Spir. Sancto*, *Ch.* 5. *Tertullian* in his fifth Book againſt *Marcion*, Ch. 14. St. *Ambroſe*, or rather the Author of the Commentaries upon St. *Paul*, that are falſly attributed to him, *Peter Lombard*, and ſeveral others obſerve, that it is taken out of *Iſaiah*. 'Tis alſo pretended, that the paſſage in his Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, where it is ſaid, that *Enoch* was tranſlated, that he might not taſte of Death, is taken out of that Book. But it is in *Geneſis*, Chap. 5. Verſ. 25. It is likewiſe ſaid, that there are ſeveral Alluſions in the Goſpel and the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles to ſome places in *Eccleſiaſticus*, the Book of *Wiſdom*, *Judith*, and *Tobit*. Every one abounds in his own ſenſe, and can find out what Reſemblances or Alluſions he pleaſes; but it is not neceſſary that two Perſons that have happen'd upon the ſame thought, ſhould take it one from the other. S. *Juſtin*, and the Ancients, don't accuſe the *Jews*, for not acknowledging all the Books of Holy Scripture for Canonical. *Theophilus* ſays, that *Zechariah* is the laſt of the Prophets, and concludes the Holy Scripture with *Ezrah*.

(*g*) *A great part of theſe are quoted there.*] Theſe are all Books that are cited there; *Geneſis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, *Deuteronomy*, *Joſhua*, the ſecond Book of *Samuel*, the firſt of *Kings*, *Job*, the *Pſalms*, the *Proverbs*, *Iſaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, *Hoſea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Jonah*, *Micah*, *Haggai*, *Habakkuk*, *Nahum*, *Zechariah*, *Malachi*.

(*h*) Gregory Nazianzen *diſtributes the Books of Scripture into Hiſtorical, Poetical, and Prophetical.* This Diſtribution in my Opinion, ſeems to be the juſteſt, and moſt natural.

(*i*) *By that of the* Roman *Council held under* Gelaſius, Anno Dom. 494.] There is mention made in this Catalogue but of one Book of *Ezrah*, and one Book of *Maccabees*, although the Number of Books is not exactly diſtinguiſhed in all the reſt. For Example: *Regnorum libri quatuor* —— —— —— *Eſdras liber unus, Maccabæorum liber unus.* In ſome Manuſcripts *Job* is not mentioned there, and they read *Maccabæorum libri duo.*

(*k*) *St.* Jerome, *who frequently rejects it as Apocryphal, and puts it out of the Canon, not only of the* Jews, *but the* Chriſtians *alſo.*] Every time that St. *Jerome* treats expreſly about the Canonical Books in his Prologue to the *Kings*, to the Books of *Salomon*, *Ezrah*, and *Eſther*, in his *Epiſtles* 7 and 103 to *Paulinus*, in his *Commentary* upon *Ezekiel* in *l.* 17. *ch.* 43. he always rejects thoſe Books that are not to be found in the Canon of the *Hebrews* as Apocryphal, and only fit to be conſidered as ſuch. But when he ſpeaks without making any manner of reflection, he frequently cites theſe very Books as parts of the Holy Scripture, and attributes the ſame Character to the Book of the *Wiſdom of Salomon*, although it is certain, that he believed the contrary. In his *Prefaces* before *Judith* and *Tobit*, as if he had a Mind to reſtore the Reputation of theſe Books, he ſpeaks very advantageouſly of them.

(*l*) *The Book of* Wiſdom *and* Eccleſiaſticus.] Beſides ſeveral Alluſions to the Scripture, which might be produced, but don't prove, that they were cited from thence, St. *Barnabas* cites a paſſage drawn out of the Book of *Wiſdom*, Chap. 2. Verſ. 12. and another out of *Eccleſiaſticus*, Chap. 4. Verſ. 36. *Clemens Romanus*, in his Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, has quoted the Book of *Wiſdom*, Chap. 11. Verſe 22. *Tertullian* likewiſe has quoted the ſame Author in his Book againſt *Marcion*, towards the end, and in his Preſcriptions. *Clemens Alexandrinus* has alſo quoted him frequently. Saint *Cyprian* very often quotes theſe two Books, and aſcribes them to *Salomon*. *Origen* mentions the Book of *Wiſdom* under the Name of Scripture in *Epiſt. ad Hebr.* in his third Book againſt *Celſus*, and in his eighth Homily upon *Exodus*, as he alſo cites *Eccleſiaſticus*, *Tom.* 2. —— upon St. *Matthew*, Treatiſe the 24th: And *Euſebius*, *l.* 6. of his Hiſtory, Chap. 13. ſays, That although St. *Clement* cites theſe Books, yet they are for the moſt part rejected. St. *Hilary* cites them upon the *Pſalm* 104. St. *Baſil* alſo cites them ſometimes, and particularly in his fifth Book againſt *Eunomius*. So does St. *Jerome* frequently, in his Commentary upon *Pſalm* 73. in his 16th Book upon *Iſaiah*, and in his 33d Book upon *Ezekiel*, and in his ſecond Book upon *Iſaiah*. St. *Auſtin* does the ſame in abundance of places. They are likewiſe cited by the Author of the Book of *Divine Names*, *and of the Hierarchy*, in the laſt Book, Chap. 2. in the firſt, Chap. 4. In the Letter of the Council of *Sardica*, ſet down by *Theodoret*, Hiſt. l. 2. c. 8. By *Anaſtaſius Sinaita*, *lib.* 9. *In Exam.* Orat. 2. *De incircumſcripto*, and Queſt. 8. and 10. By *Johannes Damaſcenus*, *l.* 4. *Of the Orthodox Faith*, Chap. 16. In his third Oration of the Nativity, and in his Sermon of the Dead. But to cite a Book, as *Gretzer* obſerves, is not to declare it to be Canonical. Theſe Books are thrown out of the Canon by thoſe very Perſons that cite them under the Name of Scripture, and they that attribute them to *Salomon*, when they cite them, at other times formally deny it. Some ſeem to think, that the Book of *Eccleſiaſticus* is cited by thoſe who produce this Sentence as from the Scripture, *Do nothing without advice.* Such as St. *Baſil* in his ſhort Rules, *Queſt.* 104. *Euſebius de Præp. Evang.* Lib. 12. *Caſſian*, Conference 2. *Boniface*, Epiſt. 98. The Council of *Epheſus*, in the Epiſtle to the Synod of *Pamphylia*. But the ſame Sentence is in ſubſtance in the 13th Chapter of the *Proverbs*, Verſ. 16. and is word for word in the 24th Chapter, Verſe 13. of the *Septuagint* Verſion, from whence theſe Fathers quoted it; as well as *Iſidore Peluſiota*, who frequently uſes it. The *Proverbs* likewiſe are very often cited by the Ancients under the Name of *Wiſdom*, by *Melito* in his Catalogue, *Proverbia quæ & Sapientia*, for ſo it ought to be tranſlated, and not *Proverbia & Sapientia*; by *Origen*, *Hom.* 17. upon *Geneſis*, upon *Exodus*, and *Numbers*; by the Author who has written under the Name of *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* againſt *Paulus Samoſatenus*; by the Author of the *Conſtitutions*, frequently by St. *Baſil*, *Conſt. Monaſt.* C. 3. and 16. by *Gregory Nazianzen*, Orat. 1. and 26. And by *Gregory Nyſſene* in his 7th Book of *The Life of Moſes*, and in his 7th Book againſt *Eunomius*. By the Council in *Trullo*, Chap. 64. By the ſecond Council of *Nice*, *Act.* 6. The *Proverbs*

verbs are also called by St. *Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Stromata*. By *Hegesippus*, and the Ancients, Παραγγέλματα.

(*m*) *St.* Basil *sufficiently observes, that he did not own the Books of* Wisdom *and* Ecclesiasticus *for Canonical.*] In his *Epist.* 406. to *Amphilochius*, he tells us, that *Philo* speaking of the Manna, has said according to the Tradition of the *Jews*, that it had a different Taste according to the difference of Palats or Appetites. Now this is expresly said in the Book of *Wisdom*. St. *Basil* therefore believed it was written by *Philo*, if this is the Book whereof he speaks, or at least that it was no Book of Scripture, for otherwise he would not barely have called an Opinion, that is so clearly established there in the 16th Chapter, by the Name of a Jewish Tradition. The same St. *Basil*, *Lib.* 2. *contr. Eunom.* says, that this passage, *Dominus creavit me initium viarum suarum*, is only to be found once in Scripture. *Socrates* says the same thing, *Lib.* 4. *Cap.* 7. If they had acknowledged the Book of *Wisdom* to be Canonical, they ought to have said that this Sentence is twice to be found in the *Bible*, because we read it in the Book of *Wisdom*, as well as in the *Proverbs*.

SECT. III.

The History of the Hebrew *Text. Of the Version of the* Septuagint, *and other* Greek *Versions of the* Old Testament.

THE Books of *Moses*, and (*a*) almost all the rest of the Books of the *Old Testament*, were written in *Hebrew*. The ancient (*b*) Characters, which *Moses* and the other Authors, that wrote before the Captivity, made use of, according to the common Opinion, were the *Samaritan*. For after the Division of the Ten Tribes under *Rehoboam* the Son of *Salomon*, the *Israelites* preserved the *Pentateuch* in the same form they received it from *Moses*. and (*c*) gave it afterwards to the Men of *Cuth*, who came to settle in their place at *Samaria*, from whence they were called *Samaritans*. The Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* also preserved the same Characters till the *Babylonish* Captivity. But being once carried away into *Babylon*, they insensibly used themselves to write and speak after the manner of the *Chaldeans*. Therefore it was, that (*d*) *Ezrah*, having reviewed, and gathered together the Books of the *Bible*, used the new *Chaldee* Characters, as being better known to the *Jews* than the Ancient, which they have used almost always ever since. But the *Jews* not only borrowed their Characters from the *Chaldeans*, but they borrowed their Language also, which was the same with that of the *Syrians* or *Assyrians*, and came very near the *Hebrew* (*e*). It is very certain, that at first this Language was not common to all the *Jews*, that they all understood *Hebrew*, and that there were likewise some Persons that spoke it still; so that the *Chaldee* and *Hebrew* Tongue were at the same time common in *Judea* (*f*). But by little and little they were confounded together, and the Vulgar Language of the *Jews* became the *Syriack*, but mixed with several *Hebrew* Terms, which was afterwards commonly called *Hebrew*. Nevertheless, the Sacred Books still continued written in *Hebrew*, and the *Jews* read them in that Language in their Synagogues; but the ancient *Hebrew* Language being no longer common, and beginning to be less intelligible to all the *Jews*, they explained the Original *Hebrew* in their Synagogues, and this perhaps might give the first occasion to the (*g*) *Chaldee* Paraphrases, though those we now have seem to be of a later date. The *Hebrew* Text continued in this state without Points, till about the Year of our Lord 500, at which time the (*h*) *Jews* of *Tiberias* invented the Points, to limit and restrain the Reading and Pronunciation of the *Hebrew* Tongue.

I will not lose any time in endeavouring to prove all these things by any larger Explications, since any Man may see them more amply handled by those Persons, who have wrote Volumes of purpose upon these Subjects; Neither will I discourse of the Oriental Versions of the Old Testament, that are all new, and besides of a very inconsiderable authority. But I cannot forbear to spend some time about the *Greek* Version of the *Bible* made by the *LXX*, whom we commonly rank in the number of Ecclesiastical Authors.

It has been long disputed, whether there was not a *Greek* Version of the Books of the Bible more ancient than the Septuagint. St. *Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Eusebius*, and some other ancient Writers, who pretend, that *Plato*, and several other Pagan Philosophers, have borrowed many passages out of the Books of the Bible, were of opinion, that they were Translated into *Greek* before the Seventy undertook that business. They that follow this opinion, support it principally by the Testimony of *Aristobulus* related by *Eusebius*, who says, that before the time of the Seventy, some Persons had explained, *all that concerned the Laws of the* Jews, *their departure out of* Egypt, *and whatever happen'd to them after the taking of their Country*; words that seem to intimate, that the *Pentateuch* had been Translated before the Version of the *Septuagint*. St. *Augustin*, *l.* 18. *De Civit. Dei*, *ch.* 11. and *Baronius* after him deny it, and assure us, that the first Version of the Bible was the *Septuagint*.

Huetius endeavours to reconcile theſe two Opinions, by ſaying, that there were only ſome few fragments of the Old Teſtament tranſlated before the *Septuagint*, but that theſe LXX Elders were the firſt, that made an entire Verſion of all the Sacred Volumes. He grounds his Opinion upon the above-cited paſſage of *Ariſtobulus*, which ought to be only underſtood, *ſays he*, of ſome parts, as the Circumlocution he uſes makes it appear, as well as what he adds, that the Law was firſt entirely tranſlated under *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. But in caſe this Book of *Ariſtobulus* ſhould only be the work of an Hellen iſt *Jew*, as it is exceeding probable, this Opinion would become very uncertain. Let us go on now to the Verſion of the *Septuagint*.

All the Ancient Fathers have believed after *Joſephus* and *Philo*, that the Verſion of the Bible, commonly called the *Septuagint*, was compoſed by Seventy or Seventy two *Jews* ſent to *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, who deſired to have the Jewiſh Books in *Greek*, that he might place them in the Magnificent Library which he had lately erected at *Alexandria* by the care and induſtry of *Demetrius Phalereus* an *Athenian*. This has gone a long time for conſtant Matter of Fact, nor was it ever queſtioned but in our Age, in which ſome Criticks have been found, that have looked upon this Hiſtory to be fabulous. We ſhall examine the conjectures they generally bring to prove it.

In the firſt place they ſay, that this Story is wholly founded upon the Authority of *Ariſteas* and *Ariſtobulus*, from whom *Joſephus* and *Philo* have taken all that they ſay in this matter, and that if theſe two Authors ſhould prove ſpurious, as the greateſt part of the Criticks agree they are, then there would be no other credible Witneſs of the truth of this buſineſs, the Fathers having talked of them only upon the relation of theſe Authors. Secondly, theſe Criticks pretend, that this Hiſtory does not in any manner agree with the Chronology of thoſe times, and they demonſtrate it thus: All thoſe Authors, ſay they, who ſpeak of this ſubject, ſuppoſe, that it was *Demetrius Phalereus*, who had been formerly a great Man at *Athens*, that took the pains to make the *Jews* come to tranſlate the Books of the Bible, and in the mean time they pretend, that this Verſion was compoſed under the Reign of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. Now *Demetrius* could not be in reputation under *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, nor could he be alive at that time, when they ſuppoſe that this Verſion was made. For it is certain, that *Demetrius* lived in *Egypt* under the Reign of *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*, and that having counſelled this Prince to name for his Succeſſors the Children which he had by *Euridice*, he incurred the diſgrace of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, who baniſhed him the Court immediately after the Death of his Father, and ordered him to be kept cloſe in a certain Province, where he died ſoon after, as *Hermippus*, cited by *Diogenes Laertius*, teſtifies. All which makes it evident, that in the firſt place *Demetrius* was never in any credit with *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and conſequently, that he was not Superviſor of his Library, nor ordered to bring the *Jews* to tranſlate the Bible: Secondly, that the Verſion of the *Septuagint* being made, as we are obliged to ſuppoſe, ſome years after the beginning of *Philadelphus*'s Reign, *Demetrius* could not be employed in that affair, ſince he was dead before. 'Tis commonly anſwered, that *Ptolomy Philadelphus* reigned ſome time along with his Father, as 'tis obſerved in *Euſebius*'s *Chronicon*, and that in this time he took care of the Library, and got the Verſion of the Bible to be made. 'Tis likewiſe urged, that this is the reaſon why ſome Authors place this Tranſlation in the time of *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*, and others in the time of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. But in my Opinion, this Anſwer does not clearly remove the difficulty, ſince *Ariſteas* and *Joſephus* tell us in expreſs words, that it happen'd under the Reign of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and that he was the King who took ſo much care to compleat his Library, without making the leaſt mention of his Father. 'Twas to him alone that *Demetrius* addreſs'd himſelf, to procure his Letters to the *Jews*, he was the only Man that wrote them; In a word, all Authors who ſay this matter happen'd under his Reign, ſpeak not one word of *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*, and thoſe that affirm, that it happen'd under the firſt *Ptolomy*, don't mention a Syllable of *Philadelphus*. *Vitruvius* in the Preface to his 7th Book, tells us, that *Ptolomy Philadelphus* made a Library in imitation of the Kings of *Pergamus*, and that *Ariſtophanes*, an *Athenian* Grammarian was his Library Keeper, from whence it follows, that *Demetrius* never managed that Office, and that the Library was not begun till after his Death. For that King of *Pergamus*, in imitation of whom *Ptolomy Philadelphus* erected his Library, was *Eumenes*, who could not poſſibly do it till after the Death of *Demetrius*; and therefore *Suidas* ſays, the Verſion of the *Septuagint* was not made till the 33d year of the Reign of *Philadelphus*, and he obſerves, that *Zenodotus* was his Library Keeper. This ſtill diſcovers another contradiction in *Chronology*, that is to be found in *Ariſteas*'s and *Joſephus*'s Narration; for they ſay, that the Seventy came into *Egypt* when *Ptolomy* made a Solemn Feſtival, occaſioned by a Naval Victory which he obtained over *Antigonus*. This Sea-Fight ought to be the ſame, which *Diodorus* mentions in his 20th Book, and happen'd in the third year of the 118 *Olympiad*. Now at that time *Demetrius* was not come into *Egypt*, where he came not till after the Death of *Caſſander*., which happen'd in the ſecond year of the 120th *Olympiad*, according to the Teſtimony of *Hermippus*. And though one ſhould ſtill maintain, that he came thither at that time, yet it is certain, that *Eleazer* was not then the High Prieſt, ſince according to *Euſebius*, he did not begin to be ſo till the 123d *Olympiad*. They obſerve alſo another Soleciſm in *Chronology*, and that is in the Epiſtle attributed to *Demetrius* by *Ariſteas*: For *Hecatæus* of *Abdera*, that was *Demetrius*'s Contemporary, is there cited as a Man that had been dead a long while ago. Thirdly, 'tis urged againſt the Truth of this Story, that it is notoriouſly full of the fictions and inventions of the Helleniſt *Jews*. It is ſuppoſed there, that *Eleazer* choſe Seventy two Men, by taking ſix out of every Tribe. Now all the World knows, that at this time ſome of the Tribes were not to be found there, as having been carried away out of *Judea*, by *Shalmanezer* after the taking of *Samaria*. To this it may perhaps be replied, that there were ſtill remaining amongſt the *Jews* ſome Perſons deſcended from all thoſe Tribes

that

that were concealed in the Tribe of *Judah*, but that *Eleazer* ſhould find juſt Six and no more in every Tribe, who were able to do ſuch a buſineſs, ſeems, as they ſay, to look a little too fabulous 'It is certain, ſays a modern Critick, that if we reflect a little upon the Hiſtory of *Ariſteas*, and read 'it with never ſo little Application, we ſhall be convinced, that an Helleniſt *Jew* wrote this Book 'under the name of *Ariſteas* in favour of his own Nation. The Miracles that are related there, and 'the very manner in which it is written, give us a true *Idea* of a Jewiſh Genius, which always and 'eſpecially at that time, delighted to publiſh Forgeries, that contained ſcarce any thing but extra-'ordinary things. He tells us, that ſome Perſons having formed a deſign to Tranſlate theſe Sacred 'Volumes, were deterred from their bold reſolution by a ſignal puniſhment from Heaven, that *Theo-'pompus* having determined to inſert ſome part of their Law into the body of his Hiſtory, became 'mad; That the ſame *Theopompus* having pray'd to God, during the intermiſſion of his Diſtemper, 'to diſcover to him the cauſe of this unfortunate accident, God anſwered him in a Dream, that it 'happened to him for his great preſumption in endeavouring to make common thoſe ſacred things 'that ought to be kept private, and that he was reſtored to his former health, after having deſiſted 'from this Enterprize. We read in the ſame place, that *Theodectus*, a Tragick Poet, loſt his ſight, 'for having preſumptuouſly attempted to inſert a paſſage of the Bible into his Works, but that he 'recovered his Sight upon acknowledgment of his fault, and begging pardon of God. After all, the Authors of the Books attributed to *Ariſteas* and *Ariſtobulus* ſay nothing but what is great and pompous, and extraordinary. *Ariſteas* for example does not content himſelf with ſaying, that the Seventy carried a Copy of the Law, but he adds, that they brought one written in Caracters of Gold. He makes *Demetrius* give the King a Petition, that they might have the Books of the *Jews*. He deſcribes the Table, and the other Preſents, which King *Ptolomy* offer'd to the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, very fabulouſly. In a word, there is ſcarce one ſingle Circumſtance in the whole Narration, that does not look very like a fable.

Theſe reaſons, and many others which may yet be brought, have made ſeveral Criticks reject theſe Books that are attributed to *Ariſteas* and *Ariſtobulus*; and what is yet more material, there are ſome Perſons that doubt, whether there were ever any Verſion compoſed by the 70 *Jews* that were ſent to *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. As for my ſelf, although I am heartily perſwaded, that theſe Books of *Ariſteas* and *Ariſtobulus* are ſpurious, yet nevertheleſs (*i*) I am of opinion, that we cannot abſolutely deny, that there was a *Greek* Tranſlation of the Bible made in the time of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*: But I dare by no means affirm, that this buſineſs was done perfectly after the ſame manner, as we find it related in the Book attributed to *Ariſteas*.

Now as the *Jews* are fruitful in Fictions, ſo they are not content with retailing thoſe, that are to be found in this Author, but they have likewiſe added abundance of more extraordinary paſſages, in ſuppoſing that theſe 72 Perſons were ſhut up ſeverally each Man in a particular Cell, and that they all of 'em Tranſlated the Scripture in the ſame manner, inſomuch that all their Tranſlations were found conformable to each other, not only in the ſame Senſe, but even in the ſame Words and Expreſſions. Upon this foundation they pretend, that they were inſpired by God, and that their Verſion ought to be conſidered, as wholly Divine. Some of the Fathers that were extremely inclined to value the Authority of this Tranſlation, readily believed this Fiction of the *Jews* (*k*) but St. *Jerom*, who had examined theſe things more exactly, and who preferred the *Hebrew* Text to the Tranſlation of the *Septuagint*, laughed at this Story with reaſon, ſince neither *Ariſteas*, nor *Philo*, nor *Joſephus*, who were the firſt Perſons that gave us the Hiſtory of this Verſion, ſpoke a word concerning theſe little Cells; but on the contrary *Ariſteas*, or the Author of the Book that bears his name, tells us, that the Seventy, when they made this Verſion, concerted matters amongſt themſelves, and conferr'd together. 'Tis upon the Teſtimony of the ſame Author, that St. *Jerome* aſſures us, that the Seventy only Tranſlated the five Books of *Moſes*. *Ariſteas*, *Ariſtobulus*, and *Philo*, tell us, that they Tranſlated no more than the Law, a word which ordinarily ſignifies the *Pentateuch* only. And though we might underſtand it of all the Books of the Old Teſtament, which is not true, yet *Joſephus* utterly excludes this Explication, by telling us, that this Law was that of the *Legiſlator* of the *Jews*, which paſſage can only agree to *Moſes* and his Books. The *Talmudiſts* are of the ſame Opinion. On the other ſide St. *Auſtin*, and the greateſt part of the ancient Fathers, believed, that the Seventy Tranſlated all the Bible, becauſe in their time the *Greek* Verſion of the Books of Scripture, that are joyned to the five Books of *Moſes*, went under the name of the *Septuagint*: But it is far more probable to believe, that the Seventy only Tranſlated the five Books of *Moſes*, and that the following Books were from time to time Tranſlated by other Authors, as the difference of the ſtyle, that is to be obſerved between the ſeveral Verſions, ſufficiently ſhews, ſince we have not the poſitive Teſtimonies of the Seventy to the contrary, But though the *Greek* Verſion of the other Books of the Bible, joyned to that of the LXX, was not performed by them, yet we muſt acknowledge, that it is very ancient, and that the *Jews* had no other before our Saviour was born.

But after the Chriſtian Religion was ſetled, as the Chriſtians ſupported themſelves by the Authority of the Verſion of the LXX, ſo ſome of the *Jews* reſolved to make a new Tranſlation of the Books of the Bible, which as they pretend, ſhould be more conformable to the *Hebrew* Text, and leſs favourable to the Chriſtians (*l*) *Aquila* the *Jew*, who lived in the time of *Adrian*, was the firſt Man that thought of this deſign, and after put it into execution, by Tranſlating the *Hebrew* Text into *Greek* word for word. Afterwards *Theodotion* (*m*,) a Diſciple of *Tatian*, who after turned *Marcionite* and at laſt a *Jew*, and flouriſhed in the time of the Emperor *Commodus*, made another *Greek* Verſion of the whole Bible, in which, as he does not confine himſelf ſo cloſely to the Letter, as *Aquila* did

ſo neither does he depart ſo far from it as *Symmachus* (*n*,) the Author of the third Verſion who lived in the time of the Emperor *Severus*. He had formerly been a *Jew*, and at laſt went over to the Sect of the *Ebionites*, which comes up very near to *Judaiſm*. His Verſion is much freer, and he only concerns himſelf to render the Senſe, without ſticking at the words (*o*.) In the time of the Emperor *Caracalla* there was another Verſion of the Books of the Bible found, or at leaſt of one part thereof, and likewiſe a ſixth under *Alexander* the Son of *Mammea*, which is called the *Nicopolitan*. Laſtly, *Origen* added a Seventh Verſion, but that reached the *Pſalms* only. The *Hexapla*, and *Tetrapla* of *Origen* were compoſed of theſe Verſions. In the *Hexapla*, they were joyned to the *Hebrew* Text written two ways, that is to ſay, in *Greek* Characters, and in *Hebrew* Characters, and this compoſed the two firſt Columns of the Work: In the third Column ſtood *Aquila*'s Tranſlation, which was joyned to the *Hebrew* Text, as following the letter more Religiouſly than any of the reſt. The Verſion of the *Septuagint* was placed between that of *Symmachus* and *Theodotion*, and ſo theſe three Verſions compoſed three Columns: the two other Verſions were ranked in the two laſt Columns, and the Seventh, which was of the Book of *Pſalms*, in the ninth Column. I think that this Work ought rather to be called *Octapla* than *Hexapla*, being compoſed of eight Columns; and therefore ſome have believed, that the *Hexapla* did not contain the fifth and ſixth Verſion, but only the other four; and that theſe two Verſions having been added ſince *Origen*, they then made *Octapla* of them. But *Euſebius*, and (*p*) St. *Jerome*, with ſeveral of the ancient Writers, make no diſtinction at all between the *Octapla* and *Hexapla*, but only between the *Tetrapla* and the *Hexapla*, and plainly affirm, that both the fifth and ſixth Verſion were in the *Hexapla* of *Origen*, and even the ſeventh of the Book of *Pſalms*. Therefore we muſt either ſay, that they counted not the two Columns of the *Hebrew* Text, or elſe, that the fifth and ſixth Verſions were only of ſome particular Books of the Bible; and that thus the ſame Work of *Origen* had ſix Columns in ſome places, in others eight, and even nine in the *Pſalms*, but that they were called *Hexapla*, either becauſe there were generally but ſix Columns, or becauſe the fifth and ſixth Columns were afterwards added. And this appears to be the Opinion of St. *Epiphanius*, which the Learned *Huetius* has ſo excellently explained. In the *Tetrapla*, that were made after the *Hexapla*, *Origen* has retrenched the fifth and ſixth Verſions, as alſo the two Columns of the *Hebrew* Text, ſo that they were only compoſed of the Verſions of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, the *Septuagint*, and *Theodotion*. We muſt ſtill obſerve, that the Verſion of the *Septuagint*, that was in the *Hexapla*, and *Tetrapla*, was corrected and augmented in ſeveral places, yet without being changed. For *Origen* added there ſome paſſages taken from *Theodotion*, which he marked with an Aſterisk, and as for thoſe places, that as he ſuppoſed ought to be cut off, and retrenched, he incloſed them between two Hooks. Since that there have been three Verſions of the *Septuagint* uſed in the Church. The firſt is the ancient or vulgar, and was received by *Lucian*, it was uſed in *Conſtantinople*, and in the Eaſt. The ſecond was that of *Heſychius*, which they uſed in *Alexandria*, and all over *Egypt*. Laſtly, the third, which was uſed in *Paleſtine*, was the ſame with that, which was in the *Hexapla* of *Origen*, and which *Euſebius* and *Pamphilus* tranſcribed, and publiſhed ſeparately. Here, ſays *St. Jerome*, are the three different Verſions of Scripture, that divide the whole Earth. *Totiſque orbis hac inter ſe trifariâ varietate compugnat*. I ſhall not ſay any thing about the Authority of the Verſion of the *Septuagint*, compared with that *Hebrew* Text, becauſe it is a great and famous Queſtion that does not in the leaſt concern that deſign I have propoſed to my ſelf.

NOTES.

(*a*) WERE *almoſt all written in* Hebrew.] We muſt except *Judith*, *Tobit*, ſome Chapters of *Daniel*, and ſome of the firſt Book of *Ezrah*, which are written in *Chaldee*, and ſome other Chapters of the ſame Prophet *Daniel*, with the Books of the *Maccabees* that are written in *Greek*.

(*b*) *The Characters which* Moſes *made uſe of*, &c. *were the* Samaritan.] This Opinion was taken for granted in St. *Jerome*'s time, as he himſelf obſerves in his Preface to the *Kings*, and it is confirmed by ancient Medals, where we find this Inſcription, *Holy Jeruſalem*, written in *Hebrew* in the *Samaritan* Characters; and this could not be written after the diviſion of the Tribes, for at that time the *Samaritans* did not conſider *Jeruſalem* as an Holy City.

(*c*) *Gave it to the Men of* Cuth.] 'Tis far more probable, that the Men of *Cuth* had the Books of the Law rather from the *Iſraelites* than the *Jews*. In the firſt place, becauſe they preſerved them written in the ancient Character, which makes it evident, that they did not receive them after the Captivity, ſince the *Jews* at that time wrote in *Syriack* Characters. Secondly, becauſe the Collection of the Sacred Books amongſt the *Samaritans* only contained the *Pentateuch*, and conſequently they received them of the *Iſraelites*, who acknowledged no other Books but theſe to be Sacred, and not of the *Jews*, who admitted the reſt.

(*d*) Ezrah *having reviewed and gathered together the Books of the Bible.*] I have followed the common opinion of the *Jews* and Holy Fathers, who aſcribe the collecting and reviſing of the Sacred Volums of the Old Teſtament to *Ezrah*: Others are of Opinion, that it was *Nehemiah* that took this care, but let the matter be how it will, certain

certain it is, that the *Jews* at their return from their *Babylonian* Captivity, took care to search after and gather their Books together. The Author of the fourth Book of *Esdras*, which is a Book full of falsities and fictions, supposeth, that all the Copies of the Sacred Books being burnt or lost, *Ezrah* dictated them all anew by a Divine Inspiration. We have this Fable at length in the 14th Chapter of this Book, where, it is tack'd to several other foolish Whimsies. St. *Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Theodoret*, and St. *Basil* have followed this Opinion, without reflecting upon it; but others who have used more precaution in this matter, are content to say with us, that *Ezrah* collected, review'd, digested, and put in order the Books of Holy Scripture, when there were many Copies of it as yet remaining. This is the opinion of St. *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, St. *Jerome*, St. *Chrysostom*, the Author of the *Abridgement of the Bible*, commonly attributed to St. *Athanasius*, and of several others. The first opinion is not only extremely prejudicial to Religion, but impossible to be maintain'd. For first, What probability is there, that the *Jews* during the Captivity, should lose all the Copies of that Book, for which they always preserved so profound a veneration, and which was the foundation of their Religion? Why should we think, that not one single Man amongst them kept it by him? Is it credible, that *Ezekiel Daniel*, and *Jeremiah* were deprived of reading the Books of the Law? Can one conceive, that *Ezrah* had no other knowledge of them than by Inspiration? He, I say, that was so learned a Doctor of the Law of *Moses* at the time when he was in *Babylon*, as it appears, *ch.* 7. *v.* 6. of the first Book of *Ezrah*. 2. We ought to make the same reflection upon the *Israelites* of the Ten Tribes. Now it is not probable, that they did not carry the Holy Books along with them. The Book of *Tobit* informs us, that *Tobit* read the Prophecy of *Amos*, *Tob. c.* 2. *v.* 6. 3. And 3dly, is it not past dispute, that the Men of *Cuth* preserved the *Pentateuch*, which the *Israelites* of the Ten Tribes gave them? 4. It appears by the 9th Chapter of *Daniel*, that the *Jews* had the Books of *Moses*, and read them during the Captivity. *All Israel*, says this Prophet, *have transgressed thy Law, even by departing, that they might not obey thy voice, and therefore the curse is poured upon us, and the oath that is written in the Law of* Moses, *because we have sinned against him.* And a little lower, *All this evil is come upon us, as it is written in the Law of* Moses. 5. It is said in the sixth Chapter of the Book of *Ezrah*, that the building of the Temple was finished in the sixth year of *Darius*, and that the Priests and Levites were established in their Ministerial Functions as it is written in the Law of *Moses*. *Sicut scriptum est in lege Moysis.* Now *Ezrah* was not yet come up to *Jerusalem*, for it is related in the following Chapter, that he arrived in *Judea* in the seventh year of King *Artaxerxes*. 6. In the second Book of *Ezrah*, *ch.* 8. the People being desirous to be instructed in the Law of *Moses*, did not request him to dictate it to them anew, but only to bring the Book of the Law of *Moses*, which the Lord had given to the People of *Israel*. *Et dixerunt Esdræ scribæ, ut afferret librum legis Moysis quam præceperat Deus Israeli*, And it is said immediately after, that *Ezrah* brought the Book of the Law, and read it before all the People. It will be said, perhaps, that I have borrowed these Reasons out of another Man's Book; I own it, but I thought they were suitable to the present occasion.

(*e*) *It is very certain, that at first this Language was not common to all the Jews.*] This is abundantly proved against the common Opinion, by what is said in the Book of *Nehemiah*, *ch.* 13. *v.* 24. that the Children of the *Jews* who had Married strange Women, spoke *Asotice*, and not *Judaice*. In the *Hebrew* the words are *Asdodith*, and *Jehudith*, and this last word in the second Book of *Kings*, *ch.* 18. *v.* 26. is opposed to *Aramith*, which signifies in *Syriack*, *Precamur, loquaris nobis Syriace & non Judaice*; in the first Book of *Ezrah*, *ch.* 4. *v.* 7. and in the Prophet *Daniel*, *ch.* 2. *v.* 4. *Aramith* has still the same signification. On the contrary *Jehudith* signifies the *Hebrew* Tongue in opposition to the *Syriack*, as we may see in the second Book of *Chron. ch.* 32. *v.* 18. 2 *Kings* 18. 26. and in *Isaiah*, *ch.* 36. *v.* 11. There were several *Jews* therefore in the time of *Ezrah* that still spoke *Hebrew*. And this is evidently proved by the Books of *Ezrah* that were made since the Captivity, and yet were written in *Hebrew*, and not in *Chaldee*, except some Chapters of the first Book of *Ezrah*, where he tells us of the opposition, that the Officers of the King of *Persia*, who spoke *Chaldee*, gave to the *Jews*. From whence it follows, that the *Jews* both understood and spoke *Hebrew*. For otherwise why should *Ezrah*, if he designed to have his Books intelligible by all the *Jews*, write them in a Language, which was not natural to them. The same consideration will hold good as to the Books of the latter Prophets, who wrote in *Hebrew* after the Captivity, and yet addressed their Prophecies to all the People. But lastly, that which admits of no reply, is a remarkable passage in the Book of *Nehemiah*, *ch.* 8. and 9. where we find that the Law was read in *Hebrew* before the People, and all the People hearkened to it, and understood it; These Remarks have been lately made by a very Ingenious and Learned Person. Mr. *Simon* indeed brags, that he has invincible Reasons to overthrow them; When he has Honoured the World with a Sight of them, we shall see whether they are powerful enough to make us retract this Opinion, as he would willingly perswade us they are; but in the mean time he ought not to take it amiss, if till then, we continue in the same mind.

(*f*) *The Syriack Tongue mix'd with Hebrew Words became the vulgar Language of the Jews, which was afterwards called the Hebrew Tongue.*] The truth of this appears by the *Hebrew* Words that we find in the New Testament, which are all, as St. *Jerome* observes, *Syriack* Words, and what our blessed Saviour says, 'That one Iota of 'the Law of God shall pass away, *&c.* makes it evident, that the *Jews* at that time used the present *Hebrew* Alphabet, and not the ancient, and it is demonstrated from hence, that the י of the *Jews* was a little Letter, which is true of the *Syriack* [and *Hebrew*] *Jod*, and not of the *Samaritan*, which has three Feet.

(*g*)

(*g*) *The Chaldee Paraphraſes which we have ſeen to be of a later date.*] The *Chaldee* Paraphraſe is divided into three Parts: The firſt, that contains the *Pentateuch*, is attributed to *Onkelos*; The ſecond, that contains the Prophets, to *Jonathan*; The third, to one *Joſephus* the blind. There is likewiſe another Paraphraſe of the *Pentateuch*, called that of *Jeruſalem*, and another of the *Canticles*; but all theſe Paraphraſes are imperfect, as well as new. Since that time the *Jews* having committed to writing abundance of Traditions in a Book which they call *Miſna*, they afterwards compoſed Commentaries upon it, whereof the moſt celebrated is called the *Gemera*. But all theſe Books are full of ridiculous fooliſh Fictions, and have nothing common with the Scripture; The *Maſora*, that is, a ſort of a Critical Performance upon the Bible, is of more uſe and advantage. The Follies and Whimſies of the *Cabala* are impertinent and impious.

(*h*) *About the year of our Lord* 500, *the Jews of* Tiberias *invented the Points.*] Theſe Points were not uſed in St. *Jerome*'s time, as may be eaſily proved from ſeveral Paſſages of this Father drawn out of his 22d Queſtion upon *Jeremiah*, and out of his Commentary upon *Habakkuk*, in Chap. 3. Verſ. 20. which abundantly ſhew that in his time the Pronunciation of the *Hebrew* Words was not determined by the Points, as it has been ſince.

(*i*) *I am of opinion, that one cannot abſolutely deny, that there was a Greek Verſion of the Books of the Bible made in the time of* Ptolomy Philadelphus.] It is not credible, that the Authors of the Books attributed to *Ariſteas* and *Ariſtobulus* entirely invented the whole Hiſtory, and that there is no part of it true. 'Tis far more probable, that they only added ſeveral Circumſtances to the Matter of Fact, which was aſſuredly certain. Mr. *Simon* imagines, that this Verſion was called the *Septuagint*, becauſe it was approved by the *Sanedrim*, but this is a Conjecture without any Foundation.

(*k*) *Some of the Fathers have believed this Fiction of the* Talmudiſts.] The Author of the Diſcourſe againſt the *Greeks*, attributed to St. *Juſtin*, St. *Irenæus*, and St. *Clement*, believed it, St. *Auſtin* queſtioned and doubted the truth of it, St. *Jerome* laughs at it.

(*l*) Aquila *the Jew.*] A certain *Syriack* Author, cited by Monſieur *Le Jai* [the Publiſher of the *French Polyglot*,] tells us, that he was deſcended from *Adrian*, and adds many other Paſſages that are extremely improbable. St. *Jerome* aſſures us, that he was a *Jew*, in his Commentary upon the third Chapter of *Habakkuk*, upon the third of *Iſaiah*, and in his Epiſtle to *Marcellus*.

(*m*) Theodotion *the Diſciple of* Tatian.] St. *Jerom*'s Teſtimony confirms what we have ſaid here, St. *Irenæus* names him in his Book againſt Hereſie, from whence it follows, that he lived when *Elutherius* was Pope,

(*n*) *Symmachus*, &c.] What we ſay concerning this Man, is taken out of St. *Jerom* in his Preface upon *Job*; *Euſebius* alſo ſays, *l.* 6. *c.* 7. that he was an *Ebionite*; and this is the reaſon why *Hilary* the Deacon, Author of *The Commentary of St. Paul*, attributed to St. *Ambroſe*, calls the *Ebionites Symmachians*.

(*o*) *We yet find another Verſion of the Bible in the time of the Emperor* Caracalla.] St. *Epiphanius* is of opinion, that this Fifth Verſion was found at *Jericho*, the Author of *The Abridgment* attributed to St. *Athanaſius* is of the ſame opinion: But *Euſebius* following the Teſtimony of *Origen*, tells us, that the fixth was found at *Nicopolis*; that we don't know where *Origen* found the fifth: and that the ſeventh, which was only a Verſion of the *Pſalms*, was found at *Jericho*. Conſult *Euſeb. l.* 6. *c.* 16. St. *Jerom* aſſures us, that all theſe Tranſlations were made by *Jews*.

(*p*) Euſebius, *St.* Jerom, *and ſeveral other Ancients make no diſtinction between the* Octapla *from the* Hexapla.] They place the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh Verſion, in what they call the *Hexapla*, St. *Epiphanius* in his Book of *Weights and Meaſures*, ſpeaks of the *Octapla*, but as of a Work which was not diſtinguiſhed from the *Hexapla*, for after he has deſcribed the *Hexapla*, he adds, *And if we find there the fifth and ſixth Verſion added, it follows that we ought to call them* Octapla. Theſe Columns were unqueſtionably written upon different Rolls, that were faſten'd one to the ſide of another.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Of some Authors, whose Works have a Relation to the Old Testament, *viz.* Philo. T. Flavius, Josephus, Justus, Aristeas, Aristobulus, Josephus Bengorion, Berosus, *the false* Dorotheus, Zoroaster, *&c.*

THere are several Authors, whose Works, whether Genuine or Spurious, have a Relation to the History of the Old Testament, whom we think our selves obliged to take some short notice of.

Philo, a *Jew* of *Alexandria*, lived in the time of *Caius Caligula*, and was the chief Person of an Embassy, that the *Jews* sent to the Emperor. He composed several Works upon the Old Testament, a Catalogue of which may be seen in *Eusebius*'s History, *l.* 2. *ch.* 8. and in St. *Jerom*'s Book of Ecclesiastical Writers, as well as at the beginning of the *Greek* and *Latin* Impression of his own Writings, printed at *Paris* 1640. This Author is a *Platonist*, and so well imitates *Plato*'s Style, that he has been called by some *The Jewish Plato*: He explained the whole Bible by way of Allegory, he is very Eloquent and Diffusive, his Works are full of Moral Thoughts, and continual Allegories upon all the Histories of the Bible; he approaches very near the Notions of the Christians in his Morals. His Works were published in *Greek* by *Turnebus*, and printed at *Paris* 1552. and at *Francfort* 1587. Translated into *Latin* by *Gelenius*, and printed at *Basil* 1554, and in 1561. at *Lyons* 1555. in *Greek* at *Geneva* 1603. and in *Greek* and *Latin* at *Paris* 1640.

Josephus was descended of the Sacerdotal Race of the *Asmoneans*, as we are told in his Life, which he wrote himself, where all his Employments and Actions are exactly related. He was born *Anno Dom.* 37. and died 93. He was Sirnamed *Flavius*, by reason of *Vespasian*. He composed the History of the *Jews*, which he took for the most part out of the Books of the Bible, and continued it down to the time of the Wars of the *Jews*, under the Name of *The Jewish Antiquities*. He also wrote the History of the War against the *Romans*, and the taking of *Jerusalem*. He has likewise written, besides his own Life, two excellent Books against *Appion* to answer the Objections, which that Heathen had muster'd up against the Antiquity of the *Jewish* Nation, the Purity of the Law, and the Conduct of *Moses*; and he has written a Treatise concerning the Martyrdom of the *Maccabees*, which is called by *Erasmus*, and not without Reason, *An exquisite Master-piece of Eloquence*. This Author wrote very politely, and the turn which he gives things, is very agreeable. His History is beautified with admirable Descriptions, very eloquent Harangues, and very sublime Thoughts; his Style is clear and faithful, he not only diverts his Readers, but he also brings them over to what side he pleases; in one word, he excites and calms the Passions as himself thinks fit. We may say, he is a perfect Historian, and we may justly call him the *Levi* of the *Greeks*. The Treatise of the *Maccabees* sufficiently shews the Beauty of his Genius, and the Height of his Eloquence; and his Books against *Appion* demonstrate his profound Learning, and the exactness of his Judgment. The Works of this Author have been printed several times in *Latin*, of the Translation partly of *Ruffinus*, partly of *Gelenius*, and partly of *Erasmus*; and at *Geneva* in *Greek* and *Latin*, *Anno Dom.* 1611. It were to be wish'd that we had a new Edition of it, in a better Letter, and better Paper.

Justus of *Tiberias* wrote also an History of the *Jews*, and some Commentaries upon the Bible, but *Josephus* accuses him of Falsity and Lying. We had not placed him in the number of the Ecclesiastical Authors, if St. *Jerom* had not done it before us.

The Books of *Aristeas* and *Aristobulus* concerning the Version of the *Septuagint*, are manifest Forgeries, and imposed upon the World by some Hellenist *Jew*, as we have already shewn when we were discoursing of that Version.

The History of the War of the Jews by *Josephus Bengorion*, was written by an Author that lived since St. *Jerom*'s time. He speaks of the *Goths* as being in *Spain*, and of the *Franks* in *Gaul*. Now these People were not setled in *Spain* and in *France* till about the Fifth Century, and so by consequence this is a spurious Writer, who having stolen several things out of the true *Josephus*, has mingled them after his manner with Fictions and Fables.

The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, which is extant in the first Volume of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, is a Book wholly filled with Trifles and Impertinencies, and deserves nothing but contempt. Neither should one have a better opinion for the Abridgment of the Lives of the Prophets, the Apo-

ſtles, and the other Diſciples, attributed to *Dorotheus* of *Tyre*, who ſuffered Martyrdom in the time of *Diocleſian*. It is a Book altogether unknown to the Ancients, full of groſs Faults and Miſtakes in Hiſtory, and made up of Fables and Tales to divert the Reader.

There are ſome Books that go under the Name of *Beroſus* the *Chaldean*, of *Manetho* the *Egyptian*, and of *Metaſthenes*; but they are altogether unworthy of thoſe great Men, whoſe Names they carry, and the Forgery is plain and manifeſt. All thoſe Paſſages out of the true *Beroſus*, cited by *Joſephus* in his Book againſt *Appion*, are not to be found in this Book that is aſcribed to him, but we find there are ſeveral Things that are clean contrary. He ſpeaks of the City of *Lyons*, which had not that Name till after *Cæſar*'s time. In ſhort, the Hiſtory of *Beroſus* went no farther than the time of *Nabuchadonoſor*, and *Nabopalaſſar*, and this deſcends much lower.

The Book of (*a*) *Zoroaſter*, of *The Sacred Hiſtory of the Perſians*, a Fragment whereof is cited by *Euſebius* in his firſt Book *De præpar. Evangel.* is a ſuppoſititious Work, as well as the other Writings attributed to that fabulous Author. In fine, the Hiſtory of the *Phenicians*, which is ſuppoſed to be written by (*b*) *Sanchoniathon*, and tranſlated into *Greek* by *Philo Biblius* (*c*), who lived in the time of *Adrian*, is a Romance, wherein there are ſeveral Pages taken out of the Hiſtory of the Bible, and many Circumſtances of the Fables of the *Greeks*.

NOTES.

(*a*) *Zoroaſter.*] There were many of this Name; but 'tis generally held, that the firſt and moſt celebrated of them lived in the time of *Nimrod*, that he was King of the *Bactrians*, and that he was overcome by *Ninus*. They ſpeak wonderful Things of his Knowledge, his Wiſdom, and of the Prodigies which he wrote. They make him the firſt Author of the *Perſian* Philoſophy, which they called Magick. *Plato* ſpeaks of *Zoroaſter* as Inventor of the Science amongſt the *Perſians*, and obſerves that he was the Son of *Oromazes*. *Eubulus*, cited by *Porphyry*, attributes the Inſtitution of the Myſteries of the Goddeſs *Mithra* to him. *Eudoxus* and *Hermippus*, cited by *Pliny*, tells us, that he lived Six thouſand Years before *Plato*. But *Cteſias*, who has written the Hiſtory of *Zoroaſter*, teſtifies, that he lived in the time of *Cyrus*. This is the reaſon why *Arnobius* diſtinguiſhed the two *Zoroaſters*. *Euſebius* alſo makes *Zoroaſter* as old as *Ninus*, and St. *Epiphanius* ſays, that he lived in the time of *Nimrod*. He is called *Zarades* by the *Perſians*, and by the *Greeks Zoroaſter*. There are ſeveral Explications given of his Name: Some pretend, that it ſignifies a Living Star; others ſay, that he was the Son of *Aſter*; and laſtly, others tell us, that it ſignifies a Contemplator of the Stars. All that is related of the ancient *Zoroaſter* is fabulous. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that the King of *Bactria*, that fought againſt *Ninus*, was named *Oxiartes*, and not *Zoroaſter*. Nevertheleſs there is a great deal of reaſon to believe, that there was a Man of this Name amongſt the *Perſians*, who taught 'em Magick. *Hermippus* tells us, that he made an infinite number of Verſes. The Fragment, which *Euſebius* cites in the 7th Chapter of his firſt Book *De præparatione Evangelicâ*, taken out of the Hiſtory of the *Perſians* attributed to this Author, has ſo plainly explained all the Attributes of God, that it is viſible, it was compoſed by an Author who was no Stranger to the Chriſtian Religion. *Syneſius* cites the Oracles of *Zoroaſter*, upon the Dreams that are taken out of the Works of the later *Platoniſts*. Theſe Oracles have been publiſh'd by *Opſopæus*, and printed at *Paris* 1599, with the Notes of *Pſellus* and *Plato*. 'Tis no difficult matter to diſcover, that theſe Writings have been forged by the *Platoniſts*, that lived ſince our Bleſſed Saviour.

(*b*) *Sanchoniathon.*] This Author was unknown to all the Ancients. *Porphyry* is the firſt Man that cited this Hiſtory, which is full of Fables and ridiculous Fictions. Whatever we there find concerning the Origine of the World, and the firſt Men, is taken out of *Geneſis*. From thence he has borrowed the Word *Bohu* to ſignifie Night, and that of *Colpia*, which is given to the Wind; as for what he ſays of the *Æora*, and of the *Firſtborn*, it looks very like the Dreams of the *Valentinians*. Laſtly, he takes ſeveral things out of the Fables of the *Greeks*, which evidently ſhew, that the Author of this Book could not live in the time of *Semiramis*, [Mr. *Dodwell* has writ an *Engliſh* Diſcourſe, to prove that this Book could not be older than *Philo Byblius*, who is ſaid to Tranſlate it out of the *Phœnician* Language.]

(*c*) *Philo Byblius.*] This Man was a *Grammarian*, of whom mention is made in *Suidas*, who lived after *Nero*'s time, for 'tis obſerved, that he was 78 Years old, when *Serus* and *Herennius* were Conſuls, which was *A. D.* 137. that is almoſt an hundred Years after the Death of *Nero*. According to the Teſtimony of the ſame *Suidas*, he wrote twelve Books, Περὶ ἱλίου, καὶ ἐκλογῆς βιβλίων, and thirty Books, Περὶ πολέων, *Et de Claris viris*; and one Treatiſe about *Adrian*'s Empire, under which he lived. *Suidas* does not ſpeak of this Tranſlation of the Hiſtory of *Phœnicia*, *Euſebius* and *Theodoret* cite it after *Pophyry*. This *Philo* is probably the Man, of whom St. *Clement* of *Alexandria* ſpeaks, *lib.* 1. *Strom.* and whom he calls *Philo* the *Pythagorean*.

SECT.

SECT. V.

Concerning the Authors of the Books of the New Teſtament.

THE Goſpel in the *Greek* Language ſignifies *(a) Happy Tidings*, but now this Word, in the common acceptation of the Church, is taken for the Hiſtory of the Life of *Jeſus Chriſt*; and the Name of *Evangeliſt*, that was heretofore given to all thoſe Perſons that preach'd the Word of God, is at preſent only given to the four Saints that writ the four Goſpels, which the Church has always owned for Canonical. We there find two Apoſtles, that were Eye-Witneſſes of the Life and Actions of *Jeſus Chriſt*; and two Diſciples of the Apoſtles, who wrote their Goſpel upon relation of others.

The firſt of the four Evangeliſts is St. *Matthew*, who of a Publican became an Apoſtle of our Bleſſed Saviour: He wrote his Goſpel in *Jeruſalem* ſoon after the Death of *Jeſus Chriſt* *(c)*, in favour of the Jews that embraced the Chriſtian Faith, as St. *Jerome* has obſerved. *(d)* For this reaſon he wrote in Hebrew, or rather in Syriack. according to the Teſtimony of *Papias*, St. *Irenæus*, *Euſebius*, St. *Jerome*, St. *Chryſoſtom*, St. *Epiphanius*, and indeed of almoſt all the Antients, whoſe poſitive Determinations we ought not to reject, unleſs we have convincing Proofs to the contrary.

Therefore the Opinion of *Cajetan* and ſome others, who pretend, that the Original of St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel was written in *Greek*, is rejected with reaſon by all the Learned Criticks, as being eſtabliſhed upon very weak Foundations. St. *Jerome* aſſures us, that in his own time he ſaw an Hebrew Copy of this Goſpel in the Library at *Cæſarea*, and that the Nazarenes likewiſe had a Copy of it in the City of *Beræa*, which they gave him the liberty to Tranſcribe; and that it was remarkable, that all the Paſſages out of the *Old Teſtament*, cited in this Goſpel, were exactly according to the Hebrew, and not according to the *Septuagint*. *Euſebius* alſo tells us, that *Pantænus* found a Copy of it amongſt the *Indians*, but it is not certain, whether that was not a Copy of the Goſpel of the Nazarenes which was different from that of St. *Matthew*. However it is, 'tis paſt diſpute, that the Original, Hebrew of St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel is loſt at preſent; and it is equally certain, that the Hebrew Texts, that have been publiſhed in our time, are not the Original of St. *Matthew* *(e)*, no more than the Syriack Verſion publiſhed by *Widmanſtadius*: The Greek Verſion, which we have, is very ancient, and was extant even in the time of the Apoſtles, as St. *Jerome* and St. *Auſtin* have obſerved. We cannot tell who is the Author of it: Some Perſons, as for inſtance, St. *Athanaſius* in his Book, Entituled, *The Abridgment of Scripture*, attribute it to St. *James*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, *Theophylact* to St. *John*; *Papias* ſays, that they Tranſlated into Greek, as well as they could, without naming in particular any Author of that Verſion.

(f) The Evangeliſt, St. *Mark*, the Diſciple and Interpreter of St. *Peter*, and Founder of the Church of *Alexandria*, ſeems to be different from that *Mark*, who is ſo often mentioned in the Acts of the *Apoſtles*, and in the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*. *(g)* He compoſed his Goſpel at *Rome* with St. *Peter*, at the intreaty of the Chriſtians reſiding in that City, ſetting down in Writing thoſe things which he had learned from that Apoſtle, who alſo approved of his Goſpel after it was compoſed. *(h)* Some late Authors imagine, that it was written in Latin, but this Opinion is contrary to St. *Jerome*'s and St. *Auſtin*'s Opinion, and indeed has no tolerable Pretences to ſupport it, for we can no more doubt that St. *Mark* wrote it in Greek, than that St. *Luke* or St. *John* did theirs. He follows St. *Matthew* in abundance of things, and ſometimes abridges him, nevertheleſs there are ſome Hiſtorical Paſſages which he relates more copiouſly, and with the addition of ſeveral Circumſtances. 'Tis commonly believed, that this Goſpel was written in the Forty third year of our Saviour's Birth, and, according to the common Computation, Ten Years after his Death, but this is not certain. St. *Jerome* obſerves that the laſt Chapter of this Goſpel is to be found but in very few Copies, and that almoſt all the Greeks reject it. *Wherefore*, ſays he, *one may reject it, particularly becauſe it ſeems to relate ſome things contrary to the account we have of them in the other Evangeliſts.* And in his ſecond Book againſt the *Pelagians*, he cites a Paſſage that was inſerted into this Chapter, and contained the Error of the *Manichees*: It plainly proceeds from this Addition, that in moſt of the Copies of St. *Mark*, this Chapter was entirely left out; for as for the reſt, it is cited by St. *Irenæus*, and ſeveral others, and contains nothing that cannot be reconciled with eaſe to the Accounts given by the other Evangeliſts.

St. *Luke* was of *Antioch*, the Metropolitical City of *Syria*, *(i)* He was a Phyſician by Profeſſion, and very well skilled in the Greek Tongue; *(k)* He was not an Apoſtle or Diſciple of *Jeſus Chriſt*, but was a Diſciple or Follower of St. *Paul*, whom he accompanied in his Voyages. He himſelf tells us, ſays *Euſebius*, in the beginning of his Goſpel, the reaſon of his writing, for many Perſons having raſhly undertaken to write the Evangelick Hiſtory, he thought himſelf obliged to reſcue it out of

ill Hands, after he had been exactly informed of all the Occurrences by thoſe that were Eye-witneſſes and Miniſters of the Word, that is to ſay, by the Apoſtles, and particularly by St. *Paul*. 'Tis imagined, that the Apoſtle ſpeaks of this Goſpel, when he ſays, *according to my Goſpel*, and that he meant St. *Luke* when he wrote this paſſage. *The Brother whoſe praiſe is in the Goſpel in all Churches, Cujus laus eſt in Evangelio per omnes Eccleſias.* St. *Jerome* obſerves, that he wrote his Goſpel travelling along with St. *Paul*, when he was in *Achaia* and *Bœotia*, towards the ſecond year of *Nero*, and the fifty ſixth of Jeſus Chriſt. The ſame Father aſſures us, that he always continued unmarried, and that he lived Fourſcore and four years. He is alſo the Author of the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, which Book contains the Hiſtory of the Church from the Aſcenſion of our bleſſed Saviour to the fourth year of *Nero*, during the ſpace of 29 or 30 years.

St. *John* the Evangeliſt of the City of *Bethſaida* in *Galilee*, was the Son of *Zebedee*, and was called to the Apoſtleſhip when he was very young. St. *Jerome* and *Tertullian* affirm, that he continued in the ſtate of Celibacy all his Life-time. He was the dearly beloved Diſciple of Jeſus Chriſt, and 'tis ſuppoſed, that he ſpeaks of himſelf, when he ſays, *the Diſciple whom Jeſus loved*: But though this were not to be thus underſtood, yet the tenderneſs which Jeſus Chriſt had for him, ſufficiently appear'd in the laſt Supper, when he placed him in his Boſom, and in his laſt words to his Mother, *Woman behold thy Son.* After the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, he went and preached the Goſpel in *Aſia*, where he founded and governed the Churches for a long time, being Biſhop of *Epheſus*, the Metropolis of that Province. He was condemned at *Rome* by the Emperor *Domitian* to be thrown into a Veſſel of burning Oyl, but he came out, ſays *Tertullian*, more vigorous and ſtrong than when he enter'd in at firſt. He was baniſhed afterwards into the Iſle of *Patmos*, where, as 'tis generally ſuppoſed, he wrote his *Revelation.* After the Death of *Domitian* he came back to *Epheſus*, and there wrote his *Goſpel*, about an hundred years after the Birth of our Bleſſed Saviour. St. *Jerome* reports, that he was engaged in this Work by the other Biſhops and Chriſtians of *Aſia*, who obliged him to write his *Goſpel*, to confound the Errors of *Cerinthus* and *Ebion*, who ſaid, that Jeſus Chriſt was a meer Man, and that He had no being before He was born of the Virgin *Mary*. The ſame Father adds, that he had yet another reaſon to write his *Goſpel* after others, for having read the *Goſpels* of St. *Matthew*, St. *Mark*, and St. *Luke*, he obſerved, that they only concerned themſelves to write the Hiſtory of one year of our Bleſſed Saviour's Life, namely, from the Impriſonment of St. *John*, down to the Death of our Saviour, which made him reſolve to give an account of the moſt conſiderable things that occurred in the preceding years. He has likewiſe written three *Epiſtles*. The firſt, of which no Man ever doubted, is directed to the Faithful, and particularly to the *Parthians*, if we may believe St. *Auſtin*, and ſome other ancient Writers, that is to ſay, to all the Faithful diſperſed in *Perſia*, which at that time was under the Domination of the *Parthians*. We don't certainly know the time or place where it was written. The two others were directed to particular Perſons, one to a Lady called *Electa*, the other to *Gaius*. They only carry the name of an Elder or Prieſt; which has made ſome People of opinion, that they were written by another St. *John*, as *Euſebius* and St. *Jerome* obſerve. But the Stile, the Spirit, and Thoughts of theſe *Epiſtles*, together with the concurring Authority of moſt of the Fathers, make it evident, that they belong to this Evangeliſt. There is a greater difficulty about the *Apocalypſe*, the Stile of which Book appears to be different from the reſt, and which ſeveral of the Ancients rejected, or attributed to another St. *John*: but the moſt received opinion is, that it was written by the Evangeliſt. The Stile of St. *John* is ſimple, and has little eloquence in it, but his Thoughts are very lofty. He lived till the time of *Trajan*, not dying till the 68th year after the Paſſion of our Bleſſed Saviour.

St. *Paul* deſcended of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, and born in the City of *Tarſus*, came up to *Jeruſalem*, and there became the Diſciple of *Gamaliel*, a famous Phariſee. He was converted to the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt in that miraculous manner which is ſet down in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*; he afterwards changed his name of *Saul* into that of *Paul*, after he had openly Converted and Baptized the Proconſul *Sergius Paulus*. The Hiſtory of his Travels and Preaching, down to his firſt Impriſonment at *Rome*, is written by St. *Luke* in the *Acts*. We don't certainly know, what he did after his Enlargement; ſome of the Ancients were of opinion, that he went into *Spain*, but this is very uncertain, and the contrary ſeems to be more probable. Be that as it will, 'tis certain, that he was beheaded afterwards at *Rome* for his Religion, by *Nero*'s Command, towards the 64th year of the common computation. He has written 14 *Epiſtles*, all which, Antiquity has own'd to be Genuine and Canonical, excepting the *Epiſtle to the Hebrews*, concerning which there has been formerly ſome doubt, and ſome Perſons have ſuppoſed, that it was written in *Hebrew*. They are not rank'd in the *New Teſtament* according to the order of time, which nevertheleſs is very neceſſary to be known.

The *Epiſtle to the Romans* was written from *Corinth*, as *Origen* proves by ſeveral reaſons; for firſt of all it was ſent by *Phœbe* Servant of the Church at *Cenchrea* from *Corinth*. Secondly, St. *Paul* calls *Caius* his Hoſt, with whom he tarried at *Corinth*, as we may ſee in the *Firſt Epiſtles to the Corinthians*, *chap.* 14. Thirdly, in the Salutations, that are to be found towards the end of this Epiſtle, we find the Names of thoſe who departed from *Corinth* to go to *Jeruſalem*, as it is ſaid in the 20th Chapter of the *Acts*. It was therefore written at the time, when St. *Paul*, having gathered the Contributions of *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*, went to viſit *Jeruſalem* in the 57th year of Jeſus Chriſt. From whence St. *Chryſoſtom* concludes, that it was written after both the *Epiſtles to the Corinthians*, in which he exhorts the Faithful to this Charitable Contribution.

Nevertheleſs they were not written much before: For the firſt was written from *Epheſus*, as it appears, *ch.* 16. *v.* 8. (and not from *Philippi*, as ſome *Greek* Inſcriptions obſerve) in the abſence of *Timothy*.

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The ſecond was written from *Macedonia* after his return. In ſome Copies it is ſaid, that it was written from *Philippi*, in others from *Nicopolis*.

That to the *Galatians* is yet older than the two Epiſtles to the *Corinthians*. It was written from *Epheſus*, at the time when St. *Paul* taught in the School of one Sirnamed *Tyrannus* in the beginning of the year 56. It is obſerved in ſome *Greek* Copies, that it was written from *Rome*, but this is not probable, becauſe he does not there ſpeak concerning his Chains, as he does in his Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, where he mentions them in three ſeveral places.

This Epiſtle therefore was written towards the 62d year of our Lord, as well as that to the *Philippians*, and that other which is directed to the Chriſtians of *Coloſſæ*, a City of *Phrygia* near *Hierapolis* and *Laodicea*.

The two Epiſtles to the *Theſſalonians* ſeem to be the earlieſt, if we follow the Chronological Order. It is probable, that the firſt was written towards the year 52; for after St. *Paul* had converted many Chriſtians at *Theſſalonica*, as it is obſerved in the *Acts*, *ch.* 9. *v.* 7. he ſent *Timothy* thither, who being come to find him at *Corinth*, informed him of their Affairs, as it is obſerved in the third Chapter of this Epiſtle, which was conſequently written in the year 52. The ſecond Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians* was written ſoon after, and from the ſame place.

The firſt Epiſtle to *Timothy* was written after he was ordained Biſhop, when St. *Paul* was freed from his Chains in the ſixty third year of our Bleſſed Saviour. The ſecond Epiſtle was written from *Rome*, when St. *Paul* was twice impriſoned there, a little before his Martyrdom. The Epiſtle to *Titus* was written about the ſame time with the firſt Epiſtle to *Timothy*. That to *Philemon* was written at the time of his firſt impriſonment at *Rome*. And to conclude, the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* was written likewiſe about this time, ſince it is there obſerved, *ch.* 13. *v.* 23. that *Timothy* was delivered. Some of the Fathers, as *Caius* and *Hippolytus*, and the ancient Church of *Rome*, have rejected this Epiſtle. Others attribute it to St. *Barnabas*, ſome to St *Clement*, and ſome to St. *Luke*; but however (*p*) the moſt prevailing opinion is, that it was written by St. *Paul*. St. *Jerome* ſeems to accommodate theſe differences, by ſaying, that the thoughts belong to St. *Paul*, but that the words and compoſition are either St. *Barnabas*'s or St. *Lukes*, or rather St. *Clement*'s, who diligently collected whatever he learn'd from his Maſter. Thoſe ancient Writers that attribute it to St. *Paul*, ſay, that it was written in *Hebrew*, that is to ſay, in *Syriack* (*q*,) being written by an *Hebrew* to the *Hebrews*. Some of the Moderns pretend it was written in *Greek*, but to this Authority of the Ancients, they oppoſe nothing but frivolous weak Conjectures, which are too weak to biaſs any Man.

The Epiſtles that follow thoſe of St *Paul*, are called *General*, becauſe if we except the two laſt of St. *John*, they are not directed to the Faithful of one City, as thoſe of St. *Paul* are, but to Chriſtians diſperſed in ſeveral Countries.

The Epiſtle of St. *James* was not written by *James* the Son of *Zebedee* the Brother of *John*, but by St. *James* the Brother of St. *Jude* the Apoſtle, and (*r*) Couſin of our Bleſſed Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. For it cannot belong to the other St. *James*, ſince it is directed to Chriſtians out of *Judæa*, whereas he ſuffer'd Martyrdom before the Goſpel was preached in any other place than *Judea*.

St. *Peter* the chief of the Apoſtles has written two Epiſtles; the firſt that has been received as Canonical by all the Ancients (*s*) was written from *Babylon*. Some of the Ancients were of opinion, that the City of *Rome* was meant by this name, but the Senſe is not natural. We cannot preciſely aſſign the time when it was written, but certain it is, that it was ſent, after the Diſciples of Jeſus Chriſt were called Chriſtians at *Antioch*, that is to ſay, at leaſt nine years after the Death of our Bleſſed Saviour; for the name of Chriſtians is to be found there in the fourth Chapter. *Now if thou art called a Chriſtian. Si autem Chriſtianus cognominaris.* It is alſo probable, that it was written after St. *Peter*'s being delivered out of Priſon, *A. D.* 44. for until that time he continued for the moſt part in *Judea*. Some believe that it was written towards the end of his Life, becauſe it does not ſeem to have been written long before the ſecond Epiſtle, but this is not certain: One may ſay, that it was written at *Babylon* in the 45th year of Jeſus Chriſt.

The ſecond was probably written towards the end of his Life, becauſe he there teſtifies, that he expected Death very ſuddenly, *ch.* 1. *v.* 14. Some of the Fathers have doubted, whether this Letter was written by St. *Peter*, becauſe the ſtyle of it is ſo extremely different from that of the former, as St. *Jerome* obſerves, but St. *Peter* diſcovers himſelf ſo plainly and openly there, that we cannot with the leaſt colour or pretence attribute it to any body elſe.

St. *Jude* the Apoſtle the Brother of *James* and *Simon* the Son of *Alpheus*, Sirnamed *Thaddeus* and *Lebbeus*, wrote the Epiſtle, that carries his Name, after the Death of moſt of the Apoſtles, as he teſtifies when he exhorts the Chriſtians to contend earneſtly for the Faith, which was once delivered to them by the Apoſtles. He imitates and follows the thoughts and deſign of the ſecond Epiſtle of St. *Peter*, and even inſerts ſome of his words into his own.

NOTES

N O T E S.

(*a*) *THE Goſpel ſignifies in Greek, Happy tidings.*] Εὐαγγέλιον is derived from the Particle εὖ that ſignifies *well*, and the Verb ἀγγέλλω that ſignifies *to tell*. 'Tis to be found in *Homer* and *Xenophon*, but in another Senſe, *viz.* 'tis taken for the recompence which is given a Man for carrying good news. *Tully* has uſed this term in this Senſe in one of his Epiſtles to *Atticus*.

(*b*) *The word Evangeliſt, that was heretofore given to all thoſe that preached the Word of God.*] *Acts* 21. *v.* 18. *Philip* is called an Evangeliſt. St. *Paul* in his 2d Epiſtle to *Timothy*, *ch.* 4. *v.* 5. beſeeches that Biſhop to do the work of an Evangeliſt. *Opus fac Evangeliſtæ.*

(*c*) *Soon after the death of our Bleſſed Saviour.*] This is the opinion of St. *Jerome*, and St. *Epiphanius*, who ſay, that he compoſed his Goſpel, before he went to Preach to the Gentiles. St. *Irenæus*, *l.* 3. *c.* 1. ſeems to ſay the contrary, when he aſſures us, that St. *Matthew* wrote his Goſpel for the *Jews*, and in the Language of the *Jews*, at the time when St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* founded the Church of *Rome*: But theſe words are not to be underſtood in the literal Senſe.

(*d*) *For this reaſon he wrote it in Hebrew, or rather in Syriack.*] *Papias* cited by *Euſebius*, *l.* 3. of his Hiſtory, Chapter the laſt. St. *Irenæus*, *l.* 3. *c.* 1. St. *Jerome* in his Preface to the Evangeliſts, in his Book of the Eccleſiaſtical Writers, and in ſeveral other places. *Euſebius*, *l.* 3. *c.* 18. the Author of the Work upon St. *Matthew* attributed to St. *Chryſoſtome*, St. *Epiphanius*, *Hæreſ.* 29. & 57. The Author of the *Abridgment of Scripture*, attributed to St. *Athanaſius*. St. *Cyril*, *Catech.* 14. St. *Auſtin*, *l.* 1. *de Conſenſu Evangel. cap.* 2. teſtifie that the Goſpel of St. *Matthew* was written in *Hebrew*, that is to ſay in *Syriack*. St. *Irenæus* and St. *Jerome* ſay, that it was written in the Language of the Country, which was the *Chaldee* or *Syriack* Tongue mixt with *Hebrew* words, which is commonly called the *Hebrew* Tongue in the New Teſtament. St. *Jerome* tells us plainly, that the Goſpel of St. *Matthew* was written in this Tongue; for in his Commentary upon the 12th Chapter of this Goſpel, he ſays, that ſome Perſons were of opinion, that the Goſpel of the *Nazarenes* was the Original Hebrew of St. *Matthew*; and in his ſecond Dialogue againſt the *Pelagians*, he ſays, that the Goſpel of the *Nazarenes* was written in *Chaldee* or *Syriack* with *Hebrew* Characters. Thoſe that are of the contrary opinion, who maintain, that St. *Matthew* wrote it originally in *Greek*, as *Grotius* well obſerves, reject the unanimous Conſent of the Ancients without any appearance of Reaſon. Let us for once examine the Conjectures of a certain Author, that is of this opinion: He ſays, that the words *Emanuel*, *Eli*, *Lamma Sabacthani*, *Aceldama*, and other Syriack Terms are explained there; but this does not at all prove, that this Goſpel was not written in *Syriack*, for otherwiſe we ought to ſay, that ſeveral Books of the Old Teſtament were not written in *Hebrew*, becauſe even in thoſe Books we have the *Hebrew* Terms explained after the ſame manner; for example, *Gen.* 31. *v.* 49. *Galaad, id eſt, tumulus teſtis*; 35. *v.* 18. *Benoni, id eſt, filius doloris mei*; *Exod.* 12. *v.* 11, *Peſach, id eſt, tranſitus Domini*; and 16. *v.* 15. *Manhu, quod ſignificat quid eſt hoc.* Theſe Explications are not to be found in the *Hebrews* but have been added by the Interpreter; and we ought to make the ſame Judgment of theſe paſſages in St. *Matthew*. They pretend ſtill, that theſe Fathers never ſaw the Original of St. *Matthew*, that they ſaid it was *Hebrew*, only becauſe the Goſpel of the *Nazarenes* was in *Hebrew*, which is extremely different from that of St. *Matthew*. To this it is anſwered, 1. That we cannot ſay this of the moſt ancient Fathers, as *Papias*, St. *Irenæus*, *&c.* 2. That although the Goſpel of the *Nazarenes* was different from that of St. *Matthew*, yet it might very well be taken from the Original of St. *Matthew*, in which the Hereticks had inſerted, and altered abundance of things.

(*e*) *No more than the Syriack Verſion.*] It is an eaſie matter to ſhew this, becauſe the *Hebrew* or *Syriack* words that are cited in the *Greek* of St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel are different from thoſe of the *Syriack*, in the 27th Chapter inſtead of *Haceldama* he has *Aguraſcadema*; inſtead of *Cephos*, he has *Cepho*; for *Eli*, *Il*; for *Golgotha*, *Golgoutho*; for *Jaacob*, *Jaacoub*; for *Joſeph*, *Jooufeph*. We likewiſe find there abundance of Greek words terminated after the *Syriack* manner, which makes it evident, that it was a *Grecian* that Tranſlated the *Greek* of St. *Matthew* into *Syriack*, and not the Original it ſelf of St. *Matthew*.

(*f*) *The Evangeliſt St.* Mark *ſeems to be a different perſon from that* Mark, *who is ſo often mentioned in the* Acts, *&c.*] He, of whom mention is made in the *Acts*, *ch.* 12. *v.* 12. and in *ch.* 15. *v.* 37. and 39. was Sirnamed *John* the Son of *Mary*. There is likewiſe mention made of one *Mark* the Couſin of *Barnabas*, *Coloſ.* 4. *v.* 10. 'Tis very probable he is the ſame with the former, but the *Evangeliſt* in all appearance is a different Perſon: for beſides that he was not Sirnamed *John*, he was the Diſciple of St. *Peter*, and attending upon him, at the ſame time that the other was with St. *Paul*: he was likewiſe at *Alexandria* at the time when the other was with St. *Paul* at *Rome*. Some think that St. *Mark* the *Evangeliſt* was one of the Seventy two Diſciples, but this is not certain enough to be relied upon; It is more probable, that he was converted to the Faith by St. *Peter*, who calls him his Son, and whoſe Diſciple and Interpreter he was.

(*g*) *He compoſed his Goſpel when he was at* Rome.] This is the opinion of all the Ancients.

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Papias in Euſebius, l. 2. c. 15. St. *Irenæus, l. 3. c. 1.* St. *Clement* cited by St. *Jerome, Tertullian, l. 4. Contra Marcionem, Euſebius,* St. *Jerome, &c.* St. *Irenæus* tells us, that it was written after the death of St. *Peter*, others on the contrary unanimouſly affirm, that it was written whilſt he was living, and that he approved of it. Upon this account ſeveral Perſons have called it the Goſpel of St. *Peter*, as *Tertullian* obſerves.

(*h*) *Some modern Authors imagine, that it was written in Latin.*] *Baronius ad ann. Chr.* 45. *n.* 14. and thoſe that follow him without farther conſideration are of this opinion, but after all it's a Problem that cannot be maintained. St. *Jerome* in *Epiſt.* 125. to *Damaſus*, expreſly tells us, that all the *New Teſtament*, except St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel, was written in *Greek*. And St. *Auſtin. lib. de Conſenſu Evang. c.* 2. tells us, that all the four Evangeliſts except St. *Matthew*, wrote in *Greek*. The *Latin* St. *Mark*, which we now have, is certainly a Tranſlation of the *Greek*.

(*i*) *St.* Luke *a Phyſician by Profeſſion.*] St. *Paul* in his Epiſtle to the *Coloſ.* Luke *the beloved Phyſician greets you. Nicephorus, l.* 2. *c.* 43. of his Hiſtory affirms, that he was an excellent Painter, and ſome People ſay, that he drew the Picture of the Virgin *Mary*, but theſe are fictions.

(*k*) *He was neither of the number of the Apoſtles, nor of the Diſciples.*] This is certainly true, becauſe he tells us, that what he wrote, he learnt from others. St. *Irenæus, l.* 1. *c.* 2. St. *Jerome* upon *ch.* 65. of *Iſaiah*, St. *Auſtin* and ſeveral others poſitively ſay, that he was not a Diſciple of Jeſus Chriſt. They are only ſome few modern Authors, that are pleaſed to beſtow this Character upon him.

(*l*) *Cujus laus eſt in Evangelio per omnes Eccleſias.*] We cannot cetainly tell, whether the word *Evangelium* in this place ſignifies a Book of the Goſpel, or whether we are not rather to underſtand it thus, *The Brother who deſerves praiſe for having preached the Goſpel.* That which follows afterwards, *and who was ordained to be the Companion of our Travels*, made *Baronius* believe, that it is *Silas*, of whom we are to underſtand this paſſage. But St. *Jerome*, and St. *Ambroſe* in his Preface upon St. *Luke* do underſtand it of this Evangeliſt.

(*m*) *He afterwards changed his name of* Saul *for that of* Paul, *after having converted and baptized the Preconſul* Sergius Paulus.] The Author of the One and thirtieth Sermon, attributed to St. *Ambroſe*, tells us, that he changed his name at his Baptiſm, but this is but a groundleſs fancy, for in his time they gave no name to any body at their Baptiſm. Others ſay, that he changed his name, when he changed his Profeſſion; and ſome pretend to affirm that he had two Names. The moſt probable Opinion is, that he took the name of *Paul* after the converſion of *Sergius Paulus*, for till that time he is conſtantly called *Saul* in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, and afterwards he is always called by the name of *Paul*. It was the cuſtom of the Romans to give their own names to others in teſtimony of friendſhip; *Joſephus* for example received the name of *Flavius* from the Emperor *Veſpaſian* by way of Honour: [Or rather, becauſe having been once his Priſoner, he ſet him at Liberty: it being uſual for freed Men, to take their Patrons *Prænomen*.

(*n*) *Some Authors pretend, that he went into* Spain, *but this is very uncertain.*] St. *Athanaſius* in his Epiſtle to *Dracontius*, St. *Cyril, Cat.* 17. St. *Epiphanius, Hæreſ.* 27. St. *Chryſoſtome in Ep. ad Hebr.* and in *Matth.* 76. and *Homil. de laud. Pauli, Theodoret in Ep. ad Timot. c. ult. Hier. in* 11 *Iſ. Greg. moral, l.* 3. *c.* 22. *Iſidore, Bede, Ado, &c.* are of this opinion. All theſe Authors lived after the third Century, but before that time nothing is written concerning it, and beſides they don't ſpeak of it as a certain thing, but only as a probable conjecture. St. *Paul* in his Epiſtle to the *Romans, c.* 15. *v.* 24. promiſes, that he would go into *Spain*, but though it follows from thence, that he had a deſign of going thither, yet we cannot rationally conclude, that he was ever there. Pope *Gelatius* and *Innocent* the firſt tell us, that he did not perform that promiſe, and it is very certain, that the Goſpel was preached ſomewhat later on this ſide the *Alpes*.

(*o*) *In the year* 61, *according to the vulgar computation.*] All Authors are agreed, that St. *Paul* was beheaded at *Rome*, but however, they are not agreed about the year. Some of them tell us, that he ſuffered Martyrdom with St. *Peter*, others place it a year, and ſome two years, lower; ſome pretend, that this happened in the laſt year of *Nero*'s Reign, which was the ſixty eighth of our Bleſſed Saviour; but moſt Men think, that St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* ſuffered Martyrdom at the time of *Nero*'s Perſecution, which began in the fourth year of that Emperor, after the burning of *Rome*, *Anno Dom.* 63. and therefore according to this account theſe two Princes of the Apoſtles ſuffered Martyrdom in the 64th year of the Vulgar Æra.

(*p*) *The moſt received opinion is, that it was written by St.* Paul.] This opinion ſeems to be the moſt probable. The Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* does not belong to St. *Barnabas*, having a different Title from that of this Apoſtle. There is no reaſon to attribute it to St. *Luke*. The ſtyle and the thoughts very much reſemble thoſe of St. *Clement* in his Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*: and upon this account I am apt to believe, that we ought to attribute the Compoſition or Tranſlation of it rather to him than any other, although it is written in the name of St. *Paul*, and by that Apoſtle: for it was written at *Rome* by a Perſon that enjoyed his liberty, and who had *Timothy* for his Collegue. Theſe three Characters ſhew plainly, that it was written by St. *Paul*, who did not put his name to it for fear of offending the *Jews*, who were prejudiced againſt him. *Grotius* believes, that it was written after the taking of *Jeruſalem*, becauſe it is obſerved, ſays he, in the third Chapter, that there were certain Chriſtians, who ſuppoſed the Day of Judgment was very near; an Opinion that was not common till after *Jeruſalem* was taken, but this is a bare conjecture upon weak grounds. St. *Jerome* anſwers the uſual Objection about the diverſity of ſtyle, that is alledged to prove, that this Epiſtle was not written by St. *Paul*, by ſaying, that it was occaſioned either by him that compoſed it under St. *Paul*,

Paul, or elſe by the Interpreter. [But if Mr. *Lowth*'s Opinion be true, the Controverſy muſt be at an end: For in his Vindication of the Authority of the H. Scriptures againſt the five Letters publiſhed by the Anſwers of Mr. *Simon*, *p.* 24. He ſays that St. *Peter* quotes the 37th Verſe of the 10th Chapter of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, in the 15th Verſe of the 2d Chapter of his 2d Epiſtle, where he ſays that St. *Paul* often ſaid thoſe things which the unlearned and unſtable wreſt as well as the other Scriptures to their own deſtruction.]

(*q*) *In Hebrew to the Hebrews.*] St. *Clemens Alexandrinus* is of another opinion, as alſo St. *Jerome*, *Theodoret*, *Oecumenius*, and ſeveral others. *Eſtius* and ſome of the Moderns believe, that it was written in *Greek*, 1. Becauſe the Scriptures there cited follow the *Septuagint*, and not the *Hebrew*; 2. Becauſe there is no probability that the Copy ſhould be loſt. Theſe Reaſons are exceeding weak, for ſuppoſe the Citations are not to be charged upon the Interpreter, yet, why might not St. *Paul*, when he was writing in the *Syriack* Tongue, Tranſlate the *Septuagint* into that Language, rather than cite the Hebrew Text, ſince the *Septuagint* was more familiar to him? This may ſerve by way of Anſwer to the firſt Reaſon. The Second is yet weaker, for why might not the Hebrew Copy of this Epiſtle be loſt, as well as the Original Hebrew of the Goſpel of St. *Matthew*?

(*r*) *But of St.* James *the Brother of the Apoſtle St.* Jude, *and Couſin of our Bleſſed Saviour.*] This *James* is he, that is called in the Goſpel the Son of *Alpheus*, for there were but two in all: He is called the Brother of our Lord, either becauſe he was the Son of *Joſeph* by another Wife, or becauſe he was very nearly related to him.

(*s*) *It was written from* Babylon.] *Euſebius*, *l.* 2. *c.* 5. of his Hiſtory ſays, that it is *Rome* that St. *Peter* calls *Babylon* in this place. Some have thought that *Papias* and St. *Clement*, cited by *Euſebius*, were of this Opinion, but he does not cite them upon this Subject. St. *Jerome* received this opinion from *Euſebius*, and carried it farther with ſtrong Reaſons. Tho' after all, this Interpretation is falſe, and it is more natural to ſay, that he wrote this Epiſtle from *Babylon*.

(*t*) *St.* Peter *diſcovers himſelf ſo plainly there, that we cannot with the leaſt colour attribute it to any other Author.*] The Author of this Epiſtle tells us, that he was with *Jeſus Chriſt* upon the Mountain, he calls St. *Paul* his Brother, and makes himſelf Author of a former Epiſtle written to the ſame Perſons. Now all this agrees very well to St. *Peter*, and it is viſible, that he who compoſed it, was no Impoſtor. The Character of this Epiſtle is perfectly Apoſtolical, and the Style is not ſenſibly different from that of the firſt.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

Of the Canon of the Books of the New Teſtament, *and particularly of thoſe Books that were formerly doubted of.*

THE firſt Canon of the Holy Books of the *New Teſtament* was not compoſed by any Aſſembly, or by any one Perſon in particular, but by the Unanimous Conſent of all the Churches, that were agreed upon the Authority of certain Books, and conſidered them as Sacred and Divine. 'Twas this Conſent of all the Churches, that in the Primitive Times ſerved for a Rule to diſtinguiſh the Canonical Books from thoſe that were Doubtful and Suppoſititious. 'Tis in purſuance of this Rule that *Euſebius*, who is the firſt Man that made an exact Enquiry into theſe Matters, diſtinguiſhes three ſorts of Books that belong in ſome manner to the *New Teſtament*. The firſt Claſs comprehends thoſe, that have been always received by the Unanimous Agreement of all Churches, ſuch as the four Goſpels, the fourteen Epiſtles of *St. Paul*, if we except that of the *Hebrews*, (which ſome Authors did not number amongſt the reſt, becauſe they ſuppoſed it was not St. *Paul*'s,) and the Firſt Epiſtles of St. *Peter* and St. *John*. The ſecond Claſs comprehends thoſe, that having not been received by the whole Catholick Church, yet nevertheleſs were looked upon by ſome as Canonical Books, and cited as Books of Scripture by Eccleſiaſtical Authors. But this Claſs does yet branch it ſelf into two Diviſions, for ſome of theſe Books have been ſince received by all the Churches, and acknowledged for Genuine, ſuch as the Epiſtle of St. *James*, the Epiſtle of St. *Jude*, the Second Epiſtle of St. *Peter*, the ſecond and third Epiſtle of St. *John*: The other on the contrary have been univerſally rejected, either as Spurious, or unworthy to be placed in the number of Canonical Books, though they might otherwiſe be uſeful enough, ſuch as the Book of the *Paſtor*, the Epiſtle of St. *Barnabas*, the Goſpel according to the *Ægyptians*, another according to the *Hebrews*, the Acts of St. *Paul*, the Revelation of St. *Peter*. In ſhort, the laſt Claſs contains thoſe Books that were deviſed by the Hereticks, and were always diſowned by the Church, ſuch as the Goſpels of St. *Thomas*, and of St. *Peter*, *&c.* As for what concerns the *Apocalypſe*, of which we have not as yet diſcourſed, *Euſebius* obſerves, that ſome Perſons place it in the firſt Claſs, that is to ſay, in the number of thoſe Books that are unqueſtionably Canonical, and that others reckon it amongſt the Books of the ſecond Claſs.

This obſervation of *Euſebius*, which is confirmed by the Teſtimonies of the Ancients, whom he cites in ſeveral places of his Hiſtory, ſhews, that the Canon of the Books of the *New Teſtament* was almoſt the very ſame in all Times: For although there were ſome of the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles, that at firſt were not received by an Unanimous Conſent of all Churches, yet they were always conſidered as Books of great Authority, and ſoon after they received the ſame Authority with the reſt. This is confirmed by the ancient Catalogues of the Holy Books of the *New Teſtament*, where the Books, which we receive at preſent, are compriſed: You will find all of them, except the Revelation, in the Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*, which St. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* follows. They are all received by St. *Athanaſius*, St. *Jerome*, St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, by *Amphilochius*, the Council of *Carthage*, the Council at *Rome*, by Pope *Innocent*, and all the other Greek and Latin Authors ſince *Euſebius*. They are all cited as Holy Books by thoſe Authors that lived neareſt the time of the Apoſtles. In ſhort, 'tis beyond Controverſie, as we have already demonſtrated above, that theſe Books were written by thoſe Perſons, whoſe Names they bear: The Epiſtles themſelves that were formerly queſtioned, contain nothing diſagreeable to the Faith and Doctrine contained in the other Books, that have been received and acknowledged by all the Churches from the beginning.

The Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* has been received as Canonical, with the Conſent of almoſt all Churches. They were only a few *Latins* that queſtion'd its Authority, becauſe they did not believe it to be written by St. *Paul*: But although it was not compoſed by him, which is not probable, as we have already ſhewn, yet it ought nevertheleſs to paſs for Canonical, it being a conſtantly received Tradition, that it was written by one of his Diſciples, and that it was owned by almoſt all the Churches of the World, as ſoon as it appeared in Publick. It is cited by *Clemens Romanus* in his Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, by *Tertullian* and *Origen*, by St. *Cyprian*, and all thoſe that came after, as a Writing undoubtedly Canonical. We cannot find out the particular Author, that queſtioned the Epiſtle of St. *James* as doubtful; it is cited by all the Ancients, and placed in the number of Canonical Books in all the Catalogues that we have. The ſame Obſervation may be made upon the ſecond Epiſtle of St. *Peter*, which was certainly written by that Author,

as we have elſewhere ſhewn. It is cited by St. *Auſtin*, by *Origen*, and by many other ancient Writers. The Epiſtle of St. *Jude* was rejected by ſome, not becauſe they had any lawful Grounds to doubt that St *Jude* was the Author of it, but only becauſe there is a Citation out of the Book of *Enoch* to be found there: And yet notwithſtanding that, it was ſet down in the ancient Catalogues of the Books of the *New Teſtament*, and it has been cited by *Tertullian*, by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, by *Origen*, by St. *Cyprian*, by St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, and by ſeveral other Authors. St. *Jerome* tells us, that although ſeveral rejected it, by reaſon of the Citation out of the Book of *Enoch*; yet it was received in his time, becauſe it was ancient, and approved by the uſage of the Church, *Authoritatem vetuſtate jam, & uſu meruit*. The two laſt Epiſtles of St. *John* being very ſhort, and containing nothing that is diſagreeable to what we find in the firſt, cannot occaſion any difficulty. They are written without queſtion by the Author of the firſt, as may plainly be proved by the likeneſs of Style: The ſecond is cited by St. *Irenæus* in his firſt Book, *ch.* 12. and in the third Book, *chap.* 18. by *Tertullian*, by *Origen*, by St. *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, and by many others. In a word, they are both of them reckoned in the number of Canonical Books in all the ancient Catalogues of the Volumns of the *New Teſtament*.

Nothing more remains for me to diſcourſe of but the *Apocalypſe*, which ſome of the Ancients, according to the Teſtimony of *Euſebius*, placed in the rank of indubitable Books, others in the number of doubtful Books, or rather ſpurious. It was rejected by *Caius* an ancient Prieſt of *Rome*, who attributed it to the Heretick *Cerinthus*, as *Euſebius* teſtifies in the third Book of his Hiſtory, *chap.* 28. On the contrary, St. *Juſtin*, St. *Irenæus*, *Origen*, St. *Cyprian*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Tertullian*, cite it in abundance of places, and attribute it to St. *John* the Evangeliſt. St. *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* obſerves, that ſeveral Perſons before him diſowned and confuted the *Apocalypſe*, as a Book full of Fictions and Falſities, but that many others approved of it; that as for himſelf he durſt not preſume to reject it, that he believed it had a hidden Meaning, but that he was fully perſuaded it was not written by St. *John*, as he endeavours to prove by ſeveral Reaſons. St. *Jerome* tells us in his 129th Epiſtle, that in his time the greater part of the *Greek* Churches did not receive this Book, no more than the *Latins* did the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, but that he received both the one and the other, not minding the Cuſtom of his own Time, but the Authority of the Ancients. *Amphilochius* alſo obſerves, that in his time ſome received it, but that there were great numbers that rejected it, and indeed it is not to be found, as we have already taken notice in the Catalogue of the Council of *Laodicea*, nor in that of St. *Cyril*. But it has been ſince acknowledged by the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches, and cited by St. *Epiphanius*, by St. *Chryſoſtom*, by St. *Ambroſe*, by St. *Hilary*, by St. *Jerome*, by St. *Auſtin*, and by all thoſe that have written ſince. It was reckoned amongſt the Canonical Books by the Council of *Carthage*, by the *Roman* Conncil under *Gelaſius*, and by Pope *Innocent*. The fourth Council of *Toledo* held in the year 633. in the ſixteenth Canon has determined, That it was written by St. *John*, and that it ought to be placed in the number of the Holy Books. And the Council of *Trent*, by whoſe Deciſions we ought to be determined, reckons it amongſt the Canonical Books of the *New Teſtament*.

We ought here to diſcourſe a little concerning the Apocryphal Books of the *New Teſtament*, that were forged either by the Catholicks or Hereticks. But theſe not being of the number of Canonical Books, ought to be ranged amongſt the Books of the Eccleſiaſtical Writers: Wherefore we will now begin our Library of Eccleſiaſtical Authors with them.

BIBLIO.

BIBLIOTHECA PATRUM:

OR, A

New Ecclesiastical History

OF THE

First three Centuries of *CHRISTIANITY.*

CONTAINING

An Account of the LIVES and WRITINGS of the *Primitive FATHERS*, with Censures upon all their BOOKS, determining which are *Genuine*, and which *Spurious.*

Of the Letter supposed to be sent by Jesus Christ *to King* Agbarus, *and of that of* Agbarus *to* Jesus Christ.

The Letters of Jesus Christ, *and* Agbarus.

EUsebius gives us an Account in the first Book of his History, of a certain King of *Edessa* (*a*), named *Agbarus* (*b*), who having heard the report of the Miracles that were wrote by *Jesus Christ*, sent a Letter to him, the purport whereof was, To intreat him to Cure a Distemper with which he was afflicted: And that our Saviour did not then grant his Request, but wrote a Letter back to him, wherein he promised to send one of his Disciples to heal him: and lastly, that St. *Thomas* the Apostle, immediately after the Resurrection of *Jesus Christ*, deputed *Thaddeus* one of the 72 Disciples, who went and performed the Promise that had been made by our Saviour to Cure his Disease, and at the same time Converted him, together with his whole Family. *Eusebius* grounds this Story upon the Letters of *Jesus Christ* and *Agbarus*, which were taken out of the Archieves of the Church of *Edessa*, which he likewise produceth Translated out of *Syriack* into *Greek*. Now it is probable, that *Eusebius* credited those Records that were exhibited to him too easily, as also, that these Letters are forged, and that this whole History is fabulous. For first, how can it be imagined that the King of *Edessa*, upon the bare rehearsal of the Miracles of *Jesus Christ*, should address himself to him, as one that was convinced of his Divinity, and instructed in the Principles of his Religion: *Having heard* (says he) *of the Miracles which thou hast wrought, I am persuaded that thou art God, or the Son of God.* It is evident, that these words could not be written but by a Person already persuaded and trained up in the Doctrine of Christianity, who makes *Agbarus* speak almost the same Expressions as he himself would have used on the like occasion. The following Words that are likewise attributed to this King, *viz. That being informed, that the* Jews *laid Snares for* Jesus Christ, *he designed to molest them, and invited him to come to his City, which, although it were small, might be sufficient for them both*, more clearly demonstrate the falshood of this Letter: For who can believe, that a King should offer the Moiety of his Kingdom at once to a Man that was altogether unknown to him?

Neither is it more difficult to discover the forging of the other Letter that is attributed to *Jesus Christ*, beginning with these words; *Thou art happy*, Agbarus, *for having believed in me, without seeing me; for it is written of me, That they that see me shall not believe in me, to the end, that they that believe on me without seeing me may receive Eternal Life.* To what purpose are these Words written? Is it not apparent, that he that composed this Letter alludes to the Expression of *Jesus Christ* to St. *Thomas*, *Happy are they that have not seen and yet have believed?* Which Words being not spoken by our Saviour till after his Resurrection, nor written till a long time after, it evidently appears that this Letter is counterfeit.

(*a*) EDessa.] This is a famous City, situated beyond the River *Euphrates*, between *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*.

(*b*) *Named* Agbarus.] Others read *Abgarus*, and he is so called in some ancient Medals; but it is written *Agbarus* in the most correct Manuscripts, and it is pronounced so in *Arabick*.

The Hiſtory, which is afterwards produced concerning theſe two Letters, and taken from the ſame Archieves, is no leſs fabulous. It is reported, that *Jude* the Apoſtle (*c*), who is alſo called *Thomas*, ſent *Thaddeus* the Apoſtle, one of the 72 Diſciples, to King *Agbarus*: That this Prince, being informed that there was a Man in his City that wrought many Miracles, and doubting whether he were not the Diſciple whom *Jeſus Chriſt* had promiſed to ſend, gave orders to one named *Tobias* to bring him into his Preſence: And that he had no ſooner ſeen him, but his Countenance ſeeming to him to be Divine, he proſtrated himſelf at his Feet to worſhip him, deſiring to know, whether he were that Diſciple whom *Jeſus Chriſt* had promiſed to ſend to cure his Diſtemper. *Thaddeus* having anſwered that he was, and that if he believed in *Jeſus Chriſt* he ſhould be ſaved, *Agbarus* replied, *I have believed ſo firmly in him, that I intended to proclaim War againſt the* Jews *who Crucified him, and utterly to deſtroy that Nation; if the fear of the* Roman *Empire had not deterred me from this Undertaking.* Certainly the Perſon (whoſoever he be) that cauſed this petty Prince of *Edeſſa* to utter theſe Words, was endued with very little judgment, in aſcribing to him a Deſign ſo extravagant as this; for is it not an egregious piece of folly to imagine, that a Prince only of one ſingle City ſhould undertake to maintain a War againſt a Nation ſo powerful as that of the *Jews*, and ſhould hope to deſtroy it, to revenge the Death of a Man, whom he knew only by hear-ſay? What probability is there, that nothing but the fear of the *Romans* was able to divert him from ſo raſh an Attempt? I ſhall not proceed to make any Reflection on the other Circumſtances of this Relation, which appear to be no leſs fabulous than thoſe that we have even now recited: I ſhall only add, that the time wherein it is affirmed that thoſe Occurrences happened, ſhews this whole Hiſtory to be Suppoſititious. They take notice at the end of this Record, that theſe Things were Tranſlated in the 430th Year of the *Edeſſenian* Æra, now the 430th Year of the *Edeſſenians* is the 15th of *Tiberius*, in which the Ancients believed that *Jeſus Chriſt* died and roſe again. And we muſt ſay according to this *Epocha*, and what we find recorded in the *Acts*, that this happened immediately after our Saviour's Reſurrection, and that *Agbarus*, and ſeveral other Gentiles of *Edeſſa*, received the Goſpel before *Cornelius*, which is plainly contrary to the *Acts of the Apoſtles*; and conſequently we may be certain that this Hiſtory is falſe, and that theſe Letters are forged. The Authority of *Euſebius* is not to be regarded in this caſe, ſince it is evident, that he hath too raſhly given credit to the Memorials that were tranſmitted to him, taken from the Archieves of the Church of *Edeſſa*. And none can be ignorant, that this ſort of Records ought not too much to be relied on, eſpecially with reſpect to Hiſtories of ſuch a Nature.

But in regard that theſe Fables are always augmented in proceſs of time, it hath been likewiſe feigned that *Jeſus Chriſt*, in writing to *Agbarus*, ſent him his Picture drawn on a Handkerchief. *Evagrius* is the firſt that makes mention of this Effigies in *Book IV. Chap.* 27. of his Hiſtory, relying on the Authority of *Procopius*, who nevertheleſs takes no notice of this Relation. However, ſince the time of *Evagrius*, the Defenders of Image-Worſhip have often cited it, and the Modern *Grecks* ſo firmly believed it, that they keep a Feſtival on the 16th of *Auguſt* in Commemoration thereof.

(*c*) *That* Jude *the Apoſtle, who is alſo called* Thomas.] *Thomas* the Apoſtle was not ſirnamed *Jude*, but *Didymus*, and *Jude* the Apoſtle was not called *Thomas*; which is a further Proof of the Falſhood of this Hiſtory.

Of ſome Letters attributed to the Virgin Mary.

Letters of the Virgin Mary.

THere are ſeveral Letters likewiſe aſcribed to the Virgin *Mary*, which being not ſo ancient as thoſe of *Jeſus Chriſt* to *Agbarus*, may more eaſily be proved to be falſe; the Letter of the Virgin *Mary* to St. *Ignatius* is ſuppoſitious, as we ſhall hereafter take an occaſion to ſhew in diſcourſing concerning the Epiſtles of that Saint. That to the *Florentines* publiſhed by *Caniſius*, as alſo another which the Inhabitants of *Meſſina* pretend to keep in their Poſſeſſion, have more evident Marks of their Falſhood, and are generall rejected; inſomuch that there is no neceſſity to prove them to be Apocryphal.

Of the Counterfeit Goſpels.

Counterfeit Goſpels.

NOthing more clearly evinceth the truth of this Maxim of Holy Scripture, *That the Father of Lies often changes himſelf into an Angel of Light*, than the great number of Books, that have been heretofore forg'd in imitation of the Sacred Writings. For as the Holy Ghoſt hath cauſed Goſpels, Acts, Epiſtles, and a Revelation to be written, ſo in like manner the Devil to counterfeit the Truth, hath procur'd ſeveral Goſpels, Acts, Revelations, and Epiſtles, to be deviſ'd by his Miniſters, which have alſo been attributed to the Apoſtles. To begin with the Goſpels,

Gospels, besides the four that are Canonical and true, there were in the Primitive Ages of the Church several others that were fictitious and substituted in their room as well by the Hereticks as by some Catholicks. *Counterfeit Gospels.*

Among these last, we may reckon the Gospel according to the *Egyptians*, and that according to the *Hebrews*, which though spurious, yet have been quoted by Catholick Authors as Works compos'd by the Orthodox. The Gospel according to the *Egyptians* is cited by (*a*) *Clemens Alexandrinus*, as also by *Epiphanius* (*b*,) who declares, that the *Sabellians* made use of this Gospel to confirm their Error, because it contain'd divers Mystical Expressions concerning *Jesus Christ*, some whereof might perhaps be applied by them to prove, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost were but one Person.

The Gospel according to the *Hebrews*, written (as it is reported by St. *Jerome*) in the *Syriack* Tongue with *Hebrew* Characters, is yet more remarkable among the Ancients; It is quoted by *Hegesippus* (*c*,) by *Ignatius* (*d*,) by *Clemens Alexandrinus* (*e*,) and by *Origen* in several places, particularly in his Eighth Treatise on St. *Matthew*, where he produced a considerable Fragment out of it (*f*;) St. *Jerome* (*g*) translated it into *Greek* and *Latin*, as he has often told us, observing likewise in one place, that some were of opinion, that this Gospel was the Original of St. *Matthew*'s, which was reputed to have been written in *Hebrew*; nevertheless it is certain, that the Gospel according to the *Hebrews* was different from that of St. *Matthew*, as well on the account, that all those things which are related by the ancient Writers concerning this Gospel, and among others the History of the Woman accused before *Jesus Christ* (*h*.) are not to be found in St. *Matthew*'s Gospel, as in regard, that they are clearly distinguished by *Eusebius* and St. *Jerome*, who had a perfect knowledge of both those Gospels. Add to this, that St. *Jerome* translated the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*, whereas the Author of the Version of St. *Matthew*'s Gospel is unknown, and that in the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*, the Scriptures of the Old Testament are cited according to the *Hebrew* Text, whereas St. *Matthew* in his hath followed the Translation of the *Septuagint*. This Gospel is not different from that which is called by *Origen*, the Gospel of the Twelve, nor from the Gospel of the *Nazarenes*, as appears from the Testimony of St. *Jerome*, by whom they are often confounded: Moreover, the *Ebionites* made use thereof to prove their Doctrine.

Besides these two Gospels so often cited by the ancient Writers, that are lost, there is yet extant a Book, Entituled, *Proto-Evangelium Jacobi*, published by *Neander*, and inserted in the *Orthodoxgrapha*. This Book is full of idle Tales and frivolous Relations concerning (*i*) the Nativity, Life, and Delivery of the Virgin *Mary*; The Gospel of *Nicodemus* likewise, annexed to that of St. *James* in the same

(*a*) Quoted by St. Clemens] *Stromat. Lib.* 3 *pag.* 452. St. *Clement* cites an Expression of Jesus Christ to *Salome*, taken from this Gospel: *I am come to destroy the Works of the Woman*, and by the *Woman* he understands *Concupiscence*. Moreover, in *pag.* 465. after having produced another passage on the same subject, cited by the Heretick *Cassianus*, he replies first that it is not found in the four Gospels that are acknowledged by us, and afterward endeavours to apply a good sense to it.

(*b*) By St. Epiphanius.] *Hæres* 26. The *Valentinians* likewise made use of this Gospel.

(*c*) By Hegesippus.] In *Eusebius*, *Lib.* 4. *chap.* 22.

(*d*) By St. Ignatius] In this Epistle to the Inhabitants of *Smyrna*, where he cites two passages that are observed by St. *Jerome*; the first is, *In carne eum post Resurrectionem vidi, & scio esse*; *I saw him in the flesh after his Resurrection, and I know that he is.* The second is this, *Palpate, quia non sum dæmonium incorporale*; *Handle me, and you shall perceive that I am not a Phantom without a Body.*

(*e*) By St. Clement.] *Strom. Lib.* 2. *pag.* 380. where we read this Sentence, ὁ Σαμψὼν βασιλεῦσι, καὶ ὁ Ῥοσὼλ δὲ ἀναπαυθήσονται.

(*f*) *Wherein he produceth a considerable fragment.*] It is a passage that contains the Answer of Jesus Christ to the rich young Man mention'd in St. *Mark*'s Gospel, *chap.* 10. and in St. *Luke*, *chap.* 18. expressed in other words. Moreover, *Origen* in his Eleventh Tome upon St. *John*, cites another passage of this Gospel, wherein the Holy Ghost is call'd the Mother of *Christ*.

(*g*) St. *Jerome* quotes it very often in his Catalog. *Voce Ignat. & voce Jacobus*, *Lib.* 2. in *Matth. chap.* 7. and 12. *Lib.* 3. *contra Pelagianos.*

(*h*) *The History of a Woman accused before Jesus Christ.*] *Eusebius*, *in Hist. Lib.* 3. declares, that the History of the Adulterous Woman was recorded in this Gospel. Moreover, St. *Jerome* affirms, that it was related therein, that Jesus Christ appear'd to St. *James*, who had bound himself with an Oath not to eat, until he had seen our Saviour risen from the dead; and in his Third Book against the *Pelagians*, he informs us, that it was written in this Gospel, that the Mother of our Lord, and of St. *John* the Baptist spoke to him thus: *John the Baptist baptizeth for the remission of sins, let us go and be baptized*; and that Jesus Christ replied to them, *have I sinned, that I should go and be baptized?*

(*i*) *This Book is full of idle Tales and frivolous Relations.*] Here's a Specimen of the Fables contain'd in the *Protevangelium Jacobi*. Joachim *was elected among the Nations of the Twelve Tribes*; Reuben *admonished him, that it was not lawful for him to offer sacrifice, because he had no incense, whereupon he retir'd for grief into the Wilderness, and fasted there* 40 *days.* Anne *mourned, and her Servant* Judith *advis'd her to take a Laurel Tree: therefore she went into a Garden, where she lamented, that she was not like unto a Bird that had a Nest in the Laurel Tree. The Angel appear'd unto her, and told her, that she should have a Son*; *This Angel descended, and delivered the same thing to* Joachim; *he beheld himself in the Plate, or in the Ephod of the High Priest, and saw not that he had sinned. The Virgin was able to go when she was six months old*; *she was bred up by Angels in the Temple*; *she was Married to* Joseph, *because a Dove flew out of a little Staff, that was given to him by the High-Priest. St.* Joseph *having perceived that she was with Child, caused her to drink the Water of Jealousie according to the Law*, &c.

place,

Counterfeit Gospel.

place is equally full of Fables relating (*k*) to the Passion and Resurrection of *Jesus Christ*, as the former is of those that belong to the Life of the Virgin *Mary*.

However, although those Gospels are unworthy of Credit because they are so foolish, yet they do not contain any gross Errors, as those do that were forg'd by the Hereticks, no part whereof now remains in our possession; such were the Gospels ascrib'd to St. *Peter*, to St. *Thomas*, and to St. *Matthias*, mention'd by *Eusebius*, Book 3. Chap. 25. as also those of St. *Bartholomew*, and of the Twelve Apostles, cited by St. *Jerome* in his Preface to St. *Matthew*; The Gospel of *Philip*, which was that of the Gnosticks (according to the Testimony of *Epiphanius*, *Hær.* 26.) and was used by the *Ebionites*, *Basilides*, and *Apelles*. The Gospel of *Judas* substitued by the *Gajanites*, who honour'd that Traitor, as St. *Epiphanius* and *Theodoret* assure us, when they speak of these Hereticks. And lastly, the Gospels of *Thaddeus*, *Barnabas*, and *Andrew*, and those that were counterfeited by *Hesychius*, together with a Book concerning the Infancy of *Jesus Christ*, and another relating to the Genealogy of the Virgin *Mary*, attributed to St. *Matthew*, and reckon'd by *Gelasius* in the number of Apocryphal Writings that were forg'd by Hereticks.

(*k*) *Is equally full of Fables.*] Here's another Specimen of the Fables recived in the Gospel of *Nicodemus*. Pilate *sent for him by a Messenger, this Messenger worshiped him; all the Soldiers did so in like manner against their wills; and the Ensigns bowed themselves twice before him.* The History of the Evangelists is intermix'd with divers Fables. Jesus Christ is made to answer *Pilate*'s Question. What is Truth? *Nicodemus* is represented speaking, as also those whom our Saviour had healed; and the Woman that was cured of the issue of Blood is called *Veronica*. Moreover, the Author of this Gospel describes the Resurrection of *Jesus Christ*, adding many things concerning him; he introduceth the dead that were raised at his Resurrection, entertaining one another with absurd and impertinent Discourses, declaring that they made the sign of the Cross, he introduces the Devil reasoning very ridiculously concerning our Saviours descent into Hell; And lastly, he feigns, that after his Resurrection, *Pilate* having commanded the Jewish Books to be brought to him, they acknowledged that Jesus Christ was the *Messiah*, and rehearseth several other Tales of the like nature.

Of the Counterfeit Acts of the Apostles, and of the false Revelations.

Counterfeit Acts of the Apostles, and false Revelations.

FOrasmuch as the Acts of St. *Luke* contain only a very small part of the Transactions of some of the Apostles, since he gives no account of the proceedings of all, neither doth he describe at large even all the Actions of those that are mention'd by him; They that applied themselves to the counterfeiting of these Records, were furnished with great variety of matter, wherein they might exercise their deceitful Arts. The first that practised this Artifice, was a certain Priest, and a Disciple of St. *Paul*, who being inflamed with a false Zeal for his Master, forged under the name of St. *Luke* the Acts of *Paul* and *Thecla*, and was convicted of this Imposture by St. *John*, as we are assured by *Tertullian*, and after him by St. *Jerome*. However, the simplicity of this ancient Priest might be more easily excused, in regard that he had no ill design; but we cannot but be seized with horror when we reflect on the enormous practices of the Hereticks, who have presumed to write the Acts of divers Apostles at their pleasure, wherein they have obtruded their detestible Errors. Such were the Acts of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* devised by the *Manichees*, and mentioned by *Philastrius*, in which the Apostles were introduced, affirming that the Souls of Men and of Beasts were of the same nature, and working Miracles to cause Dogs and Sheep to speak: The Acts of St. *Andrew*, of St. *John*, and of the Apostles in general, substituted by the same Hereticks, according to the Testimony of St. *Epiphanius*, *Philastrius*, and St. *Augustine* (*a*:) The Acts of the Apostles counterfeited by the *Ebionites*, and cited by S. *Epiphanius* in his description of their Heresie: The Doctrine, Preaching, Voyages, and Disputes of St. *Peter*, falsly attributed to St. *Clement*, containing the Errors of the *Ebionites*, and the (*b*) History of St. *Paul*'s being snatch'd up into Heaven, being a Work compiled by the *Gajanites*; whereof the Gnosticks likewise made use, and St. *Epiphanius* assures us, *Hæres.* 8. The Acts of St. *Philip*, and of St. *Thomas* received among the *Encratites* and the *Apostolicks*, as is also observed by the same St. *Epiphanius* in *Hæres.* 47, and 61. The Memoirs of the Apostles invented by the *Priscillianists*: The Itinerary of the Apostles rejected in the second Council of *Nice*, *Acts* 5. to which may be added several false Relations, as that of the Lots of the Apostles rejected in the Decretal: The Writings of the Apostles compiled by *Dictinius*, and disallowed in the Synod of *Braga*, *chap.* 17. *A Book of the Priesthood of Jesus Christ*, cited by *Suidas*, the Author whereof pretended to prove that our Saviour was descended from the Tribe of *Levi*, and that he was reckoned by the *Jews* among the Priests: A

(*a*) *Philastr. Hæres.* 48. *Epiph.* 47. and St. *Aug. Lib. de fide contra Manich.*

(*b*) In Greek ἀναλήψεως Παύλου: This might admit divers significations, but St. *Epiphanius* determines it to signifie an Account of St. *Paul*'s being lifted up to Heaven. It contained abstruse Matters, and seemed to be the same with the *Secrets or Revelation* of St. *Paul*. St. *Augustin* quotes this Book *in Joan. Tract.* 98.

Tract,

Tract, Intituled, *Liber Apostolicus*, which was a Rhapsody devised by *Marcion*, and whereof St. *Epiphanius* makes mention: And a Book concerning the Death and Assumption of the Virgin *Mary*, ascribed to St. *John*; as also the the Interrogations of the Blessed Virgin composed by the Gnosticks, together with another Book, concerning her Genealogy, published by the same Authors.

Counterfeit Acts of the Apostles, and false Revelations.

Lastly, there are several counterfeit *Apocalypses* or Revelations. as the Revelations of the great Apostle forged by *Cerinthus*: The Apocalypse of St. *Peter*, which *Eusebius* in *Book* 3. *chap.* 25. of his History reckons in the number of those spurious Books that are not Heretical, and which (as *Sozomen* affirms) was read every year about the time of *Easter* in the Churches of *Palestine*. And the *Revelation*, or the Secrets of St. *Paul*, which was heretofore very much esteemed by the Monks: The *Egyptians* (according to the Testimony of *Sozomen*) boasted that they had it in their possession, and it is inserted in the Catalogue of Apocryphal Books by *Gelasius*, together with the Revelations of St. *Thomas* and St. *Stephen*. None of these Books are now extant, neither ought we to be troubled for their loss.

Of the Epistle to the Laodiceans, *and some others attributed to* St. Paul.

St. Paul's Letter to the Laodiceans.

BEsides the fourteen Epistles of St. *Paul*, some of the ancient Writers have likewise cited one directed to the *Laodiceans*, and indeed, we have at present an Epistle mentioned by St. *Anselm*, *Sixtus Senensis*, and *Stapulensis*, which is inserted in some *German* Bibles (*a*,) and is written in St. *Paul's* Name to the *Laodiceans*. It is not certain whether this be the same with that which was used when St. *Jerome* lived (*b*,) however it is evident, that that which we now have in our possession, doth not appertain to St. *Paul* (*c*,) and that that which was extant in St. *Jerome's* time, was generally rejected, as he declares in his Catalogue; *ab omnibus exploditur*. That which gave occasion to the forging of this Letter (as is observed by *Theodoret*) is, that St. *Paul* at the end of his Epistle to the *Colossians*, exhorts them to cause the Epistle that he had sent to them to be read by the *Laodiceans*, and to read among themselves that from *Laodicea*; this hath induced some to believe, that there was an Epistle written to the *Laodiceans* at the same time with that to the *Colossians*; and this also gave *Marcion* the opportunity of altering the Title of the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, and giving it the name of the Epistle to the *Laodiceans*. But this Error is founded on the ignorance of the *Greek* expression; for no mention is made in this place of any Epistle of St. *Paul* to the *Laodiceans*, but of one written from *Laodicea*. Some are of opinion that this is the Epistle to *Timothy*, which they imagine to have been written from that City. But it may be much more probably affirmed with St. *Chrysostome*, *Theodoret*, *Photius*, and *Oecumenius*, that it was an Epistle written to St. *Paul* from *Laodicea*, by the Christians of that City, and for this reason it is called in the Vulgar Translation the Epistle of the *Laodiceans*.

Moreover, as it hath been concluded from this place in the Epistle to the *Colossians* mis-interpreted, that St. *Paul* wrote a Letter to the *Laodiceans*; so in like manner some have inferred, that he wrote a third Epistle to the Christians of *Corinth*, from a passage taken out of his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, *ch.* 5. *v.* 9, 10, and 11. *viz. I wrote unto you an Epistle, not to company with Fornicators, &c.* But (as St. *Chrysostome* observes) this Epistle is the very same that he then wrote, and the Sense is, *When I even now wrote unto you in this Letter, not to keep company with Fornicators, I do not mean the Fornicators of this World.*

(*a*) *Inserted in some* German *Bibles.*] It was published in *Latin* by *Pistorus*, and afterwards annexed to the *German* Bibles printed at *Ausburg*, *Worms* and *Amsterdam*; [Particularly in those Bibles which *Elias Hutterus* set out in *Hebrew*, *Greek*, *Latin*, and *German*, in *Quarto*.

(*b*) *Whether this be the same as that which was used when St.* Jerome *lived.*] That which gives occasion to doubt, whether this Epistle be the same with that which was published heretofore, is that *Philastrius* affirms in *chap.* 88. That that which was extant in his time contained several Errors; and there are none in that which we now have. Moreover, that which is cited by St. *Epiphanius* was composed out of several Sentences of the Epistle to the *Ephesians*.

(*c*) *That which we now have in our possession doth not appertain to St.* Paul.] It is not comforable to the Style of St. *Paul*; it is extremely concise, even shorter than that to *Philemon*, neither hath it any one particular Subject.

Of the Epiſtle of St. Barnabas.

The Epiſtle of St. Barnabas.

JOSEPH, Sirnamed by the Apoſtles *Barnabas*, that is to ſay, the Son of Conſolation (*a*,) who was a *Levite*, and a Native of the Iſle of *Cyprus* (*b*,) laboured even as much as the Apoſtles themſelves in eſtabliſhing the Foundation of the Chriſtian Religion. Some of the ancient Writers (*c*,) affirm, that he was one of the 72 Diſciples of Jeſus Chriſt; but St. *Luke* makes mention of him after ſuch a manner, as induceth us rather to believe, that he was not admitted into the Fellowſhip of the Apoſtles until after our Saviour's Death. However it be, it is evident, that ever ſince that time he hath been reputed as one of the principal Preachers of the Goſpel, and was deſervedly reckoned in the number of the Apoſtles. We have no certain account of his Life, but only what we find ſet down by St. *Luke* in the *Acts*.

He hath written (ſays St. *Jerome*) an Epiſtle, which is full of Edification for the Church, although it be not Canonical: This Epiſtle is often cited by St. *Clemens Alexandrinus* (*d*) and *Origen* (*e*,) who do not in the leaſt doubt, but that it belongs to him whoſe Name it bears. It is true indeed that *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* place it in the Rank of Apocryphal Books (*f*,) nevertheleſs they do not deny that it was written by St. *Barnabas*; on the contrary they attribute it to him, declaring only, that it ought not to be eſteemed of the ſame Authority as the Canonical Books, becauſe although it really belongs to St. *Barnabas*, yet it is not generally received by the whole Catholick Church.

And it is upon this account that this Epiſtle is not amongſt the Canonical Writings, becauſe to cauſe a Book to be placed in this Rank, it is not only ſufficient that it was compoſed by an Apoſtle, or a Diſciple of the Apoſtles, but it is likewiſe requiſite that it ſhould be received as Canonical throughout all the Churches of Chriſt; otherwiſe the Treaty of *Hermas*, and the Epiſtle of St. *Clement*, ought alſo to be inſerted in the Catalogue of Canonical Books. Therefore it is a very weak Argument to affirm, that the Epiſtle of St. *Barnabas* doth not appertain to this Apoſtle, becauſe that if it were certainly his, it would have been reckoned in the number of the Canonical Writings; ſince before a Book cannot be owned as Canonical, it is neceſſary, whoſoever is the Author thereof, that it ſhould be acknowledged by the whole Church; becauſe there are Books written by the Apoſtles, or their Diſciples, that were not heretofore, and are not as yet placed in the Rank of Canonical Writings, that is to ſay, thoſe that are rejected by ſome, and received by others as Canonical ἀνπλεγομένων ὃ ἐν ὄμως τοῖς πολλοῖς. In the ſecond are comprehended thoſe Books that are not allowed as Canonical by any; but ſuch as were not forged by Hereticks, as thoſe are that belong to the third Rank. The Epiſtle of St. *Barnabas* ought to be reckoned among the firſt of theſe ſorts, at leaſt among the ſecond; which although Apocryphal, may nevertheleſs belong to thoſe to whom they are attributed, as the Book of the *Paſtor*, and others. And although St. *Jerome* declares in his Epiſtle to *Læta*, that thoſe Books are Apocryphal, that do not belong to the Authors whoſe Name they bear, yet he too often makes uſe of this Term in another ſignification. Now that *Euſebius* and St. *Jerome* believed that the Epiſtle of St. *Barnabas* was written by him, appears from hence that they conſtantly impute it to him; *Euſeb. lib 6. chap.* 13. *Item ex Barnabæ, Clementis, & Judæ Epiſtolis.* It is certain, that he judged that the Epiſtles of St. *Clement* and St. *Jude* were really compoſed by thoſe whoſe Names they bear; and in another place, *Judæ Epiſtolam intelligo, item Barnabæ Epiſtolam, & Revelationem quæ dicitur Petri.* Where he makes a particular mark on this laſt Book, *viz.* That it is aſcribed to St. *Peter*, but he doth not declare the ſame thing with reſpect to the Epiſtle of St. *Barnabas*; on the contrary he barely affirms, that it is his, as the Epiſtle of St. *Jude* belongs to St. *Jude*. St. *Jerome* likewiſe ſpeaks expreſly to the ſame effect; *Barnabas unam ædificationem Eccleſiæ continentem Epiſtolam compoſuit, quæ inter Apocryphas numeratur.* Which plainly ſhews, that he did not believe it to be Apocryphal, becauſe of its being falſly attributed to St. *Barnabas*, ſince on the contrary he himſelf imputes it to him, in affirming that it is Apocryphal.

(*a*) *That is to ſay, the Son of Conſolation.*] In Greek υἱος παρακλήσεως, *The Son of Conſolation*, or of *Exhortation*. *Oecumenius* on the *Acts. chap.* 36. and *Notkerus* in his Martyrology follow the firſt Interpretation; but St. *Jerome* ſeems to embrace the later.

(*b*) *A Native of the Iſle of* Cyprus.] This Iſland of *Cyprus* was full of *Jews*, and a very great number of them were maſſacred therein under the Reign of the Emperor *Trajan*, according to the Teſtimony of *Dio*, *Euſebius*, and *Oroſius*.

(*c*) *Some of the ancient Writers.*] Thoſe are St. *Clemens*, *Alex. Stromat. lib.* 2. *Euſeb. Hiſt. lib.* 1. *chap.* 12. and *lib.* 2. *chap.* 1. St. *Epiphan. Tom.* 1. *contra Hæreſ.* & *Dorotheus*. But *venerable Bede* rejects their opinion, becauſe St. *Luke* in the 4th Chapter of the *Acts* declares, That *Barnabas* was one of thoſe that laid the Price of the Lands, and other Poſſeſſions that were then ſold, at the Apoſtle's Feet; for though this doth not abſolutely hinder, but that he might have been one of the Diſciples of Jeſus Chriſt; yet St. *Luke* ſeems thereby to inſinuate, that this was the beginning of his Converſion to Chriſtianity.

(*d*) *By* St. Clemens Alexandrinus.] *Stromat. lib.* 2. *p.* 373, 375, 389, 396, and 410. *Lib.* 5. *p.* 571, 572, 577, and 578.

(*e*) *Origen.*] *Lib.* 1. *Con. Celſum*; and *Lib.* 3. περὶ ἀρχῶν; and *Euſebius*, *lib.* 3, *Hiſt. c.* 25 *Lib.* 6. *c.* 13. and *c.* 14. *Tertullian* in his Book *De Pudicitiâ* tells us, That St. *Barnabas*'s Epiſtle was more generally received by the Catholick Church than the *Paſtor*. But he takes St. *Paul*'s Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* to have been written by St. *Barnabas*.

(*f*) *In the Rank of Apocryphal Books*] *Euſebius* divides the Apocryphal Books into three Ranks, the firſt contain thoſe that come neareſt to the Canonical

tings and on the contrary there are others, the Writers whereof are not certainly known, that have been formerly, and are now, inserted in the Canon of Holy Scripture, as in the *New Testament*, the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, and the *Revelation*; and several Books in the *Old*, the true Authors of which cannot be positively shewn. Besides, though it were true, that all Books are Canonicall, which we know to have been written by Men who had Authority to make them so, yet who hath assured us, that St. *Barnabas* ought to be included in this number, rather than St. *Clement*, or *Hermas*? The Catholick Church hath a Right to declare it, and since she has not done it, this is a sufficient Warrant to reckon his Epistle amongst the Apocryphal Writings, though it be really his. *The Epistle of St. Barnabas.*

Furthermore it hath been objected, that this Epistle is unworthy of St. *Barnabas*, and that it is not credible that so great an Apostle who was full of the Holy Ghost, and the Colleague of St. *Paul*, should be the Author of the most part of those things that are therein contained; such are the forced Allegories, the extravagant and incongruous Explications of Holy Scripture, the various Fables concerning Animals, and several other Conceits of the like nature that are comprised in the first Part of this Epistle. To this I answer, That notwithstanding these defects, St. *Clement*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, and St. *Jerome*, attributed it unto him; and I am of the opinion, that it is a very great piece of Impudence for any one to imagine himself to be more clear-sighted in this matter, than those exquisite Criticks of Antiquity: They lived much nearer the time of the Apostles than we do: They had a great number of Books composed by their Disciples which are now lost; and consequently, they were more capable than we are of judging of the Style and manner of Writing of the Apostles, and their Companions and Disciples. If then they have found that the Allegories, Mystical Explications and Fables, that are found in the Epistle of St. *Barnabas* might be his, with what right can we positively assert, that they cannot be his? Certainly they must needs have but a very little knowledge of the *Genius* of the *Jewish* Nation, and of the Primitive Christians that were Educated in the Synagogue, who obstinately believe that these sort of Notions could not proceed from them; on the contrary, this was their Character; They had learned of the *Jews* to turn the whole Scripture into Allegory, and to make Remarks on the peculiar Properties of those living Creatures that were prohibited to be eaten; therefore it is not to be admired that St. *Barnabas*, being by Nation a *Jew*, and writing to his own Country-men, hath allegorically explained divers passages of the *Old Testament* in applying them to the *New*, and found out several Moral Reflections upon the Proprieties of those Creatures that were not permitted to be eaten by the *Jews*. The Epistle of St. *Clemens Romanus*, and the *Stromata* of St. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, are full of this kind of Allegories and Figurative Expressions. The History of the *Phœnix*, related by St. *Clement* in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, so much celebrated among the Primitive Christians, seems to be more Fabulous than that which is alledged by St. *Barnabas* in this Epistle concerning the Properties of certain Animals; and the Allegory of the Blood of Jesus Christ typified by the Scarlet Thread of the Harlot *Rahab*, in the Epistle of St. *Clemens Romanus*, is as far fetch'd as the greatest part of those of St. *Barnabas*. But what necessity is there to produce farther Proofs of a Matter of Fact that is so evident, since it is sufficiently known to all Men, that the Writings of the Primitive Christians are generally full of such Fables and Allegories?

Lastly, the Author of this Epistle is accused for representing the Apostles as the most flagitious Persons in the World before their Conversion; but his Words have been taken in too strict and literal a Sense; for he intended not to say, that they were the wickedst Men in the World, but only that they were great Sinners (*g*).

It is not known to whom the Epistle of St. *Barnabas* is directed, because we want the Title; it appears from the Body of this Letter, that it was written to some converted *Jews* that adhered too much to the Law of *Moses*: It is divided into two Parts, in the first of which he shews the unprofitableness of the Old Law, and the necessity of the Incarnation and Death of Jesus Christ, producing divers passages of Scripture relating to the Ceremonies and Precepts of the Old Law, which he explains Allegorically when he applies them to our Saviour and the New Law: The Second Part comprehends particular Moral Instructions, containing several Rules and Directions concerning what ought to be done, and what ought to be avoided.

This Epistle was first published (*h*) in *Greek*, together with the ancient Version by *Menardus*, and this Edition was Printed at *Paris* by *Piget* in the Year 1645.

Afterwards the famous Dr. *Isaac Vossius* caused it to be Reprinted with the Epistles of St. *Ignatius* Revised and Corrected from three Manuscripts, *Anno Dom.* 1646.

Lastly, *Cotelerius* published it, adding a new Translation *è Regione*, together with the old Version, entire, and certain Critical Remarks at the end. It is prefixed at the beginning of his Collection of the Works of the ancient Fathers, Printed at *Paris* by *Petit*, *Anno* 1672.

(*g*) *That they were great Sinners.*] Thus the following Words ought to be interpreted, *Super omne peccatum peccatores.* Many very devout Persons have often used this Phrase, *I am the greatest Sinner that ever lived in the World*, and other Expressions of the like nature, which are not to be understood literally.

(*h*) *Was first published in* Greek, *&c.*] It is said, that there was an older Edition than *Menardus*'s printed in *England* by the order of the Learned *Usher*, but that the whole Impression was burnt. We may add to these, another Edition of this Epistle published by *Maderus* in *Germany* at *Helmstadt*. [There have been two other Editions of this Epistle, one at *Oxon*, 1685. in *Duodecimo*, wherein all that is in the old *Latin* Version that is not in the *Greek*, as also all that is in the *Greek* that is not in the old Version, is printed with Red Letters: Lastly, Mr. *Le Moyne* has set it out in his *Varia Sacra* with large Comments at *Leyden*, in *Quarto*, 1685.]

The Epiſtle of St. Barnabas.

The *Greek* Text of the four or five firſt Chapters is wanting in all theſe Editions, but they are extant in *Latin* in the ancient Verſion, which, although barbarous and defective, hath nevertheleſs ſerved to correct the *Greek* Original in ſome places.

Of the Liturgies that are falſly attributed to the Apoſtles.

The Liturgies of the Apoſtles.

WE need only to reflect on what we find Recorded in the Epiſtle of St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, concerning the Adminiſtration of the Holy Sacrament of the *Euchariſt*, and upon the Accounts of St. *Juſtin*, and other Primitive Fathers of the Church, to be perſwaded that the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors celebrated the *Euchariſt* with great Simplicity. This hath been obſerved by all thoſe that have written concerning *Liturgies* (a,) who have unanimouſly agreed, that the celebration of the *Maſs* was perfomed in thoſe Primitive Ages without much Ceremony, and that they uſed but few Prayers; but by little and little others were added, and ſeveral viſible Ceremonies were annexed, to render the Service more venerable to the People. In fine, the Churches afterwards regulated, and committed to Writing, the manner of Celebrating it, and this is what they called *Liturgies*, which being compiled conformably to the various Cuſtoms of divers Places, are likewiſe found to be different. And foraſmuch as Men are naturally inclined to make ſome Alterations in their Exterior Habit, many things from time to time have been ſucceſſively added to them.

This ſingle Remark is ſufficient to ſhew, that the *Liturgies* that bear the name of the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, were not actually compoſed by them: But to prove this clearly, and beyond contradiction, we ſhall only examine them one after another.

The *Liturgy*, or *Greek* and *Latin Maſs*, attributed to St. *Peter*, and publiſhed by *Lindanus* in the year 1589. from a Manuſcript of Cardinal *Sirlet*'s, that was not very ancient, and which was afterwards Printed at *Paris* by *Morellus*, *Anno* 1595. cannot be St. *Peter*'s for the following Reaſons; ſince mention is made therein of St. *Sixtus*. *Cornelius*, and St. *Cyprian*: The Virgin *Mary* is called the *Mother of God*, a Term that was not generally in uſe, until after the Condemnation of the *Neſtorian* Hereſie; The Canon of the *Latin Maſs*, which is reputed by St. *Gregory*, to have been compoſed by a *Scholaſtick*, that is to ſay, a Learned Man of the Fifth Century, is entirely inſerted therein: Moreover it contains divers Litanies taken from the *Sacramentarium* of St. *Gregory*, and the *Liturgies* of St. *Baſil* and St. *Chryſoſtom*: There are alſo Prayers for the *Patriarch*, a term altogether unknown before the end of the Fourth Age of the Church, and for the *moſt Religious Emperors*. In ſhort, if St. *Peter* had been the Author of this *Liturgy*, it would have been uſed by the Church of *Rome*, neither would it have lain hid during ſo many Ages. Theſe Reaſons made the Learned Cardinal *Bona* ſay, that this Liturgy was forged, and that it was in all probability compiled by a *Grecian* Prieſt *Latinized*, becauſe it is collected partly from the *Greek Liturgy*, and partly from the *Latin*, and the name of St. *Peter* was prefixed to it, either that it might obtain more Authority, or becauſe a great part of the *Liturgy* of the Church of *Rome* was comprehended therein.

The *Maſs* of the *Ethiopians* that bears the name of St. *Matthew*, appears more evidently to be forged. There are Collects for Popes, Kings, Patriarchs, and Arch-Biſhops: The Twelve Apoſtles are therein invocated: The Four Evangeliſts are cited, as alſo the Synods of *Nice*, *Conſtantinople*, and *Epheſus*: The *Nicene* Creed is inſerted with the Particle *Filioque*: Moreover, mention is likewiſe made of St. *Athanaſius*, St. *Gregory*, and St. *Baſil*. together with the *Epact*, the *Golden Number*, and the *Triſagion*; which plainly ſhews that this *Liturgy* is of a very late date.

One ought to give the ſame Judgment of the *Liturgy* of St. *Mark*, publiſhed by Cardinal *Sirlet* and Printed at *Paris* by *Morellus*; for we find therein the word *Conſubſtantial*, and the *Triſagion* There are alſo ſeveral Prayers for the King, and even for S. *Mark* himſelf, and mention is made of Chalices. Deacons, Subdeacons, Chanters, Monks, Religious Perſons, *&c.* which Circumſtances are apparent Demonſtrations of its novelty.

There remains only the *Liturgy* attributed to St. *James*, which divers Learned Men have taken much pains to vindicate, but to no purpoſe; for although it is more ancient than thoſe that we have already examined, ſince it is cited in the Synod that was holden in the Emperor's Palace in *Trullo*

(a) *By all thoſe that have written concerning Liturgies.*] Gregorius Papa Lib. 7. Ep. 63 ad Joan. Syracuſ. *Mos Apoſtolorum fuit, ut ad ipſam ſolummodo Orationem Dominicam, oblationis Hoſtiam conſecrarent.* Walafridus Strabo de Reb. Eccleſ. Cap. 21. *Quod nunc agimus multiplici orationum, cantilenarum, & conſecrationum officio, totum hoc Apoſtoli, & poſt ipſos, ut creditur, proximi orationibus, commemoratione Paſſionis Dominicæ, ſicut ipſe præcepit, agebant, ſimpliciter proficiente de hinc Religione amplius acta ſunt à Chriſti cultoribus Officia Miſſarum.* Remigius Altiſſiodorenſis de Celeb. Miſſ. Lib. 1. *Nam Miſſam B. Petrus Apoſtolus primus omnium Antiochiæ dicitur celebrâſſe, in quâ tres tantummodo orationes in initio fidei proferebantur, incipientes ab eo loco ub. dicitur; Hanc igitur oblationem,* See Stephan. Auguſtodun. *de Sacramento Altaris*, c. 20. Benno. Aug. *de Off. Miſſ.* c. 1. Rupert. Tuit. *Lib.* 2. *de divi. Off.* c. 1. Hug. de S. Victor. *de Divi. Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 11. Honorat. Auguſtod. *in Gemm. An. Lib.* 1. Durand. de Mende *Rat. Off. Lib.* 4. *Cap.* 1. Radulphus Tongrenſ. *de Canon obſervat. S.* Antonin. *in Summ. Maj. Tit.* 13. *cap.* 5. Caſſand. *de Liturg.* c. 18. *Polydore Virgil*, and others that have treated of Rituals and of the Ceremonies of the Maſs.

after

after the Fifth General Council, yet we ought not to say, that St. *James* was the Author thereof, or that it was composed in his time. For, 1. the Virgin *Mary* is called in this Liturgy the *Mother of God*; and the Son and the Holy Ghost are said to be Consubstantial with the Father, terms that were altogether unknown in St. *James*'s time: But supposing that they were not, is it credible, that this Authority should not be alledged in the Councils of *Nice*, *Ephesus*, and *Constantinople*? 2. We find therein the *Trisagion* and the *Doxology*, that is to say, the *Sanctus* and the *Gloria Patri*, which were not generally recited in the Church until the Fifth Century; for though it might be proved that they were in use before, yet it must be confessed, that it was not the general custom of the Church. 3. There are Collects for those that were shut up in Monasteries: Can any Man say, that there were Monasteries in the time of St. *James*? 4. There is mention made of Confessors, a term that was not inserted in the Divine Offices, till a long time after St. *James*, even according to the Confession of *Bellarmin*. 5. In this Liturgy there is mention made of Churches, Incense, Altars, *&c.* can it be imagined that these things were used in St. *James*'s time? 6. We find therein very many Citations of the Epistles of St. *Paul*, the greatest part whereof were written after St. *James*'s death; neither ought we to object with the Cardinals *Bona* and *Bellarmin*, that these things were afterwards inserted, because it is not probable, that they should be added in so many places; besides, the Connexion and the Ceremonies of this whole Liturgy do not agree with the time of the Apostles. *Liturgies of the Apostles.*

I shall not here speak of other Liturgies cited by some Authors, such are those of the Twelve Apostles mentioned by *Abraham Ecchellensis*, and that of St. *Barnabas* quoted by a certain Monk, because they are unknown to me; neither shall I examine that which is comprised in the Constitutions of St. *Clement*, nor that which is extant in the Writings that are attributed to St. *Dionysius* the *Arcopagite*, in regard that these Books being forged, as I shall hereafter shew in another place, it is not to be doubted but that the Liturgies which they contain, are in like manner fictitious.

Of the Apostles Creed.

Of the Apostles Creed.

HAving already discourse of the Works of every one of the Apostles in particular, it remains, that we should now give some account of those that are reputed to be composed by them in general; The most Authentick among these is the Apostles Creed, which is generally believed to have been made by all the Apostles. But Authors are not agreed about the time wherein it was written by them, nor concerning the manner how it was compil'd, nor the design they had in making it. Some are of Opinion with *Ruffinus* (*a*) that they compil'd it in the very same year that *Jesus Christ* died, a little after the descent of the Holy Ghost; whereas *Baronius* and others conjecture, that they did not finish it till the Second year of the Reign of the Emperor *Claudius*, a little before they were separated. As to the manner of their drawing it up, some have imagined, that every one of the Apostles pronounced (*b*) his Article, and that for this reason it is called a *Symbol*, as consisting of divers Sentences: Others believe, that it was compiled by them after they had conferred all together; and there are some also who assert, that all the Disciples had a share therein. Lastly, as to their design in composing it, some determine that it was, that they might be all found unanimously to agree in one and the same Doctrine (*c*,) and others, that it was for the benefit of the People, that they might be able to propound to them an Abridgment of the Christian Faith, which should be easie to be understood, and to be retained in their Memory. The Etymology of the word *Symbol* is yet more uncertain (*d*;) for some affirm, that the Some say, that the Word *Symbolum* among the *Latins* signifies an Entertainment, where every one pays his Club, or even the Club it self; but this does not belong to the Neuter *Symbolum*, but to the Feminine *Symbola*, and in *Greek* Συμβολη, as may be seen in *Aristophanes*'s Scholiast; in *Athenæus* and *Plutarch*; therefore it ought to be read in *Terence*'s *Andria*, *Symbolam dedit*, and not *Symbolum*. *Aulus Gellius*, *lib.* 6. *c.* 1. makes use of the Word *Symbola* to signifie one Man's share in a Reckoning, and declares, that this Term was also attributed to those Questions that were Expounded by *Taurus* the Philosopher in the Presence of divers Persons. St. *Cyprian* is the first that applied the Word *Symbol* to denote an Epitome or Abridgment of the Christian Faith. *Ep.* 45. *Optatus* calls the Hereticks, The Deserters of the true *Symbol*, alluding to a Military Signal. And, to the same effect, St. *Chrysologus*, in *Hom.* 62. declares, That the *Symbol* is the Covenant that we make with God in Baptism.

(*a*) Ruffinus.] *In Exposit. Symboli*: *Isidore*, *lib.* 2. *de Off.* c. 22.

(*b*) *Every one of the Apostles pronounc'd his Article.*] This is the opinion of the Author of the 115 Sermon, *De Tempore apud Aug.* Of St. *Leo*, *Ep.* 13. now 27. Of *Venant Foretus at in exegesi Symb. Apost.*

(*c*) *Some determine that it was, that they might be all found unanimously to agree in one and the same Doctrine.*] The former opinion is maintained by *Ruffinus*, and the later by the modern Authors.

(*d*) *The Etymology of the Word* Symbol, *is yet more uncertain.*] The *Greek* Word Σύμβολον, properly signifies a *Note*, *Sign*, or *Mark*; therefore the Mystical Signs and Notes of *Pythagoras* were called Συμβολα Πυθαγορικα. *Herodian* uses the Word to denote a Military Signal. Other Authors, as *Dion Cassius* and *Suetonius*, apply it to signify Signs or Marks, and certain Tickets that were given to those that were to be admitted to publick Shews, and for the distribution of Largesses

Of the Apoſtles Creed.

Creed is ſo called, becauſe it is as it were the diſtinguiſhing Mark and Character of Chriſtians (*e*); others, becauſe it was compoſed of the Sentences of ſeveral Perſons; and laſtly, others, on the account of its being made in a general Conference.

However, although it is an Opinion eſtabliſhed on very good grounds, that this Creed was made by the Apoſtles, and it cannot be denied that they all preached and taught the Articles therein contained after one and the ſame manner, as the main Points of the Doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, in which it was neceſſary that all Chriſtians ſhould be inſtructed; yet it may be juſtly doubted without incurring the imputation of raſhneſs, whether they were aſſembled together to compoſe this Creed, and whether they wrote it word for word, as it is now received in the Church of *Rome*; nay there are very weighty Reaſons, whereby it appears, that this Opinion, though commonly received, is nevertheleſs very improbable.

For Firſt, neither St. *Luke* in the *Acts*, nor any Eccleſiaſtical Author before the Fifth Century hath made any mention of this Aſſembly of the Apoſtles; and none ever affirmed, that they compoſed the Creed of the Church of *Rome*, either by conferring together, or by pronouncing every one a particular Article.

Secondly, the Fathers of the Three firſt Ages diſputing againſt the Hereticks, endeavour to demonſtrate by many Arguments, that the Doctrine contained in the Creed, is that of the Apoſtles, but they do not affirm that it was compiled by them; and yet there could not have been a ſtronger, or more convincing proof brought againſt thoſe Hereticks, than to have ſaid thus to them; You impugn the Doctrine of the Creed, and yet it is certain, that the Apoſtles were the Authors thereof, therefore you impugne the Doctrine of the Apoſtles. However they did not argue after this manner; On the contrary, they prove by Tradition, and the Conſent of the Apoſtolical Churches, that the Doctrine compriſed in the Creed, is that of the Apoſtles.

Thirdly, if the Apoſtles had made a Creed, it would have been every where the ſame throughout all Churches, and in all Ages; all Chriſtians would have learnt it by Heart; all Churches would have repeated it after the very ſame manner; in fine, all Authors would have expreſſed it in the ſame terms. Now the contrary is evident; for it is certain, that not only in the ſecond and third Centuries, but alſo in the fourth, there were many Creeds, and all, though the ſame as to the Doctrine, yet differed in the Expreſſion. In the ſecond and third Ages of the Church, we find as many Creeds as Authors (*f*,) and the ſame Author ſets the Creed down after a different manner in ſeveral places of his Works, which plainly ſhews, that there was not then any Creed that was reputed to be the Apoſtles, nor even any regulated and eſtabliſhed Form of Faith. *Ruffinus* in the fourth Century compares three ancient Creeds of the Churches of *Aquileia*, *Rome*, and the *Eaſt*, and we may obſerve in theſe three Creeds, none of which perfectly agrees with the common one, very conſiderable differences in the terms, as appears from the Table that is ſubjoyned at the end of this Article. St. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* in his *Catechetick Lectures* produceth a particular Creed, that was uſed by the Church of *Jeruſalem* when this Father wrote. The Authors that have written Commentaries on the Creed, as St. *Auguſtine* in his 119th Sermon, St. *Maximus*, *Petrus Chryſologus*, *Fortunatus*, and others, omit divers Expreſſions that are inſerted in our Apoſtolical Creed, among others this at the end, *The Life Everlaſting*; and St. *Jerome* obſerves in his Epiſtle to *Pammachius*, that the Creed concludes with theſe words, *The Reſurrection of the Body.*

It is evident from theſe Reflections, that although the Creed be the Apoſtles as to the Doctrine which it contains, nevertheleſs it is not theirs, as to all the terms, and that they did not draw up any one form of Faith comprehended in a ſet number of words, which they were all obliged to uſe: But that having learn'd the ſame Faith from Jeſus Chriſt, they likewiſe taught it to all thoſe that were converted to the Chriſtian Religion, and inſtructed them all in the ſame Myſteries. That they that were thus trained up in this Faith, had it ſo deeply imprinted on their Mind, as (St. *Juſtin* and St. *Irenæus* obſerve) that they were always ready to give an account thereof, and as often as they ſhould be required to do it, without making uſe of any one particular form; and from thence proceeds the difference of the Creeds that are ſet down by the Fathers. And Laſtly, that for the aſſiſtance of the Memory, certain forms of theſe Articles of Faith, were afterwards compiled, which were found to be different according to the diverſity of the Churches wherein they were uſed. For I doubt not in the leaſt, that beſides the above-cited Creeds, there were many others of which we have no knowledge, from whence it muſt be inferred, that Jeſus Chriſt is the Author of the Doctrine contained in the Creed, and that the Apoſtles preached and publiſhed it throughout the whole World; but that it cannot be determined by whom theſe Forms were collected, wherein this Doctrine is compriſed.

(*e*) *The diſtinguiſhing Mark and Character of Chriſtians.*] This Etymology is produced by *Maximus Taurinenſis*, and *Venantius Fortunatus*. It hath been likewiſe obſerved by *Ruffinus*, *Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis*, *lib.* 2. *de Off. c.* 22. and *Durandus de Mende*, *lib.* 4. *Rationalis*, *c.* 25. But the ſecond and third Etymology are more common; and the laſt is maintained by *Ruffinus*; S. *Aug. Serm.* 181. *de Tempore*; *Iſidore*, *lib.* 2. *div. Off. c.* 22. *Rabanus Maurus*, *lib.* 2. *Init. Clerical cap.* 56. *Durandus ſupra*: *Euchertus*, *Homil. de Symb.* and *Innocent. III. lib.* 2. *De Sacris Miſſæ Myſteriis*, *c.* 49. The firſt however is the moſt probable.

(*f*) *As many Creeds as Authors.*] St. *Irenæus* exhibits a Creed, *l.* 1. *c.* 2. and another in *lib.* 2. *c.* 1. *Tertullian* made uſe of three different Creeds in three ſeveral places, *In præſcript. lib. contra Praxeam*, *& de Virginibus velandis.* See *Origen. lib.* 1. *Peri Arch. & in Dialog. contra Marc. Optat. lib.* 1. All which Creeds are different from the Vulgar.

It

It may be objected, that St. *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Lucifer Calaritanus*, and St. *Jerome* affirm, that the Creed is the Rule of Faith, which the Church hath received from the Apostles; That St. *Ambrose* says, that the Church of *Rome* hath preserved the Apostolical Creed in its purity without Alteration; That St. *Augustine*, *Ruffinus*, *Leo*, *Maximus Taurinensis*, *Fortunatus*, *Petrus Chrysologus*, and a great many others (*g*) have taken it for granted as a thing beyond Controversie, that the Creed was composed in an Assembly of the Apostles, that this Opinion is Authorized by the Church, and that it seems to be a rash Presumption to doubt of it; And lastly, that all Catholicks are agreed in this Judgment, and that none but Hereticks, or at least Persons that are suspected of Heresie, durst presume to call it in question.

The Epistle of St. Barnabas.

To these Objections I answer first, that the Testimonies of St. *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, and *Lucifer*, rather overthrow the Vulgar Opinion, than establish it; for these Fathers do not assert, that we have received the Form of Faith from the Apostles, but only the Faith and Doctrine that was communicated to them by Jesus Christ; therefore if there were any force in the Objection, it must be concluded, that our Saviour is the Author of the Creed. Moreover, it is further to be observed, that by the Phrase *Rule of Faith* used by *Tertullian*, *a set Form of Faith* is not to be understood, but *the Faith it self*, which he declares to have been founded by Jesus Christ; and *Lucifer Calaritanus* doth not discourse of the Creed, but only of the Faith of the Church as it relates to our Saviour's Divinity. Lastly, when St. *Jerome* says, that the Faith of the Creed, which is an Apostolical Tradition, was not written on Paper, or with Ink, but was engraved on the Fleshly Tables of the Heart; he gives us to understand, that he meant nothing else, but that the Faith and Doctrine comprehended in the Creed proceeds from the Apostles, who have taught it to all the Faithful. After the same manner, when St. *Ambrose* assures us, that the Creed was preserved in its purity by the Church of *Rome*, he doth not speak of the Form of the Creed, but of the Doctrine therein contained. As for the other Authorities that are alledged, they are of little moment. *Ruffinus* is the first, and the only Person among the Authors of the Fifth Century, that asserts, that the Creed was composed by the Apostles, and yet he proposes this Opinion, as a matter that depended only on a popular Tradition; St. *Augustin* never approved it, for he doth not so much as mention one word thereof in his 119th Homily, and the 115th which might be cited to this purpose, cannot be proved certainly to be his: In fine, the other Authors who lived after *Ruffinus*, have taken this History from him, and are too modern to give a certain Testimony of a matter of Fact so ancient as this is; We may also add, that it is related by none but the *Latins*; that the *Greeks* never spoke of it, and that even they that produce it, do in no wise agree among themselves, concerning its Circumstances, as hath been already shewn. To conclude, there is no rashness in departing here, from the Vulgar Opinion, since it is meerly a Critical Question, that hath no regard to Faith, because it is granted on all sides, that Jesus Christ is the Author of the Doctrine comprised in the Creed, and that the Apostles taught it to all the Christians. Besides, they that maintain the common Opinion, are at last obliged to subscribe to our determination when they are urged; and to acknowledge, when it is objected to them, that the ancient *Roman* Creed was different from our Vulgar; that our Creed is not the Apostles as to the words, but as to the Sense, which comes to our Opinion at last. And besides it is not unusual in Critical Matters to forsake an Opinion that hath been generally received, and to embrace that of some Learned and Judicious Men, even of those that are suspected not to be Orthodox. Thus all the World is at present agreed in this, that the Apostolical Constitutions and Canons were not written by the Apostles, as we shall shew in the following Article, and yet scarce any Man presumed so much as to doubt thereof, before *Erasmus*.

(*g*) *And a great number of other Authors.*] S. *Irenæus. lib.* 1. *cap.* 2. *Tertullian, de Præscript. c.* 37. *&* 13. *de vel. Virg. c.* 1. *Lucifer, lib.* 2. *contrà Const. Hier. Ep. ad Pammach.* St. *Ambrose, Ep.* 7. *lib.* 1. As also *Ruffinus in Expos. Symboli*, *Aug. Serm.* 115. *Maximus*, St. *Leo*, *Fortunatus*, *&c.*

A TABLE, wherein the Four ancient CREEDS *are compared.*

The VULGAR.	*That of* AQUILEIA.	*The* ORIENTAL.	*The* ROMAN.
I. I Believe in one GOD the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth.	I. I Believe in one GOD the Father Almighty, *In the ancient Editions of* Morellus *and* Cauchius, *we read,* In Deo Patre Omnipotente; *The Ablative Case being put instead of the Accusative* Deum; *but this was a fault of the Transcriber.*	I. I Believe in one GOD the Father Almighty invisible and impassible.	I. I Believe in GOD the Father Almighty.
II. And in *Jesus Christ* his only Son our Lord.	II. And in *Christ Jesus* his only Son our Lord.	II. And in our only Lord *Jesus Christ* his Son.	II. And in *Jesus Christ* his only Son our Lord.
III. Who was Conceived by the Holy Ghost, Born of the Virgin *Mary*.	III. Who was born of the Holy Ghost of the Virgin *Mary*.	III. *The same as in that of* Aquileia.	III. *The same as in that of* Aquileia.
IV. Suffered under *Pontius Pilate*, *was* Crucified, dead and buried, he descended into Hell.	IV. *Was* Crucified under *Pontius Pilate*, and *was* buried, *he* descended into Hell.	IV. *Was* Crucified under *Pontius Pilate*, and *was* buried.	IV. *The same as in the* Oriental.
V. The third Day he rose again from the Dead.	V. *The same.*	V. *The same.*	V. *The same.*
VI. He ascended into Heaven, *and* sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty.	VI. He ascended into Heaven, *and* sitteth on the right hand of God the Father.	VI. *The same as in that of* Aquileia *saving that some add,* Almighty, *as in the* Vulgar.	VI. *The same as in that of* Aquileia.
VII. Frome thence he shall come to judge the Quick and the Dead.	VII. *The same.*	VII. *The same.*	VII. *The same.*
VIII. I believe in the Holy Ghost.	VIII. And in the Holy Ghost.	VIII. *The same as in that of* Aquileia.	VIII. *The same as in that of* Aquileia.
IX. The Holy Catholick Church, the Communion of Saints,	IX. I Believe the Holy Church. Pamelius *adds* Catholick, *but falsly; for there is no more expressed by* Ruffinus *than these words,* The Communion of Saints.	IX. *The same as in that of* Aquileia.	IX. *The same as in that of* Aquileia.
X. The Forgiveness of Sins.	X. *The same.*	X. *The same.*	X. *The same.*
XI. The Resurrection of the Body.	XI. The Resurrection of this Body.	XI. *The same as in the* Vulgar.	XI. *The same as in the* Vulgar.
XII. *And* the Life everlasting Amen.	XII. *Wanting.*	XII. *Wanting.*	XII. *Wanting.*

Of

Of the Canons and Constitutions attributed to the Apostles.

THE Opinions of Authors are extremely divided, as to the Canons that are commonly called Apostolical. *Turrianus* and some others have determined, that they were all composed by the Apostles: *Baronius* and *Bellarmine* except the 35 last, which are rejected by them as Apocryphal, but they have made no difficulty to admit the first 50. *Gabriel Albaspineus* Bishop of *Orleans*, and others, have believed, that although these Canons are not written by the Apostles, yet that they were very ancient, as being properly a Collection of the Canons of divers Councils that were holden before that of *Nice*; this Opinion is likewise maintained by the Learned Dr. *Beverege*, in a Book lately published by him, Entituled, *Vindiciæ Canonum, &c.* calling by this Name the Collection of 85 Canons attributed to the Apostles. Lastly, M. *Daillé* affirms, that these Canons are not only falsly ascribed to the Apostles, but are also of a much later date, and were not collected until about the end of the Fifth Century. We shall now proceed to examine these Opinions, and to establish that of *Albaspineus*, which seems to be most probable. *Apostolical Canons & Constitutions.*

It is not very difficult to prove, that these Canons were not compiled by the Apostles themselves; we need only peruse them, to be convinced, that they contain divers things that never were, nor indeed could be decreed by the Apostles (*a*); some whereof relate to certain Questions that were not debated until many years after their death (*b*). But it ought to be observed, that they are usually styled by the ancient Writers, *Ancient Canons*, *Canons of the Fathers*, and *Ecclesiastical Canons*; Titles that are likewise prefixed to them in several Manuscripts, as *Cotelerius* has observed: And if they are sometimes called or entituled *Apostolical*, it cannot be upon the account of their belonging to the Apostles; but it is sufficient that some of them have been made by Bishops that presided over the Church a little after the Apostles, because they that lived at that time were generally called *Apostolical Men*. The Author of the Apostolical Constitutions is the first that attributed these Canons to the Apostles, and he hath said some things to induce us to believe, that they were actually composed by the Apostles (*c*). Therefore these Canons are not the Work of an Impostor, who hath forged them under the Name of the Apostles, but only a Collection that hath been falsly imputed to them, that it might be esteemed more Authentick, And I am apt to believe, that no Person was

(*a*) *Diverse things that never were, nor indeed could be established by the Apostles.*] In the first Canon it is Decreed, that a Bishop should not be Ordained but by two or three Bishops; whereas it is certain, that in the time of the Apostles one single Bishop was sufficient to Ordain another. In the third it is determined, that the First-Fruits should be so presented to the Bishop and Priest, as that they should be brought immediately to them, and not offered on the Altar. In the fourth it is provided, that Oil and Incense only should be offered on the Altar. Now it is not probable, that any such things were offered in the time of the Apostles. In the fifth Canon it is ordained that the Feast of *Easter* should not be celebrated after the *Jewish* manner: If this had been determined by the Apostles, the Controversie between *Victor* and the *Asiaticks* might have been easily decided; but it was not, and *Victor* only alledg'd the Tradition of his Ancestors: In like manner the 21 Canon against those that made themselves Eunuchs would have been produced by *Demetrius* against *Origen*, and *Origen*'s action would not have been justified by *Alexander* and *Theoctistus*, if there had been then extant a Canon of the Apostles, that had so precisely forbidden it. In the 34th and 35th Canons mention is made of the right of Metropolitans, and of the distinction of Bishopricks, which were not fixed at that time. In the 50th Canon it is decreed, that he that did not baptize or dip a Child twice in the Water should be deposed; This practice, though very ancient, is later than the Apostolical times. The 52d is against the Errors of the *Montanists* and *Novatians*. The 60th is against Books forged by the Hereticks after the death of the Apostles And the 66th is against the Sabbatical Fast. The 69th regulates fasting in *Lent*. In the following Canons are contained several Injunctions concerning Oil, Vessels of Gold and Silver, and Vails consecrated in Churches, things that were not known in the time of the Apostles. The last Canon comprehends a Catalogue of Sacred Books which could not be written by the Apostles. In the 45th, 46th, and 47th Canons the Baptism of Hereticks is rejected as null and void. This question was not resolved by the Apostles. Moreover the style of these Canons is not like the Apostles; and the matter is very different from that which was usually treated by them; neither were the names of *Clerk*, *Bishop*, *Altars*, *Sacrifices*, *&c.* so common in the Apostolical times.

(*b*) *Questions that were not debated until many years after their death.*] *Viz.* The questions relating to the Feast of *Easter*, the Baptism of Hereticks, as also concerning those that made themselves Eunuchs; those that would not admit Sinners to repentance; those that fast on Sundays, *&c.* *Vide supra.*

(*c*) *To induce us to believe, that they were actually composed by the Apostles.*] As for Example in the 29th Canon, where it is ordained, that those Bishops that should obtain the Episcopal Dignity by Money, should be deposed, *as Simon was by St. Peter*; he hath added *by me Peter.* For these words are not found in the Epistle of *Tarasius* to Pope *Adrian*, nor in the Edition of *Dionysius Exiguus.* Moreover in the 5th Canon, we read at present *the Lord hath declared unto us*; whereas in the *Greek* Manuscripts, and in the Edition of *Zonaras* and *Balsamon*, it is simply expressed, *the Lord hath declared*; and in that of *Joannes Antiochenus*, *Our Lord hath declared.* Lastly in the 82d Canon there is this expression, *as our Brother* Onesimus, and in the last, *our Acts*, where it ought to be read simply as in the *Arabick* Paraphrase, *as* Onesimus, and *the Acts of the Apostles.*

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Apostolical Canons & Constitutions.

more capable of performing this Artifice, than the above cited Author of the Apostolical Constitutions (*d*), who hath in like manner ascribed many other Writings to the Apostles, and hath inserted these Canons entire in his third Book.

As for the Antiquity of them, it is apparent that they are very ancient, and that a great part of them (if not all) were decreed by Councils that were holden before that of *Nice*: For first, they do not contain any thing (according to my judgment) but what is conformable to the Discipline that was observed in some Churches at the end of the Second Century, throughout the Third, and in the beginning of the Fourth. Secondly, they comprehend certain Ordinances that are known to have been made in those times: As for Example; There is a Canon that prohibits the Celebration of the Feast of *Easter* with the *Jews*, now we are assured, that this was Decreed in divers Synods assembled in the time of Pope *Victor*. Moreover there are three, wherein the Baptism of Hereticks is rejected, as void and of no effect, which is declared by *Firmilian* and *Dionysius Alexandrinus* to have been determined in the Councils of *Synnada* and *Iconium*, that were holden some time before them. But who can believe, that these Canons were made or counterfeited at a time when Persons baptized by Hereticks were generally admitted without re-baptizing them? And it cannot be imagined, that they were forged by S. *Cyprian*, or *Firmilian*, on purpose to authorize their Discipline; it is much more reasonable to believe, that they really are the very Canons of the Synods of *Iconium* and *Synnada*, which have been falsly attributed to the Apostles, not by these Saints, but by later Authors. Thirdly, It is clearly proved, that the greatest part of these Canons are more ancient than the Council of *Nice*, because they are often cited in this Council, and those that were conven'd not long after, as well as by the Authors who wrote in the Fourth Century (*e*), under the name of *Ancient Laws*, *Canons of the Fathers*, *Ecclesiastical Canons*, and even *Apostolical*, which is different from what they call *Customs*, *Manners*, or *Discipline*, concerning which there are no written Rules or Injunctions. Therefore it is certain, that these Canons are ancient, that they have been erroneously ascribed to the Apostles, and that they are a Collection of Ordinances of divers ancient Synods that were holden before the Council of *Nice* but it is not known when this Collection was made, nor who collected it, nor even whether it consists of those 85 Canons that are now extant, or of a lesser number. However, it is probable, that it was compiled at several times, and that some Canons have been successively added, because no order is observed therein, as also because that the Canons relating to one and the same Subject are often found separated, besides some Contradictions.

The Objections propounded by Mr. *Daillé* against the Apostolical Canons, manifestly prove against *Turrianus* that they were not composed by the Apostles, but they do not in the least impugn our opinion. As for Example; It is objected by him, That there are in these Canons certain terms that were not usual in the time of the Apostles, as *Clerk*, *Lecturer*, *Laick*, *Metropolitan*, &c. But he cannot deny that these terms were used in the third Age of the Church. That which is ordained concerning Lent, and against fasting on Sundays or the Sabbath, may belong to the third Century since the same things are found in the Works of *Tertullian*. The Canons against those that make

(*d*) *I am apt to believe that no person was more capable of performing this Artifice.*] It is suitable to the temper of this Author, who designed to pass every where for a Disciple of the Apostles; for which reason he has given us divers Constitutions under their name, attributing to every Apostle some particular Constitutions and Liturgies, at the end whereof he annexed these Canons with the above-mentioned additions; and he likewise adds in the name of the Apostles: *This is what we thought fit to command you O ye Bishops, continue to observe these things.*

(*e*) *They are often cited.*] In the first Canon of the Council of *Nice*, the second of the Apostles is alledged, concerning those that make themselves Eunuchs, and in the fifth Canon of the same Council, the 12th and 32d is cited relating to Excommunication. In the ninth Canon of the Council of *Antioch* the 34th is quoted concerning the Metropolitan; in the 20th Canon of the same, the 10th about Excommunication; in the 21st Canon, the 14th prohibiting Bishops to leave their Dioceses; and in the 23d Canon the 76th, that a Successor ought not to be elected. In the Synod of *Constantinople* convened in the year 394, the 14th Apostolical Canon is quoted, of the Jurisdiction of Bishops. In the Council of *Ephesus*, Acts 7. col. 788. we find the 35th cited concerning Ordinations; and in Act. 1. the 74th is alledged relating to the three Admonitions that ought to precede Ecclesiastical Censure. Moreover *Alexander* in *Theodoret*, lib. 1. c. 4. cites the 12th, as also *Athanasius*, *Epist. ad omnes Orthodoxos*, where he likewise alludes to the 29, 30, and 75th Canons. The 34th is alledged by *Arsenius*, in like manner the 30th, 35th, and 81st are quoted by Pope *Julius* in his Epistle. St. *Basil* in the 43d Canon plainly cites the 24th of the Apostles, under the name of an ancient Canon; in the 12th Canon the 77th concerning Bigamy; and in the first the 47th relating to the Baptism of Hereticks. Lastly *Theodotius* in *Cod. Lib.* 3. *de Summa Trinitate* quotes the 17th under the name of an Apostolical Canon.

M. *Daillé* replies, that all these Quotations do not relate to the Apostolical Canons, but to the Discipline, Customs, and Traditions that proceeded from the Apostles; however this answer hath no probability; for the word Canon signifies written Laws, and the Council of *Nice* distinguisheth Canons from Customs, which he therein called ἀρχαία ἔθη. Moreover M. *Daillé* adds, that certain Canons and ancient Laws are often cited that are not included in the Apostolical, and he produceth two Examples, the first whereof is taken from the 13th Canon of the *Nicene* Council, and the 2d from the 21st of that of *Ancyra*. But first, the Apostolical or Ecclesiastical Canons are not cited by name in these two, but only in the first *an ancient and Canonical Law or Custom*, παλαιὸν καὶ κανονικὸν νόμον, and in the second, ἀρχαῖον ὅρον, *an ancient definition*. Secondly, nothing hinders but that these words may be understood of some ancient definitions of Synods; as for example, the Law wherein it was ordained to receive the *Lapsi* at the point of death, cited in the first Canon, was made in the Eastern and *African* Churches before the Council of *Nice*, if we may give credit to the Testimony of *Dionysius Alexandrinus in Ep. ad Stephanum*, produced by *Eusebius*, Lib. 7. chap. 4. and 5.

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themselves Eunuchs, might be composed by *Demetrius* against the Error of *Origen.* The Canons concerning *Easter*, are apparently those of the Councils that were convened under *Victor*; and others relating to the Baptism of Hereticks, are probably those of the Councils of *Synnada* and *Iconium.* Upon the perusal of all the Objections alledged by M. *Daillé*, it will appear, that although they are extremely weighty against the Opinion of *Turrianus*, yet they are of no force against ours (*f*). *Apostolical Canons and Constitutions.*

It ought then to be esteemed as certain, that not only the first 50 Canons, but likewise the following 35. are very ancient, though they do not belong to the Apostles. Therefore they have been always much esteemed by the *Greeks*, as being of great Authority. *Joannes Antiochenus*, who lived in the time of the Emperor *Justinian*, hath inserted them in his Collection of Canons; and they are commended by *Justinian* himself in his sixth *Novel.* They are in like manner approved in the Synod that was holden in the Imperial Palace, after the fifth General Council: Cited in the seventh Oecumenial Council, and allowed by St. *Joannes Damascenus*, and *Photius*, but with this difference, that the first, who was no great Critick, attributed them to the Apostles; and the other that was more quick-sighted in these matters doubted whether they belonged to them. However they have not always met with the same Reception among the *Latins.* Cardinal *Humbert* hath rejected them, and *Gelasius* hath placed them among the Apocryphal Books as well because they were falsely ascribed to the Apostles, as because he found among them some Canons, that authorised the Opinion of St. *Cyprian* concerning the Baptism of Hereticks. *Hincmar* favourably explains *Gelasius*'s Notion, declaring, that he did not insert them among those Books that were Apocryphal and full of Errors, but only in the number of those, with respect to which this Rule of St. *Paul* ought to be observed, *Try all things, and hold fast that which is good. Dionysius Exiguus* hath translated the first 50. and hath prefixed them to his Collection, taking notice however, that some Persons would not acknowledge them; and perhaps this is the reason that *Martinus Braccarensis* would not admit them into his Collection of Canons; but *Isidore* hath made no difficulty to afford them a place in his, and ever since they have been always accounted as a part of the Canon Law. It is further to be observed, that as soon as they appeared in *France*, they were generally well received there, and were first urged in the cause of *Prætextatus* under the Reign of King *Chilperic*, wherein their Authority was allowed, as we are informed by *Gregorius Turonensis* in the fifth Book of his History, *Chap* 19. where he takes notice, that there was an Appendix added to the Collection of Canons, which contained certain Canons, *as being writ by the Apostles*, *quasi Apostolicos*, and cites one of them, which is the 25th Apostolical, but according to a different Version from that of *Dionysius Exiguus.* Lastly, *Hincmar* Bishop of *Rheims* observes, that they were annexed to the beginning of a Collection of Canons compiled for the use of the Church of *France*, separately from the others, and as for their Authority and Antiquity, he is altogether of our opinion, which he explains in these words, in the 24th Canon, *The Canons* (says he) *that are called Apostolical, Collected by some Christians, were written in a time when the Bishops could not freely assemble together, nor hold Councils; they contain many things that may be allowed, but they likewise establish others that ought not to be observed.*

I cannot say the same thing of the Apostolical Constitutions, as I have done of the Canons, *viz*, that they are not suppositious, but that in process of time a false Title happened to be attributed to them; for the Author of the Constitutions is an Impostor, that endeavours every where to pass for *Clement* a Disciple of the Apostles, and who imputes to them all in general, and to every one in particular, divers Ordinances that are in no wise consonant to the Apostolical ones; such are those concerning Churches built in the form of Temples, Catechumens, Energumens, Fasts, Liturgies, Unction,

(*f*) *They are of no force against ours.*] However, some of the most material of M. *Daille's* Reasons may be objected to us; for instance, he affirms that St. *Athanasius* in the matter of *Leontius* the Eunuch, cites the Canon of the Council of *Nice*, and not the Apostolical, which shews (says he,) that it was not as yet known; Moreover, that it is not quoted by St. *Epiphanius* against the *Valesian* Hereticks: That St. *Basil* reckons the triple immersion in Baptism amongst the unwritten Tradition, and consequently, that the Canon of the Apostles in which it is ordained, was not composed in the time of this Father: That this Canon was made against those Hereticks that Baptized with a single Immersion, and that the *Eunomians* were the first that followed this practice. These are the Arguments of M. *Daille* that can be urged against us, but it is very easie to refute them. St. *Athanasius* cites the Apostolical Canon rather than that of *Nice.* St. *Epiphanius* produceth no Canon against the *Valesians*; but only the Holy Scripture. St. *Basil* and the other Fathers understand by unwritten Tradition all those matters that are not contained in the Sacred Writings. Lastly, the Canon concerning triple Immersion was not made against Hereticks, but to prevent the negligence of Priests. The 84th Canon might indeed be objected with much more probability, wherein we find the Books of the *Maccabees*, together with the Epistles and Constitutions of St. *Clement* among the Canonical Writings. But it must be replied to this Objection, that this Canon is corrupted, that the Books of the *Maccabees* are not extant in the Greek Copy of *Joannes Antiochenus*, and it may easily be discerned, that the Epistles and Constitutions of St. *Clement*, have been added by the Author of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, who endeavoured to pass for St. *Clement*, to raise the reputation of this Book. It may be proved that this Canon is ancient, because the Books of the Old Testament that were not inserted in the Canon of the *Jews*, and the Revelation are omitted. Lastly, It is asserted against us, that these Canons were unknown to the Authors of the Fifth Century, that they are not cited by *Eusebius*, nor included in the *Codex Canonum* of the Catholick Church; but all these Objections are frivolous, for the Ecclesiastical Writers of the fourth Age have often referred to these Canons. *Eusebius* indeed hath not mentioned them, but neither doth he take notice of the Canons of the *Nicene* Council, and in fine it is not to be wondred at that they are not found in the Code of the Universal Church, which did not contain all the ancient Canons, no more than that of the *African* Church comprehended those that were made by St. *Cyprian* or *Agrippinus.*

Apostolical Canons and Constitutions.

Prayers for the Catechumens and Energumens; the Ordination of Deacons and Deaconesses; Virgins, Confessors, Subdeacons; The Benediction of Oyl and Water; The First-Fruits of Tyths, Festival Days, the Celebration of *Easter*, and many other things that were not practised in the time of the Apostles, not to mention a great number of Absurdities and Mistakes of time, together with some Errors that are contained therein (g), which evidently demonstrates beyond contradiction, that these Constitutions were not composed by Apostles, and even that they do not belong to St. *Clement*, as we shall shew more at large in discoursing concerning the Works of this Father, where we shall likewise endeavour to discover at what time they were forg'd.

I shall add nothing concerning the Nine Canons that are also attributed to the Apostles, and are reported to have been made by them in a certain Council of *Antioch* unknown to all Antiquity; because there is no question but that they are fictitious; neither are they at present maintained by any (h).

(g) *A great number of Absurdities and mistakes of time, together with some Errors that are contained therein.*] As in Book 1. That the Beards of Women ought to be shaved, and not those of Men. In Book 2. Ch. 1. That all Bishops ought to be 50 years old. In Chap. 57. it is ordained, That the Gospel according to St. *John* should be read; which was not written until the 97th year of our Lord, after the death of the Apostles. In Chap. 11. the Author asserts, That the Bishop presides over Kings and Magistrates; and in Book 3. Chap. 2. That third Marriages are an Intemperance, and the fourth a manifest Debauchery. In Book 6. Chap. 6. mention is made of the *Ebionites*, whose Errors sprang up after the decease of the Apostles. In the 14th Chapter, *James* the Son of *Zebedee* is introduced as present at *Jerusalem* after the time of his death. In Book 8. Chap. 4. it is declared, That the Constitutions were made in the presence of St. *Paul* and the Seven Deacons; now it is certain that St. *Stephen*, one of the said Seven Deacons, died before the Conversion of St. *Paul*. In Book 1. Chap. 32. Female Slaves are permitted to suffer themselves to be deflowred by their Masters. Moreover this Author is accused of *Arianism*.

(h) *Neither are they maintained at present by any.*] This Synod is unknown to St. *Luke*, and to all the ancients; for although it is said to be cited by *Innocent* I. *Ep.* 18. it is a mistake, since he only mentions the Council of *Jerusalem*; and whereas it is written, Antiochenam *Ecclesiam quæ meruit apud se celeberrimum Apostolorum Conventum. The Church of* Antioch, *which deservedly had the most famous Convention of the Apostles celebrated there*, it ought to be read *propter se, near that City*; for it is apparent, that this Pope spake concerning the Synod of *Jerusalem*, which was the most famous Convention of the Apostles. Moreover, not so much as one of the ancient Authors makes mention of these Canons, and indeed they are altogether absurd: It is said in the first, that the Christians were called *Galileans*, a name that was not attributed to them until after the death of the Apostles. In the third Canon it is decreed, that the Christians should live *Anagogically*, a harsh and insignificant Term. In the 9th Canon the Synagogue is called *Bedluine*; and in the 8th it is ordained, that there should be Images in the Churches, a practice that was not in use in the time of the Apostles. This Canon is cited by *Gregorius Pessinuntius* in the second Council of *Nice*, but it is well known that many Apocryphal Records were alledged in that Council.

Of several Books attributed to Prochorus, Linus, *and* Abdias, *and of the Acts of the Passion of St.* Andrew.

Prochorus, Linus, Abdias, &c.

IN the time of the Apostles there lived a certain Person named *Prochorus*, one of the Seven first Deacons, and there is now extant a Book under his name, containing the Life of St. *John*, which is Printed among the *Orthodoxographa*, and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. But *Baronius*, *Bellarmin*, *Lorinus*, the Master of the Palace, and in a word, all those that have written concerning Ecclesiastical Authors both *Roman* Catholicks and Protestants unanimously agree, that it is a supposititious Book, and unworthy of him whose Name it bears; and indeed, it is a Narrative full of absurd Fables and Tales. It is related there, that St. *John* cast himself at the Feet of the Apostles, desiring to be exempted from going into *Asia*; That after he was taken out of the Caldron of boiling Oyl, a Church was built in Honour of him; That he composed his Gospel in the Isle of *Patmos*, &c. The Stile of this Book argues its Author to be a *Latin*, or a *Greek*, and not an *Hebrew*. Lastly, we find therein the words *Trinity* and *Hypostasis*.

The two Books attributed to *Linus* concerning the Passion of St. *Peter*, and St. *Paul* are likewise generally rejected, as fictitious and full of Fables. They say, that *Agrippa* was Governor of *Rome* in the time of St. *Peter*, who suffered Martyrdom without the knowledge of *Nero*; That this Emperor was offended that he was put to Death; That part of the *Roman* Magistrates were Christians; and that the Wife of *Albanus* departed from her Husband against his Will, following the advice of St. *Peter*. In fine, both these Books are full of Errors, Falsities, Fictions, and notorious Untruths; in the last of which mention is made of the Epistles of St. *Paul* to *Seneca*, and of *Seneca* to St. *Paul*.

We must likewise give the same Judgment upon the Book imputed to *Abdias*, that contains divers extremely fabulous Relations concerning the Lives of the Apostles, and was Printed by it self in the years 1557, 1560, and 1571; at *Basil*, *Anno* 1532, and at *Paris* in 1583; it is also inserted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. At first they tried to make it pass for a Book composed in *Hebrew*, by a Disciple of Jesus Christ, named *Abdias* of the City of *Babylon*, Translated into *Greek* by *Eutropius*, and

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into *Latin* by *Julius Africanus*; but now the whole World is convinced of this Error, and it is generally agreed, that it was forged by an Impostor, that falsly pretends to be a Disciple of Jesus Christ, who nevertheless cites *Hegesippus*, and *Julius Africanus*, whom he could not have seen if he had lived in our Saviours time; and lastly, he relates many fabulous Narrations concerning the Life of Jesus Christ and his Apostles, which it would be too tedious here to rehearse. *Prochorus, Linus, Abdias*, &c.

Men are divided in their Censures upon the Acts of the Passion of St. *Andrew* written by the Priests of *Achaia*, which are inserted in the History of the Saints published by *Surius*, *Baronius*, *Bellarmine*, and some other Criticks of the Church of *Rome* admit them as Authentick, but they are rejected by many. The ancient Ecclesiastical Writers know no other Records of St. *Andrew* than those that were corrupted by the *Manichees*, mentioned by St. *Augustine*, *Philastrius*, and Pope *Innocent* (*a*), and which are reckoned by *Gelasius* in the number of Apochryphal Books. But it is certain that those were different from these whereof we now discourse; it is also evident, that these last Acts of the Passion of St. *Andrew*, have been cited by none but Authors that lived since the Seventh or Eighth Century, as by *Remigius Altissiodorensis*. *Petrus Damianus*, *Lanfrank*, *St. Bernard*, and *Ivo Carnutensis*, which is the cause that we can have no assurance that they are very ancient. Thirdly, the Mystery of the Trinity is not only explained in these Acts after such a manner as gives us occasion to suspect, that he that wrote them lived after the Council of *Nice*; but he likewise propagates the Error of the modern *Greeks*, in affirming, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father, and remains in the Son. It is indeed objected, that there are Manuscripts wherein these words are not expressed, but who knows, whether they have not been omitted in some, rather than added in others? Therefore this History ought at least to be esteemed, as a dubious Writing, *that cannot be applied* (as St. *Jerome* declares,) *to prove any Doctrine of Faith.*

The account of the Life and Death of St. *Matthias* was forged by an Author who pretends to have received it from a *Jew* that Translated it out of the *Hebrew* Tongue. We ought also to place in the rank of Apocryphal and fabulous Books, the Life of St. *Mark*, and the History of St. *Clement*, together with that of *Apollinarius*, set down in the Collection of ancient Histories compiled by *Laurentius de la Barre*. And we need only read them over to be convinced of their falsity.

(*a*) Mentioned by St. Augustin, Philastrius, &c.] St. Aug. lib. de Fide contr. Manichæos. Philastr. lib. de Hæres. N. 40. Innocentii I. Epist. ad Exup. Gelasius in conc. Roman.

Of the Books of the Sibyls, Mercurius Trismegistus, *and* Hystaspes: *Of the Letters of* Lentulus *and* Pilate, *concerning* Jesus Christ: *Of the Epistles of* Seneca *to St.* Paul, *and of those of St.* Paul *to* Seneca: *And of a Passage in the History of* Josephus.

WE joyn all these prophane Records together, that have been heretofore alledged in favour of the Christian Religion, that so we may examine them; and although we should reject them, yet we do not believe that we do any wrong to Religion, which is sufficiently furnished with solid and convincing Proofs, without standing in need of those that are false or dubious. We begin with the Verses that are attributed to the *Sibyls*, which are frequently cited by the ancient Writers to to convince the *Pagans* of the Truth of the Religion of *Jesus Christ*; but before we proceed to Examine them, it would be expedient to give some account of these *Sibyls* and their Books. *Sibyls.*

It is difficult to assign a true Etymology of the Word *Sibyl*; *Lactantius*, and after him St. *Jerom*, affirm, that the *Sibyls* were so called, because they were the Interpreters of the Decrees of the Gods; and that their Name consisted of two *Greek* Words (*a*), signifying the *Counsel of the Gods*, which being written in the *Æolick* Dialect compose that of *Sibyl*. It is derived by some from an *Hebrew* Word, and by others from an obsolete *Latin* Adjective (*b*), that signifies, *Subtil* or *Acute*; but this later Conjecture is false, since the Word *Sibyl* was used by the *Greeks* before the *Latins*. The most probable opinion is, that the Name of *Sibyl*, which was proper to the famous *Delphick* Propheteſs, afterwards became common to others, as that of *Cæsar*, peculiar only to *Julius*, was after him appropriated to all the succeeding Emperors.

(*a*) Consisted of two Greek words.] These two words are Σιὸς βόλη, and in the *Eolick* Dialect σιὸς βόλη, *Lactantius*, Lib. 1. c. 6. *Hierom.* Lib. 1. *in Jovin.* It is objected against this Etymology that the *Adjective* σιβύλλιον, the Three last Syllables whereof compose a Dactyl, make it manifest that the word *Sibylla* cannot be derived from σιὸς βόλη.

(*b*) From an obsolete Latin Adjective.] This Adjective is *Sibus*, which according to *Festus* signifies the same as *Acutus*, or *Callidus*; a *quick*, or *crafty Man.*

Sibyls. Nothing is ſo uncertain as the Number and Names of the *Sibyls* (*c*), many of the ancient Writers mention but one; ſome ſpeak of her of *Cuma*, and others of her of *Delphos*. *Strabo* and ſome others diſtinguiſh two *Erythræan*. *Solinus* produceth three, her of *Delphos*, her of *Erythræ*, and her of *Cuma*. *Pauſanias* names four, the *Libyck*, the *Delphick* or *Erithræan*, the *Cuman* and the *Babylonian*. *Ælian*, *Varro*, *Lactantius*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and moſt other Writers, reckon ten, and ſome add others to the number, but they do not agree about their Names, nor the place of their Habitation, and they often confound them one with another.

However, it is certain, that the Name of *Sibyls* was given to certain Women, who being tranſported with *Enthuſiaſm* (*d*), and an extravagant Fury, cauſed either through a violent Inflammation of Choler, or by the poſſeſſion of *Dæmons*, pronounced divers obſcure and enigmatical Sentences that paſſed among the Heathens for Oracles and Predictions. It is reported, that the Sibyl of *Cuma* wrote them on the Leaves of Trees (*e*), and that a Collection of them was offered by a certain Woman to *Tarquinius* (*f*) King of the *Romans*, who bought part thereof, which he cauſed carefully to be laid up in an Urn or Stone-pot, and to be placed in the *Capitol*, having created Officers on purpoſe, whom he called *Duumviri*, whoſe Office it was to keep thoſe Oracles with care, and to conſult them upon urgent occaſions. The number of thoſe that executed this Commiſſion was by little and little increaſed, for there were afterwards ten, and at laſt fifteen, conſtituted for this purpoſe; and very ſevere Puniſhments were inflicted on theſe perſons, if they ſuffered the Books of the Sibyls to be ſeen. It is related by *Dioniſius*, *Halicarnaſſæus*, and *Valerius Maximus*, that one of theſe *Duumviri*, was put to death as a Parricide, that is to ſay, he was ſow'd up alive in a Sack, and thrown into the Sea, for permitting ſome of the Sibylline Verſes to be tranſcribed. Theſe Books were thus preſerved until the year 671, after the Foundation of *Rome*, which was the 83d before the Nativity of *Jeſus Chriſt*. But the *Capitol* being burnt in that year, theſe Books were likewiſe conſumed with the reſt of the Ornaments of this Palace, as is obſerved by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*, *Pliny*, and other Authors. When the *Capitol* was rebuilt, the Conſuls made a Propoſition to the

(*c*) *Nothing is ſo uncertain as the Number and Names of the* Sibyls.] *Plato* in his *Phædrus* mentions but one *Sibyl*, neither doth he declare to what place ſhe appertained. The Author of the Book *de Mirabilibus Auſcultationibus* in *Ariſtotle*, ſpeaks of her of *Cuma*. *Diodorus Siculus Lib.* 4. gives an account of her of *Delphos*, affirming that ſhe was named *Daphne*, and was the Daughter of *Tireſias*; but *Virgil*, *Pauſanias* and *Suidas* call her by the name of *Manto*, and St. *Clement* by that of *Artemis*. *Dioniſius Halicarnaſſæus*, *Pliny*, *Juvenal*, &c. mention but one *Sibyl*: However it doth not follow, that they knew no others. *Strabo*: *Lib.* 13 and 17. aſſures us, that there were two at *Erythræ*, and that the Second called *Athenais* lived in the time of *Alexander* the Great. *Stephanus de Urbibus* and *Capella*, Lib. 2. *de Nuptiis Philologiæ* reckon likewiſe two, *Erophile* a Native of *Troy*, who came to *Cuma*, and *Symmachia* of the City of *Erythræ*. *Solinus* in *Polyhiſt.* c. 8. produceth three, the *Delphick* named *Eriphile*, who was more ancient than *Homer*, the *Erythræan*, and the *Cuman*. *Ælian Var. Hiſt.* Lib. 2. c. 35. reckons ten, the *Erythræan*, the *Samian*, the *Egyptian*, the *Sardian*, the *Cuman*, the *Jewiſh*, and four others. St. *Clement*, *Stromat.* Lib. 1. *Manto* (ſays he) and a multitude of Sibyls; the *Samian*, the *Colophonian*, the *Theſſalian*, the *Theſprotick*, &c. *Lactantius* in *Lib.* 1. recites ten after *Varro*: The firſt is that of *Perſia* mentioned by *Nicander*, who wrote the Hiſtory of *Alexander* the Great: The ſecond of *Lybia*, cited by *Euripides*. 3. The *Delphick* alledged by *Chryſippus*, in Lib. *de Divinatione*. 4. The *Cuman* in *Italy*, whom *Nævius* and *Piſo* mention, the former in his Hiſtory of the *Punick* War, and the later in his *Annals*. 5. The *Erythræan* whom *Apollodorus Erythræus* affirms to have lived in his City. 6. The *Samian*, concerning whom *Eratoſthenes* hath written. 7. The *Cuman*, called by ſome *Amalthæa*, and by others *Demophile*, or *Herophile*. 8. The *Helleſpontick* born in the Countrey about *Troy*, and in the Town of *Marpeſſus*. 9. The *Phrygian*, who Propheſied at *Ancyra*. 10. The *Tiburtine* named *Albunea*, who uttered her Oracles at *Tybur*, near the River *Anio* now called *il Teverone*, at the bottom whereof it is reported, that her Statue was found holding a Book in her hand. *Iſidore* hath followed the Catalogue of *Lactantius*, but *Suidas* reckons up Twelve: Some with *Pauſanias*, confound the *Erythræan* with the *Delphick*, the *Phrigæan*, the *Samian*, and the *Colophonian*. Others as *Capella*, and the Author *de Mirab. Auſcultat.* joyn the *Cuman*, and the *Erythræan*. St. *Juſtin* makes no Diſtinction between the *Babylonian* and the *Cuman*; according to the Opinion of ſome, the *Perſick* is the moſt ancient, others attribute the greateſt Antiquity to the *Cuman*, and St. *Clement* to the *Delphick*.

(*d*) *Tranſported with Enthuſiaſm.*] We need only read the Deſcription, that is made by all the ancient Authors of the manner how the *Sibyls* uttered their Oracles: See *Virgil* in *Æneid*. *Lucan*; *Claudian* in *Panegyrico Honorii*, *Plutarch. de Orac. Pythiæ*, &c. It was ſo evident among the Heathens, that they were poſſeſſed, that they applyed the word σιβυλλαίνειν, to ſignifie, *to Play the Madman*, Diod. Lib. 4. Now this fury that deprived them of their Senſes, cannot be eſteemed as an Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, but as an Effect of their being poſſeſſed with a Dæmon, and intoxicated with the Exhalations of inflamed Choler; for in my Opinion, it is an Imagination without any Ground to affirm with St. *Jerom*, that they received the Gift of Propheſying from God, in recompence of their Virginity.

(*e*) *Wrote them on the Leaves of Trees.*] Virgil, Æneid. 6. *Folus tantum ne carmina manda.* Juvenal. *Credite me folium recitare Sibyllæ.*

(*f*) *Was offered by a certain Woman to* Tarquinius.] This Hiſtory is recorded by many ancient Authors; ſome affirm, that thoſe Books were Preſented to *Tarquinius Superbus*, and others, to *Tarquinius Priſcus*. It is Reported, that the Woman who bought them had Nine Volumes, which ſhe offered to Sell at a dear Rate, but perceiving that *Tarquin* would not give her what ſhe required, ſhe burnt Three of them; that afterwards having demanded as much for the other Six, as ſhe had done for the Nine, and being repulſed, ſhe burnt Three more, when at laſt the King being aſtoniſhed at her boldneſs, bought the Three that were left at the ſame Price that ſhe had asked for the Nine. See *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus. Antiquit.* Lib. 4. *Aulus Gellius* and *Lactantius*. *Pliny* reckons but Three Books inſtead of Nine; and affirms, that Two of them were burnt.

Senate,

Senate, to send Ambassadors into *Greece* to *Erythræ*, as also into *Asia*, to collect the Oracles of the Sibyls, and to transmit them to *Rome*: Whereupon *Octacilius Crassus*, and L. *Valerius Flaccus* were deputed to go unto *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, who brought out of *Asia* a thousand Verses attributed to the Sibyls, which they had gathered together throughout all the Parts of that Region from the Copies of divers private Persons. But forasmuch as there were many things therein that seemed to be false or superfluous, fifteen Men were appointed to Revise and Correct them, and after this Correction they were placed in the *Capitol* in the room of the others. In the time of *Augustus*, these Books were again reviewed, above two thousand Verses attributed to the Sibyls were burnt by the Command of this Emperor, and those that were allowed to be Genuine, were inclosed in two Golden Boxes in the Temple of *Apollo*. Some are of opinion, that these Writings were burnt in the Conflagration of *Rome* under *Nero*, but they have not produced any convincing Proofs of this matter. However, it is certain, that as long as there were Pagan Emperors at *Rome* (*g*), the Oracles ascribed to the Sibyls were carefully preserv'd there, to which they had Recourse on all extraordinary and emergent Occasions, and *Julian* the Apostate designing to re-establish all the ancient Heathen Superstitions, caused the Sibylline Books to be diligently sought for, and consulted.

There are now extant many *Greek* Verses attributed to the Sibyls, which are divided into eight Books; but at present it is almost generally agreed throughout the whole World, that they are a fictitious Work, as the Time in which the were written (*h*), the Stile (*i*), and the Things therein contained (*k*), do most clearly demonstrate. And if it be certain, that the eight Books, which we now have in our possession under the Name of the *Sibyls* are counterfeit, it is no less true, that those that were in the hands of the Fathers, and which they cited, were equally spurious, and also that they were not much different from those that we have at this day; I affirm therefore, First, That the Books of the Sibyls, alledged by the Fathers, were not really those Sibylline Oracles that the *Romans* preserved, with so much Care; For besides that these last were so strictly kept, that a Copy of them could not be procured by any means whatsoever, much less common, as those were that are quoted by the Fathers, which were every where visible; it is plain, that they comprehended such matters as were altogether different from those that are usually found in the Writings of the Fathers. For in the former prophane Things were only comprised, concerning the Ceremonies of the Heathens, whereas the later

(*g*) *As long as there were Pagan Emperors at* Rome.] See *Dio* in *Tiberius and Nero*, *Spartian* in the Life of *Adrian*, *Julius Capitolinus* in that of *Gordian*. *Trebellius Pollio*, in that of *Gallienus*, and *Vopiscus* in that of *Aurelian*, *Aurelius Victor*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, Lib. 24. *Zozim.* Lib. 2. *Procop*, Lib. 1.

(*h*) *As the time in which they were written.*] It is certain, that the Sibyls were later than *Moses*, however the Author of this Counterfeit Work affirms, that the Sibyl was in *Noah's* Ark, and nevertheless it is declared in Book III that these Oracles were written 1500 years after the *Grecian* Empire was Established. Now after whatsoever manner this may be understood, it follows that all these Predictions concerning the *Jews* and *Moses*, are forged, since these 1500 years continue till the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. In Book V. we are informed by the Author, that he saw the second Ruin of the *desirable* House; which is plainly to be understood of the last Destruction of *Jerusalem*. He says in Book VIII. That after *Trajan*, intimated by the Letter *T*, one should Reign whose Name was to be taken from the *Adriatick* Sea, this is *Adrian*; and that after him Three should Govern at a time, that is to say, *Antoninus*, *Marcus* and *Lucius*, and that the last should obtain the Supreme Government, which shews that this was written at the beginning of the Reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, or at the end of that of *Antoninus*; for in regard that *Lucius* was the youngest, it was natural to foretell that he should live longest.

(*i*) *The Style.*] It appears, that he that counterfeited these Books, was not really transported with Enthusiasm, but only pretended to be so: The Verses of the Sibyls were obscure and without Order, whereas these are not very Irregular: The Affairs of the Emperors are therein Historically digested, and not after a Prophetical manner: The style contains nothing of that Impetuosity and Enthusiasm that is every where Conspicuous in the Expressions of the Sibyls, neither is it like that of *Homer* who took many Verses from those Propheteses, if we may believe *Diodorus*: Moreover the Author of these Sibylline Books was illiterate; for he derives the Name of *Adam* from ἄδρις; in the second Book he affirms, that the Four Letters of his Name signifie the Four Quarters of the World; thô, in Hebrew and Chaldee, there are but three; he feigns that the Letters of the Name of God, Compose the number 1697. which is not true, unless it be written in Greek after a barbarous manner from the Name of JESUS, which he makes to consist of four Vowels, and two Consonants, he extracts the Number of 888 years, and from that of *Rome* 948. he vouches the Fables of the *Titans*, as true Histories; Moreover he says, that the Mountain *Ararat* is in *Phrygia*; that the River *Eurotas* is in *Epirus*, and that *Gog* and *Magog* are *Ethiopians*, which shews that this Impostor was ignorant of the Hebrew Tongue, of Geography and History, which we cannot say of the Sibyl.

(*k*) *And the things therein contained.*] There are certain Principles in these Books, that were not imbibed by any but the ancient Christians; the Author is of the Opinion of the *Millenaries*, he believes *Nero* to be Anti-Christ, that the Souls of Men shall remain in Hell until the Resurrection, that the Fire of the Judgment shall serve instead of Purgatory, that the Terrestrial Paradise shall be preserv'd, and that at last the wicked shall be delivered from Hell Fire: he likewise maintains divers other Opinions of the ancient Christians. Lastly, it cannot be doubted, but that the Accounts in these Books, of the Nativity, Life and Actions of Jesus Christ, have been taken from the History of the Evangelists: And indeed, the Prophets have said nothing that comes near the Plainness, that appears in the Books of the Sibyls. I shall omit many other Reasons.

were

Sibyls. were full of Predictions and Inſtructions relating to Chriſtianity. The Books of the Sibyls were never conſulted among the *Romans*, without extracting from them ſome Superſtitions perfectly Pagan (*l*). They were informed therein, that they ought either to offer ſome ſort of Sacrifice to the Gods, or to faſten a Nail in the *Capitol*, or to celebrate ſome particular Games to the Honour of *Jupiter*. At another time it was found to be neceſſary to cauſe the Statue of *Æſculapius* to be brought to *Rome*, to erect a Temple to *Venus*, to offer Sacrifices to the Infernal Deities, and to appeaſe the Heathen Gods with peculiar and extraordinary Solemnities. Laſtly, Nothing was ever gathered from theſe Books, but Ceremonies that were abſolutely prophane. On the contrary, the Fathers alledge nothing out of the Writings of the Sibyls, but what relates to the Chriſtian Religion, and to the true Worſhip of God. Is there any probability, that theſe Propheteſſes ſhould have uttered Things ſo different, and that they ſhould have taught in one and the ſame Book, the way of Worſhipping the True God, and the greateſt Superſtitions of the Gentiles? Who can imagine that theſe Books that were kept by the *Romans* to Authorize all their Superſtitious Rites, and which they eſteemed as the moſt ſublime and refined part of their Religion, ſhould contain far clearer Prophecies concerning *Jeſus Chriſt*, than all that was ever declared by the *Jewiſh* Prophets? Moreover, not only the Books of the Sibyls that are now extant ſpeak of our Saviour in ſuch plain Expreſſions, as look more like a Hiſtory than a Prophecy; But the ſame thing may be ſaid of the Books cited by the Fathers, that comprehend the ſame Predictions, and even more diſtinct. For can there be a plainer Prediction concerning *Jeſus Chriſt*, than the Verſes produced by *Euſebius* in the Prayer attributed to *Conſtantine*?

There is but one God, who is alſo the Saviour;
Who has ſuffer'd for us;
Who is mark'd out in theſe Verſes.

The Acroſtick quoted in the ſame place is not more obſcure. Can any thing be ſpoken more expreſly concerning the Creation of the World, the laſt Judgment, and the Life Everlaſting, than what is produced by *Theophilus Antiochenus*, as proceeding from a Sibyl? All the other Sibylline Verſes recited by the Fathers,are written almoſt after the very ſame manner,on every particular Subject,and this obliged the Author of the *Exhortation to the Gentiles*, attributed to St. *Juſtin*, to affirm, that the Sibyl had foretold the Advent of *Jeſus Chriſt* in clear and evident Terms, Σαφῶς ἢ φανερῶς. Now what an abſurdity is it to believe, that the Heathens, from whom God had concealed the Coming of his Son, and whom he ſuffered to walk in Darkneſs, ſhould have more notable Prophecies among them, than all thoſe of the *Jews*, to whoſe Cuſtody he had committed the Sacred Writings, and to whom he had given the knowledge of the *Meſſiah*.

Moreover, this Argument might be urged farther, and it might be demanded from whence the Sibyls could receive the knowledge of the *Meſſiah*. It is alledged by ſome, that they were Inſpired by God; and by others that they took from the Holy Scripture, all that they uttered concerning Religion; but there is no probability neither in the one nor the other Aſſertion; for what likelihood is there that God ſhould inſpire Sorcereſſes and Prieſteſſes of falſe Gods, that deluded Mankind, to cauſe them to adore the *Dæmons* with which they were poſſeſſed? Or who can imagine, that God ſhould make uſe of ſuch Inſtruments to reveal his Myſteries ſo clearly to the World; and on the other ſide, how could they draw thoſe Truths out of the *Old Teſtament*, that are but very obſcurely expreſſed therein, and which the *Jews* themſelves could ſcarcely underſtand.

It remains only for a more full demonſtration of the falſity of the Sibylline Oracles that were uſed by the Fathers, to ſhew, that they differed very little from thoſe that ſtill bear the ſame Title. To evince this, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that excepting three or four Paſſages, all the others quoted by the ancient Authors, being very numerous, are expreſſed in equivalent Terms in the Sibylline Books that are read even at this day. Now the ſtrongeſt Argument that can be alledged to prove that a Work is ancient, is, that thoſe Paſſages that have been cited by the ancient Writers are found therein. Do we not frequently demonſtrate the Antiquity of an infinite number of Books, only becauſe a particular Paſſage recited by ſome ancient Author, is there to be found? Why then may it not be concluded after the ſame manner, that the Sibylline Books, thô forged, are the ſame with thoſe that were formerly extant? And this Proof is of ſo much the more force, becauſe this may be urged not only againſt one ſingle Paſſage, but very many, that are alledged by different Authors, and alſo becauſe the Sibylline Oracles ſtill remain in the ſame Language in which they were cited. Moreover it is not to be admired, that there are ſome Paſſages which are not found therein, and that there are others which are not Verbally expreſſed, becauſe ſome places in theſe Books are wanting; and it hath been often obſerved, that the ancient Writers are not uſually very exact in their Quotations, but adhere to the Senſe rather than the Literal Expreſſion. It might likewiſe be added, that all that is related by the ancient Fathers concerning the Books of the Sibyls that were heretofore in uſe, is comformable to theſe: The Author of the *Exhortation to the Gentiles* affirms, that the Stile of the Sibylline Writings was not very polite; theſe are of the like nature; they were then reported to contain divers Anachroniſms, and this defect is alſo at preſent obſervable among them. They Treated concerning *Jeſus Chriſt*, the laſt Judgment, Hell, &c. all theſe Things are in like manner compriſed in thoſe that

(*l*) *The Books of the Sibyls were never conſulted among the* Romans, *without extracting from them ſome Superſtitions perfectly Pagan.*] See *Livy* in many places, *Varro, de Ling. Lat.* Lib. 5. *Cicero* in *Verrina ult. Tacitus* Lib. 15. *Suetonius* in *Jul.* Num. 97. *Plin.* Lib. 5. chap. 17. *Solyn. Polybiſt.* Chap. 10. *Val. Maxim.* Lib. 1. Numb. 1, and 10. *Plutarch* in the Lives of *Publicola, Fabius* and *Marius. Pauſanias* in *Phocaicis. Capitolinus* in *Gordiano. Trebellius Pollio* in *Galienis*, and *Vopiſcus*, in *Aureliano & Floriano. Sext. Aurel. Victor* in *Claudio. Ammian. Marcellin.* Lib. 22, and 23. *Macrob. Saturnal.* Lib. 1. chap. 17.

we now have in our possession. Lastly, these last are very ancient, and belong to the time of the most ancient Fathers; for some Opinions may be found there, that could not be maintained but in the Primitive Ages of the Church: Such are the Errors of the *Millenaries*; That *Nero* is Anti-Christ; That the end of the World was near at hand; That it should happen in the time of *Antoninus*; That *Rome* should soon be destroyed 948 years after its Foundation, and many other things that could never be asserted by later Christians, who would have been very far from admitting such Notions, when they were convinced of the falsity of these Predictions. Upon the whole matter it ought to be concluded, that the Books of the Sibyls were certainly forged in the Second Century, but it is difficult to determine the precise time, and by whom this was done; all that can be alledged as most probable is, that they began to appear about the end of the Reign of the Emperor *Antoninus Pius.* (*m*). *Sibyls.*

M. *Vossius* in his last Book gives us an Hypothesis of the Sibylline Oracles somewhat different from this; he acknowledgeth that the ancient Writings of the Sibyls which were preserved until the burning of the *Capitol*, were entirely prophane, and differed from those that are cited by the Fathers; but he maintains, that among those that were brought from *Greece* by *Octacilius Crassus*, there were some Prophecies inserted that had been received from the *Jews*, who pretended that they were written by the Sibyls, in which the Coming of the Messiah was foretold, and that these were cited by the Fathers under the Name of *The Books of the Sibyls*, which Title was actually attributed to them.

This Hypothesis, which is well enough contrived, yet lies liable to many Difficulties; for first, the Collection of Oracles ascribed to the Sibyls, that was made after the burning of the *Capitol*, related no less to the *Pagan* Superstitions, than the ancient Verses ascribed to the Sibyl of *Cuma*. Secondly, Since the Predictions concerning *Jesus Christ*, expressed in the passages of the Sibylline Books, and quoted by the Fathers, are clearer than those that were contained in the Prophecies of the *Jews*, there is no probability that they could proceed from any of that Nation. Lastly, The Doctrine comprised in the Books of the Sibyls, seems rather to be that of a Christian than of a Jew, since the Coming of *Jesus Christ*, is therein manifestly foretold; The Resurrection of the Dead, the Last Judgment, and Hell Fire, are expressly described in plain Terms; and mention is made of the *Millennium*, of the appearing of Anti Christ, together with many other Things of the like nature, which could not be related, but by one that had been instructed in the Christian Religion. Therefore it is much more probable, that the Writings attributed to the Sibyls were forged by a Christian, rather than by a *Jew*.

However, none ought to be surprised that we reject those Books as suppositious, which have been quoted by the Ancients as real, and it must not be imagined, that we thereby contemn the Authority of the Fathers, or that we impugn the Truth; on the contrary, we should do an Injury to it, if we should endeavour to support it by false Proofs, especially when we are convinced of their Forgery. The Fathers are to be excused for citing the Sibylline Verses as true, because they had not examined them, and finding them published under the Name of the Sibyls, they really believed that they were theirs; but they that are certainly informed of the contrary, would be inexcusable if they continued to rely on such Testimonials, or refused ingenuously to confess what the Truth obliged them to own. And indeed it ought not to be admired, that the Fathers did not examine these Books critically; it is sufficiently known, that they wholly applied themselves to Matters of the greatest Consequence at that time, and that they often happened to be mistaken in prophane Histories and to cite fictitious Books; such are the Works of *Hystaspes*, and *Mercurius Trismegistus*, which they almost always joyned with those of the Sibyls; as also the Acts of *Pilate*, Apocryphal Gospels, divers Acts of the Apostles, and a great number of other Records that have been undoubtedly forged.

But altho the most part of the ancient Writers cited the Oracles of the Sibyls, yet there were even then many Christians that rejected them as Counterfeit, and could not be perswaded to approve the practice of those that made use of their Testimony, whom in derision they called by the Name of *Sibyllists*. This is attested by *Origen*, in his Fifth Book against *Celsus*: *Celsus* (says he) *Objects, that there are Sybillists amongst us, perhaps, because he hath heard it reported, that there are some amongst us who reprove those that affirm, that the Sibyl is a Propheteſs, and call them Sibyllists.* St. *Augustine* hath likewise acknowledged the falsity of these pretended Oracles; and as often as he makes mention of them, he declares that he is not not convinced of their Truth, particularly in *Lib.* 18. *c.* 45. *De Civit Dei. Were it not* (says he) *that it is affirmed, that the Prophecies that are produced under the Name of the Sibyls and others concerning* Jesus Christ, *were feigned by the Christians.* And in *cap.* 47. *It may be believed, that all the Prophecies relating to* Jesus Christ, *that are not contained in the Holy Scriptures, have been forged by the Christians: Wherefore there can be nothing more solid in confuting the Pagans, than to alledge those Prophecies that are taken from the Books of our Enemies.*

(*m*) *They began to appear about the end of the Reign of Antoninus Pius. Possevinus* affirms, that these Books were written under the Reign of *Commodus*; but he is deceived in taking the Conflagration mentioned in Book V. for the Fire of the Temple of *Vesta*, that happened in the time of that Emperor, for the Temple of *Jerusalem* is to be understood in this place, which is called the *desirable House*, and *the Guardian Temple of God*. We have already shewn, that the Author had seen *Lucius* and *Marcus*, but that he knew not the later Emperors. All the Fathers that have quoted the Sibylline Books, wrote either under the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, or after that time, *Josephus* indeed and *Hermas* cite the Sibyls, but in general Terms, and there were possibly some Verses extant under their Names. even in the time of *Josephus*, who produceth one of them concerning the Tower of *Babel*, Lib. 1. *Ant. c.* 3.

But

But the Heathens (ſay they,) doubted not of the truth of the Predictions of the Sibyls that were urged by the Fathers; they only put another ſenſe upon them, nay, they even proceede ſo far as to [illegible], that the Sibylline Verſes foretold the Nativity of a certain new King, and a conſiderable Revolution. This is mentioned by *Tully* in divers places; moreover when *Pompey* took the City of *Jeruſalem*, it was commonly reported, that the Sibyl had foretold, that Nature deſigned a King for the People of *Rome*; the Senate was likewiſe aſtoniſhed at it, and, by reaſon of this Prediction, refuſed to ſend a General, or an Army, into *Egypt*. *Lentulus* (according to the Teſtimony of *Cicero* and *Salluſt*,) flatter'd himſelf, that he ſhould become this King that was intimated by the Sibyl. Others have interpreted this Prophecy, with reſpect to *Julius Cæſar* or *Auguſtus*, as is obſerved by *Cicero* and *Suetonius*. *Virgil*, in his Fourth Eclogue, produceth the Verſes of the *Cuman* Sibyl, foreſhewing the Birth of a new King that ſhould deſcend from Heaven. In ſhort, it is moſt certain, that the Gentiles acknowledged that the Books of the Sibyls were favourable to the Chriſtians, inſomuch that the later were prohibited to read them, as appears from the words of *Aurelian* to the Senate, recited by *Vopiſcus*. *I admire*, (ſays he) *Gentlemen, that you ſhould ſpend ſo much time in conſulting the Writings of the Sibyls, as if we were debating in an Aſſembly of Chriſtians, and not in the principal place of the Roman Religion.*

Theſe Arguments ſeem to be very plauſible, but if we examine them, we ſhall find that they contain nothing that is ſolid: The Pagans never ſubmitted to the Authority of theſe Books of the Sibyls that were quoted by the Fathers; on the contrary it is manifeſt, that *Celſus* was perſwaded that they were forged by the Chriſtians; and St. *Auguſtine* plainly declares, that this was the general Opinion of all the Gentiles. The Sibylline Verſes mentioned by *Tully* were *Paracroſticks*. that is to ſay, the firſt Verſe of every Sentence comprehended all the Letters in order, that began the following Verſes; now among all the Verſes of the Sibyls, only thoſe cited by *Conſtantine* are compoſed in *Acroſticks*. As for the Aſſertion, that in the time of *Pompey*, *Julius Cæſar*, and *Auguſtus*, there was a general report, that it was foretold in the Sibylline Books, that a new King ſhould be born within a little while; we may eaſily reply with *Tully*, that the Verſes attributed to the Sibyls by the Heathens were made after ſuch a manner, that any ſenſe whatſoever might be put upon them; and that, perhaps, mention might be made therein of a certain future King, as it is uſual in this kind of Prophecies. Therefore when the Grandeur of *Pompey* began to be formidable to the *Roman* Empire, they thought it fit to make uſe of this pretence, to prevent him from going into *Egypt* with an Army. And *Lentulus*, to whom this Charge was committed, being Governor of *Syria*, vainly flattered himſelf with this Prediction, which might peradventure be further confirmed by the Prophecies of the *Jews*, who expected the coming of the *Meſſiah*, believing that he ought to be their King.

Afterwards when it happened that *Julius Cæſar*, and *Auguſtus* after him, actually made themſelves Maſters of the *Roman* Empire, the Prophetical Expreſſions of the Sibyls were interpreted in their favour; neither was it neceſſary on this account, that they ſhould clearly point at the Coming of *Jeſus Chriſt*, as it is expreſſed in the Writings of the Sibyls that are alledged by the Fathers; but it was ſufficient, that they mentioned a future King, which is the uſual practice of all thoſe that undertake to utter Predictions of extraordinary Events. This gave occaſion to *Virgil*, who intended in his fourth Eclogue to compoſe Verſes in Houour of *Pollio* his Patron, as alſo to Extol *Auguſtus* at the ſame time, and to deſcribe the Felicity of his Reign; this, I ſay, afforded him an opportunity to do it with greater Majeſty, to make uſe of the name of the Sibyl, and to pronounce theſe Verſes:

Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas;
Magnus ab integro ſæclorum naſcitur ordo:
Jam nova progenes Cœlo demittitur alto;
Jam redit & Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna.

By which nothing elſe is meant, but that at the Nativity of *Saloninus* the Son of *Pollio*, under the Conſultate of his Father, and the Reign of the greateſt Prince in the World, the Golden Age ſhould return, as it was foretold by the Sibyl; That Plenty and Peace ſhould flouriſh throughout the whole Univerſe, and that the Virgin *Aſtræa*, the Goddeſs of *Juſtice*, who had abandoned the Earth at the beginning of the Iron-Age, ſhould deſcend again from Heaven: What is there in all this, that reſembles the Prophecies concerning *Jeſus Chriſt?* Or rather, what is there that is not altogether prophane, and feigned by an Heathen Poet, who only makes uſe of the Sibyls Name to flatter the Ambition of *Auguſtus*, and to add greater Authority and Luſtre to that which he ſays in his Commendation? Laſtly, the Words of *Aurelian* do not intimate, that the Chriſtians were forbidden by the Pagans to read the Sibylline Books, but only that the Chriſtians looked upon them as prophane Writings, which in no wiſe related to their Religion, and to which they gave no Credit.

THE Books that are attributed to *Hyſtaſpes*, and *Mercurius Trimegiſtus* and cited likewiſe by the ancient Fathers, are not more Genuine than the Verſes of the Sibyls. There is nothing now extant of *Hyſtaſpes*, and this Author was altogether unknown to the ancient Heathens; but the ſame thing cannot be ſaid of *Mercurius* Sirnamed *Triſmegiſtus* (*n*), who is mentioned by the moſt

(*n*) *Sirnamed* Triſmegiſtus.] In Greek τρισμέγιστος, [illegible] call him *Thaaut*; ſome affirm, that he was ſtyled *Triſmegiſtus* by the *Grecians*, becauſe he was a great King, a great Prieſt, and a great Philoſopher; others as *Lactantius*, that this Name was attributed to him, by reaſon of his incomparable Learning.

ancient

ancient Pagan Writers (*o*) as an incomparable Person, and an Inventer of all the Liberal Arts and Sciences. He was an *Egyptian*, and more ancient than all the Authors, whose Works are still extant: He is believed to be as Old as *Moses*; he either wrote, or at least it is said that he wrote, Twenty five, or Thirty thousand Volumes. But we have only two Dialogues at present under his Name, one whereof is called by the Name of *Pœmander*, and the other of *Asclepius*, who are the principal Speakers. The first Treatise is concerning the Will of God, and the second Treats of the Divine Power; these have been cited by the ancient Fathers, to prove the Truth of our Religion, by the Authority of so famous an Author. But it is certain that they cannot be his (*p*); for the Author of these Treatises is a Modern *Platonick* Christian, who argues from the Principles of that Philosophy, and hath taken from the Holy Scripture, that which he writ concerning the Word of God, and the Creation of the World.

Hystaspes, and *Mercurius Trismegistus.*

IT were needless to shew the falsity of a Letter attributed to *Lentulus*, and directed to the Senate and People of *Rome*, concerning the Actions of Jesus Christ, since the Forgery is apparent: It is pretended to have been written by *Lentulus*, as Governor of *Jerusalem*, although he never was so; the Superscription thereof is inscrib'd *to the Senate and People of* Rome; whereas ever since there were Emperors, it was the general Custom among the Governors of *Provinces*, to write immediately to them: Moreover the Contents of this Letter are ridiculous, there is a mean and unworthy Description of the Person of Jesus Christ, as particularly it is said, that his Hair was of a light Colour, long and loose after the manner of the *Nazarenes*; the Style is also very far from the Purity and Elegancy of the Age wherein *Augustus* lived. In short, this Letter is not so much as mentioned by any of the ancient Writers,

A Letter of Lentulus.

THE Letter of *Pilate* to *Tiberius* on the same Subject, concerning the Miracles of Jesus Christ seems to be more Authentick; for it is recorded by *Tertullian* in his *Apologetick*, that *Tiberius* being informed of the supernatural and wonderful Operations, that were performed by our Saviour in *Palestine*, which were so many Testimonies of his Divinity, made report thereof to the Senate, and determined, that he ought to be Enrolled among the Gods; but that the Senate having rejected this Proposition, *Tiberius* nevertheless persisted in his Opinion, and forbad his Subjects to persecute the Christians. It is added, a little after by the same Author, that *Pilate* being a Christian in his Heart, wrote to *Tiberius* concerning the Resurrection of Jesus Christ. *Eusebius* in the second Book of his History *Chap.* 2. produceth this passage of *Tertullian*, and giving a large Account how the fame of our Saviour was spread abroad, and came to the Ears of *Tiberius*, he says, that *Pilate* sent a Letter to the Emperor, according to the usual Custom of the Governors of *Provinces*, who were obliged to give an Account of the most remarkable Occurrences that happen'd within their Jurisdiction, and that he wrote to him concerning the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, avouching that he had been informed of his Miracles by many, and that a great number of People esteemed him as a God, after he rose again from the Dead. We find in the *Orthodoxography*, after the Epistle of *Lentulus* another attributed to *Pilate* and directed to *Tiberius*, wherein the same things are contained. But it is difficult to determine whether this Letter was extant in the time of *Eusebius*, or afterwards forged from his Story. However, there are divers learned Men, that doubt of the Truth of this History, which hath but very little probability in its Foundation; for what Likelihood is there that *Pilate* should transmit these things in writing to *Tiberius*, relating to a Man whom he had condemned to Death? And although he had writtem them, it is credible that *Tiberius* should have made a Proposition to the Senate, for the admitting this Person into the number of the Gods upon the bare report of a Governor? And if he had propounded it, who can doubt but that the Senate would have immediately submitted to his Judgment? Therefore, though this Relation cannot be absolutely charged with Falshood, yet it ought at least to be accounted as dubious. [Dr. *Pearson* late Bishop of *Chester* in his Lectures upon the Acts of the Apostles (*p.* 64. 65.) vindicates the Truth of this Story against the Objections of *Tana-*

Pilate's Letter.

(*o*) *Mentioned by the most ancient Pagan Writers.*] *Plato* in *Phœdrus* declares, that he invented the Characters of Letters together with Arts and Sciences. *Cicero* in Lib. 3. *de Natura Deorum* assures us, that he governed the *Egyptians*, and that he gave them Laws and found out the Characters of their Writings; It is Recorded by *Diodorus Sieulus*, that he taught the *Grecians* the Art of discovering the Secrets of the Mind. And we are informed by *Jamblichus*, who quotes *Manetho* and *Seleucus*, that he wrote above Thirty five thousand Volumes. S. *Clemens Alexandrinus* in *Stromat.* Lib. 6. makes mention of Forty two Books of this Author, and gives an Account of the Subject of some of them. The Works of *Mercurius Trismagistus*, are cited as favourable to the Christian Religion by the Author *of the Exhortation to the Gentiles*, said to be St. *Justin*, by *Lactantius* in the Fourth Book of his *Institutions*, by St. *Clement*, in Lib. 1. *Stromat.* by St. *Augustine*, in *Tract. de* 5. *Hæres.* and in *Lib.* 8. *De Civit. Dei*, Chap. 23. by St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, in *Lib.* 1. *contra. Julianum*, and by many others.

(*p*) *But it is certain that they cannot be his.*] The Eternity and Divinity of the Word is clearly explain'd in the *Pœmander*, and the Author of this Book attributes to the Son, the quality of being Consubstantial with the Father; he declares, that he is the Son of God our God, who proceeds from the Intellect of the Father, and he makes use of the very words of the Septuagint, in describing the Creation of the World: he Discourseth of the Fall of the first Man. In short, he Copies out several passages of the Old and New Testament, and follows the Principles of the Modern *Platonick* Philosophy. But the Book Entituled *Asclepius* hath not quite so great a Tincture of Christianity: The Author Treats therein of Idolatry after an exquisite manner; he explains the Greek word *Θεὸς*, he Transcribes many things out of the Holy Scriptures, and the Works of the *Grecian* Writers: Lastly, he foretels the Extirpation of the *Egyptian* Religion.

Pilate's Letter.

quil Faber so fully, that I shall set down his Reasons at large: And 1. He says, that *Tertullian* might have taken his Information from the Acts of the Senate, wherein the Votes and Acts of every day were constantly set down. 2. He observes from *Suetonius*, that *Tiberius* acquainted the Senate with every thing that he was informed of, whether publick or private, of great or of little Concern. 3. He observes that *Tiberius* often took no notice when the Senate decreed things against his own Opinion; and this also is expresly affirmed by *Suetonius*. 4. The Senate refused to Rank Jesus Christ amongst the Gods out of a Compliment to *Tiberius*, who had before refused Divine Honours, Commanding that no Statues of his should be Erected in their Temples, unless for Ornament; they might probably therefore suspect that this was propos'd by *Tiberius*, who never spoke his mind plainly in any thing, to ensnare them, who could not attribute those Honours to any Body else which *Tiberius* had forbidden to be paid to himself, without making that Person greater than *Tiberius*. 5. It is not probable that *Pontius Pilate* should neglect so remarkable a thing, as the Crucifixion and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, when all the Governors of particular Provinces were obliged to send Relations of every one that was considerable under their Governments to the Emperors who sent them: And the Question is not, as *Faber* mis-understood it, whether the *Christians* then made any considerable Figure in the World; but whether upon *Pilate*'s transmitting an Account to *Tiberius*, of the Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ at *Jerusalem*, when he was Procurator of *Judæa*, the Emperor did not propose to the Senate that this Jesus Christ might be ranked amongst the Gods; which being positively asserted by *Tertullian*, cannot be disproved by any Negative Arguments that may at this time of day be brought against it.

But though these Reasons which are urged by this great Man against *Tanaquil Faber*, sufficiently vindicate the Truth of *Tertullian*'s Authority in this Matter; yet that is no Argument why the Epistle that goes under *Pilate*'s Name should be Genuine. *Pilate* sent this Account of Jesus Christ in the Acts of his Administration, not in a particular Letter to the Emperor. The Acts are quoted by *Justin Martyr*, *Eusebius*, *Epiphanius*, and St. *Chrysostome*, and this Letter was made in all probability when the Original Acts were lost.]

Epistles of Seneca *to St.* Paul, *and of St.* Paul *to* Seneca.

BUT we have reason to reject the Thirteen Epistles, as well those of *Seneca* to St. *Paul*, as the others of St. *Paul* to *Seneca*, as undoubted Forgeries; altho St. *Jerome*, and St. *Augustine* seem to own them as Authentick. For (1) These Epistles are not written according to the style of St. *Paul*, nor in that of *Seneca* (*q*). 2. It is declared therein, that in the Fire that happen'd in *Rome* under *Nero*, there were only 132 Houses burnt, which is a manifest falshood since it is certain, that a great part of the City was consumed as *Tacitus* informs us (*r*). 3. The date of these Letters is false (*s*). 4. They contain nothing that is worthy of *Seneca*, or of St. *Paul* (*t*). Lastly, it may be easily discerned, that they were feigned by some Persons, meerly to gratifie their Fancy, and to Exercise their Faculty of Invention.

A late Author acknowledging, that the Epistles extant at this day under the Name of *Seneca* to St. *Paul*, and of St. *Paul* to *Seneca* are counterfeit, and yet not daring to affirm, that St. *Jerom* and S. *Augustine*, who believed them to be Genuine were deceived, hath imagined that the real Letters of St. *Paul* to *Seneca*, and of *Seneca* to S. *Paul* were lost since their time; and that those that we now have in our Possession, were substituted in their room. But besides that the respect that we have for these two Fathers, ought not to hinder us from believing, that they might be mistaken in a matter of so little moment (*u*): It is also to be observed, that they do not positively assert, that those Epistles were Authentick, but only that they were generally reputed to be so; and that they were read under their Names: (*x*) Moreover it might be easily demonstrated, that the Letters which remain in

(*q*) *Are not written according to the style of St.* Paul, *nor in that of* Seneca.] The style of those that are attributed to *Seneca* is Barbarous, and full of words that are scarce Latin. The Epistles ascribed to St. *Paul*, do not suit with the Gravity of this Apostle, and contain Compliments rather than solid Instructions.

(*r*) *As it is related by* Tacitus.] He informs us, that of Fourteen quarters of the City of *Rome*, there remained but four entire, that there were three, the Houses whereof were wholly consumed, that very little was left in the other Seven, and that those that were left were half burnt.

(*s*) *The Date of these Letters is false.*] One of them is Dated under the Consulate of *Aprianus* and *Capito*, that is, *Vipsanius* and *Capito*, Five years before the burning of *Rome*, and the other under the Consulate of *Phrygius* and *Bassus*. But it was under the Consulate of *Lecanius Bassus*, and *Licinius Crassus*, that this Fire happened: And the Letter is Dated in *March*, whereas the Fire did not begin (according to the report of *Tacitus*) till *May* following.

(*t*) *They contain nothing that is worthy of* Seneca *or of St.* Paul.] There is scarcely one Moral Notion in those of *Seneca*, or one Christian Precept in those of St. *Paul*.

(*u*) *In a matter of so little moment.*] It is certain, that the Fathers have often cited Apocryphal and Counterfeit Books, as we have already shewn; *Natalis Alexander* himself the Author of the Opinion, which we now confute, Confesses it, and on the very same Account rejects the Epistle of Jesus Christ to *Abgarus*, that of *Abgarus* to Jesus Christ, that are more Authorized by the ancient Writers than those Letters of *Seneca*.

(*x*) *But only that they were generally reputed so to be.*] St. *Jerom* in *Catalog. I reckon* Seneca *in the number of Ecclesiastical Authors, by reason of certain Letters which are read by many under the Name of* Seneca *to St.* Paul, *and of St.* Paul *to* Seneca. *St.* Aug. *Ep.* 14. *now the* 153. Seneca *of whom certain Letters are read written to St.* Paul. *But in Lib. de Civit. Dei*, Chap. 11. He declares that *Seneca* neither commended nor censured the Christians, and that he hath made no mention of them; therefore he did not believe that these Letters were his.

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our hands at present; and those that were extant in the time of St. *Jerome* are the same, for he declares that *Seneca* wished in one of his Epistles, to be among his Followers, what S. *Paul* was among the Christians, which bears a great Analogy with what we find in the 11th Letter of *Seneca* to Saint *Paul* (*y*). It is not known, when or by whom these Epistles were forged, and it is difficult to determine, whether it were on their Account, that there is this passage in the false Acts of the Passion of St. *Linus*, that *Seneca* and St. *Paul* wrote divers Letters one to another; or whether the Narrative of this Author, gave the hint to those that forged these Letters, as Cardinal *Baronius* conjectures. *Epistles of Seneca to St. Paul, and of St. Paul to Seneca.*

LAstly, among all the profane Monuments that might be quoted for the Confirmation of the Truth of the Christian Religion, none seems to be more considerable than this passage of *Josephus*, taken from Book 18. chap. 4. of his *Jewish Antiquities*, wherein he declares: That, *at that time there was a wise Man named* JESUS, *(if we may only call him a Man; for he wrought many Miracles, and taught the truth to those that received it with joy,) who had a great number of Disciples, as well among the Jews as the Gentiles; that he was the* CHRIST, *and that being accused by the chief of his Nation, he was crucified by* Pilate's *Order; That nevertheless, he was not abandoned by those that loved him, because he had appeared unto them alive on the Third day, as was foretold by the Prophets, and that he was the Author of the Sect of the Christians, which remains at this day.* *A Passage of Josephus, concerning Jesus Christ.*

This Testimony of *Josephus* is produced by *Eusebius*, St. *Jerome*, and several others after them, as a Record very important for the establishing of the Christian Faith; but in these later times, when Matters began to be examined more accurately, there have been, and there are even at present many learned Men, who maintain that this passage doth not really belong to *Josephus*, and it must be Confessed, that their Conjectures are not altogether to be disallowed; for they affirm,

1. That the style is intricate, not very fluent, and different from that of *Josephus*, whose Expressions are generally clear and elegant.

2. That it is evident, that this passage was inserted afterwards into the Texts of *Josephus*; because the Coherence of the following Sentence is interrupted; for immediately after the end thereof, we read, *About that time the Jews began to be afflicted again, with another Calamity*, words that have no manner of Relation to what went before, concerning our Saviour: but which manifestly appertain to the Account of the Massacre of the *Jews*, whom *Pilate* had caused to be slain in *Jerusalem*, that came just before this Passage concerning Jesus Christ; which plainly shews (say they) that it doth not belong to *Josephus*, and that it hath been afterwards added.

3. They argue, that in case this Passage were taken separately, yet even then it might be easily perceived, that those are the words of a Christian, and not of a Jew; since Jesus Christ is therein called God, his Miracles and Resurrection is acknowledged, and it is declared, that these things were foretold by the Prophets; How can it be imagined that this should proceed from a Jew, especially *Josephus*, who seems to doubt of the Miracles recorded in the Books that were written by Hebrew Authors?

4. What probability is there, that *Josephus* a Person extremely addicted to the Interest of his own Nation, should speak so honourably of Jesus Christ, whom he did not believe to be the *Messiah*, (as is observed by *Origen* in his Book against *Celsus*) and that he should accuse his Country-men, as having unjustly put him to Death?

5. *Josephus* describing in the same Book. *Chap.* 8. the Martyrdom of St. *James*, declares, that he was the Brother of Jesus Christ; now if he had made mention of him in some of his preceding Chapters he would not have failed to take notice thereof, or at least, he would in this place have added somewhat in his Commendation.

6. This Testimony (say they) is not only unknown to the Authors that lived before the time of *Eusebius*: but *Origen* expressly denies, that *Josephus* wrote any thing concerning our Saviour; *It is very strange*, (says he, in *Tom.* 2. in *Matth.* *That* Josephus *who did not acknowledge* Jesus Christ *as the* Messiah, *should give so Authentick a Testimony concerning the Innocency of St.* James. Would he have spoken to this effect, if there had been in his time so remarkable an Evidence of the Divinity of Jesus Christ in the Works of *Josephus*, as that which is now extant therein? *Theodoret* hath also observed, that *Josephus* knew not our Saviour. But nothing is more considerable than the silence of *Photius* as to this Matter, who making an exact Epitome of the Books of *Josephus*, takes no notice of this passage concerning Jesus Christ, which he would not have omitted, if it had been then found in all the Copies of the Writings of *Josephus*, and if he had believed that it was written by him. *Biblioth. Cod.* 238.

Lastly, that which deserves a more particular Reflection is, that it is remark'd by *Photius* in another place, that there was extant in his time a Book concerning the Universe attributed to *Josephus*, which he judged to be fictitious, in regard that Jesus Christ is too honourably mentioned therein, and he adds afterwards, that he hath been since informed that this Book was written by *Caius* a Priest of

(*y*) *Which bears a great Analogy with that which we find in the* 11*th Letter of* Seneca *to St.* Paul.] According to St. *Jerom*; *Optare se dicet servus ejus esse loci apud suos, cujus sit* Paulus *apud Christianos.* In the 11th Letter of *Seneca* we find the following Expression. *Cum sis vertex, & Altissimorum montium cacumen, haud te indignum in prima facie Epistolarum nominandum censeas---nam qui meus tuus apud te locus, qui tuus velim ut meus.* If *apud tuos* were put instead of *apud te*, these words would express S. *Jerom*'s Sense; and they seem not to be capable of admitting any other; however it is evident, that he alludes to this place.

S. *Clemens Romanus.*

(says he) *upon occasion of a great Division that happened in the Church of* Corinth, *the Church of* Rome *wrote a very pathetical Letter to the* Corinthians, *to restore them to Peace, wherein she strengthens their Faith, and preacheth these Traditions that they had lately received from the Apostles.* This Epistle which is cited by S. *Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Eusebius,* S. *Jerom,* and *Photius,* was for a long time concealed, until at length Mr. *Patrick Young* having found it in an ancient Manuscript (*d*) caused it to be Printed at *Oxford, Anno Dom.* 1633.

After the Holy Scriptures, it is in my Opinion, one of the most eminent Records of Antiquity. S. *Clement,* therein exhorts the Faithful of the Church of *Corinth,* that was in a disturbance by the revolt of some Christians, who refused to submit to their lawful Pastors, he exhorts them, I say, to a Re-union, and to seek after Peace; particularly he admonisheth them to persevere in the Obedience and Submission that they owed to their Spiritual Guides, he censures those that disturbed the Church, and that promoted secret Cabals against their Ministers on purpose to supplant them; He begins with putting them in mind of the Happiness of that Peace which they had formerly enjoyed; afterwards he represents to them the misfortune of their present Divisions, and proceeds to shew by many Examples, what lamentable Consequences have always attended it, and how displeasing it is to God; Moreover, he adviseth them to repent, in practising Humility, Obedience, and Charity, in imitation of the Humility of *Jesus Christ,* and the Mercy of God, through the Hope of a Resurrection: From thence he takes an occasion to recommend to the Faithful, the practice of many Christian Virtues, and the Observation of a Regular Discipline: He declares to them, that it was very ill done to rise up against the Pastors and Bishops that were Constituted by the Apostles, or Elected by the Faithful after their Death: He aggravates the heinousness of their Crime that were the first promoters of this Division, and earnestly sollicites them to return to their Duty by obeying their Ministers, and by re-uniting themselves with the rest of the Believers. Thus you have an account of the Subject of this Epistle written by S. *Clement* in the name of the Church of *Rome* to that of *Corinth,* about the end of the Persecution raised by the Emperor *Domitian. The Style thereof* (says *Photius*) *is simple and clear, and it comes very near the natural and artless manner of Expression used by the ancient Ecclesiastical Authors.* I shall add that one may discern a great deal of Energy and Vigour, accompanied with much Prudence, Gentleness, Zeal, and Charity.

The second Epistle of S. *Clement* is not so certainly known to be his; *Eusebius,* S. *Jerome,* and *Photius* observe, that there is reason to doubt of its being Genuine, because it is not mentioned by the ancient Writers; nevertheless some of the Fathers have cited both these Epistles, as if they were of equal Authority (*e*.) The Fragment that is now extant of this last Letter published in *Latin* by *Wendelinus,* and in *Greek* by Mr. *Young,* is an Exhortation to the Practice of Repentance, and of divers Christian Virtues on the account of the Mercy of God, and the Reward that is promised to the Faithful.

Besides these two Epistles several voluminous Books have been attributed to S. *Clement,* even in the Primitive Ages of the Church, that were not his; such were (as *Eusebius* declares in the third Book of his History, *chap.* 38.) the Disputes of S. *Peter* and *Appion,* whereof the ancient Authors have made no mention, and which contain Matters that are far from the Purity of the Apostolical Doctrine: We may conjecture, that these Writings were part of the Book, Entituled, *Recognitiones Clementis,* which is likewise called, *The Voyages, Itinerary, or Acts of St.* Peter: This Work, tho' fictitious, is ancient, being cited by *Origen* (*f*,) *Eusebius,* S. *Athanasius,* S. *Epiphanius,* S. *Jerom,* and the Author of *The Commentaries on* S. *Matthew,* ascribed to S. *Chrysostom: Ruffinus* hath made a Translation thereof which is still extant; *Gelasius* hath inserted it in the Catalogue of Apocryphal Books; and *Photius* observes, that there are Absurdities and Errors to be found in it: And indeed it is a Writing full of Fables, Tales, Conferences, and ridiculous Disputes feigned at pleasure, and pretended to be holden between S. *Peter* and *Simon Magus,* concerning certain Events, and Occurrences that are related after a childish manner; but that which is more dangerous, is, that we may easily discover in several Passages thereof the Opinions of the *Ebionites,* tho' much palliated, together with many other Errors. In short, this Book is of no use, if we reflect on the Style and Method in which it is written, or on the Things that are comprised therein.

(*d*) *In an ancient Manuscript.*] It is called *The Manuscript of* Thecla, because it was written with the hand of an ancient Virgin called *Thecla,* who lived, (as is generally believed) in the time of the first Council of *Nice.* These Epistles have been since Printed in the Collection of *Cotelerius,* in *Labbee's* Edition of the Councils, and at *Helmstadt* in the year 1654. [As also at *Oxford* in 1677.

(*e*) *Some of the Fathers have cited both these Epistles, as if they were of equal Authority.*] The Author of the *Apostolical Constitutions, c. ult.* St. *Epiphan. Hæres.* 27. chap. 6. and 30 chap. 15. S. *Jerom, adversus Jov.* chap. 7. *Photius Cod.* 126. *Damasus,* Lib. 4. *Orth. Fidei.* S. *Dionysius* of *Corinth* takes notice but of one single Epistle, and there is some difference in the style of the second, which makes us doubt of its Veracity. The Sibyls were heretofore cited therein, if we may give Credit to the Author of the Questions attributed to S. *Justin;* but he doth not declare, whether it were in the first Part, or in the second, and part of the second is lost. Moreover. S. *Epiphanius* seems to mention other Epistles of S. *Clement.*

(*f*) *Being cited by* Origen.] *Tom.* 3. *Comment. in Genes.* in *Philocal.* chap. 22. and in *Matth.* chap. 26. *Euseb.* lib. 3. *Hist.* chap. 3. and chap. 38. *Athanas.* in *Synops. Epiph. Hæres.* 30. chap. 25. *Hieron.* in *Catalog.* and Lib. 1. in *Jovin.* chap. 14. and *Comment. in Ep. ad Galat.* Lib. 1. chap. 18. *Ruffinus de Adulterat. Lib. Origi. Autor. op. imp. in Matth.* chap. 10. verf. 15, 16, 42. *Photius, Cod,* 112, and 113.

I shall

I shall not pass the same censure upon the Apostolical Constitutions that are likewise falsly imputed to St. *Clement*, and which, thô written by a later Author (*g*.) yet contain many things very useful to the Discipline of the Church; It is not known by whom, nor when they were composed (*h*;) All that can be certainly affirmed is, that they are cited by S. *Epiphanius* (*i*,) and the Author of *The Commentary on* St. Matthew, falsly attributed to St. *Chrysostom*; but the passages which are produced by them not perfectly agreeing with those that are found in the Constitutions which are extant at this day, we may be induced to conjecture that they have been since corrupted, and so much the rather, because they are infected with the *Arian* Heresie (*k*,) and several other Errors. This is the Judgment that was given concerning them by the *Greek* Bishops in the Synod that was conven'd in the Imperial Palace of *Constantinople* after the fifth General Council. However, I admire that the Learned *Photius* (*l*) hath not made this Observation, and that he hath imputed the Errors of this Book to its Primitive Author. S. *Clemens Romanus.*

It remains only to enquire, whether this Book be the same as that which is mentioned by *Eusebius* (*m*) and St. *Athanasius*, Entituled, *The Doctrine, or the Precepts of the Apostles*, διδαχὴ or διδαχαὶ. This is the Opinion of *Nicephorus* (*n*,) *Zonaras*, and *Matthæus Blastares*; but it seems to me to be most probable, that *The Constitutions of the Apostles*, and the Book called their *Doctrine*, were two different Works which the likeness of their Titles hath caused to be confounded (*o*.)

(*g*) *Tho' written by a later Author.*] The Author of the *Recognitions* is not the same with the Author of the *Constitutions*, tho' some have been of this Opinion; for their style is different; the later is well versed in the Principles of the Christian Religion, and in the Rites of the Church, but the other is ignorant of these matters; moreover, they maintain a contrary Doctrine: The Author of the *Constitutions*, in *lib.* 8. *c.* 46. reckons the Sun, Moon and Stars, in the number of inanimate Creatures; whereas the Author of the *Recognitions* imagineth, that they have a Soul, in *lib.* 5. *chap.* 16. Lastly, the Author of the *Constitutions* was not an *Ebionite*, but he that writ the *Recognitions* was.

(*h*) *It is not known by whom, or when they were composed.*] It is certain that they do not belong to the Apostles, as we have already evidently demonstrated.

(*i*) *They are cited by St.* Epiphanius.] In *Hæres.* 45. this Father produceth a passage that is found in the beginning of the *Constitutions*, and in *Hæres.* 80. he cites another, which we read in *Lib.* 1. *Constitut. chap.* 3. concerning the Beards of Priests. In *Hæres.* 25. he quotes a passage taken from *Lib.* 5. *chap.* 14, and 17. relating to the Fasts enjoyned on *Wednesday* and *Friday*, as also on the Days before *Easter*. In *Hæres.* 70, he observes that the *Audians* made use of certain Constitutions, which tho' dubious, ought not altogether to be rejected, as containing nothing contrary to the Faith or Discipline of the Church. This may induce us to believe that the *Constitutions* which are now extant, have been corrupted since the time of *Epiphanius*, because the same thing could not be affirmed of those. Add to this, that in the same place *Epiphanius* cites a passage concerning *Easter*, wherein the Christians are admonished to celebrate that Feast together with the Jews, and the contrary is expresly declared in *Constitut. Lib.* 5. *chap.* 17. Moreover, in the same place, he produces other Testimonies, out of the *Constitutions* that are not found therein: Perhaps S. *Epiphanius* had not sufficiently examined this Work, or perhaps he cited it without Book, or on the Report of another; However it be, he acknowledgeth it to be dubious.

(*k*) *Because they are infected with the* Arian *Heresie.*] In *Lib.* 6. *chap.* 25. the Author reckons in the number of Hereticks, those that believe that JESUS *is the same with the God of the Universe*, but this might have been said in opposition to the *Sabellians*; and so much the rather since he adds, *and do not distinguish the Son and the Holy Ghost.* Many other Passages are likewise alledged, wherein he affirms, that the Son and the Word is the Servant, and Minister of God the Father. These are the Phrases used by the ancient Ecclesiastical Writers, but they have been suspected ever since the Council of *Nice*.

(*l*) *That the Learned* Photius.] He censures them on Three several Accounts, in *Cod.* 112. First, *ex malafictione*, from which (as he says) they may be vindicated; Secondly, by reason of some Expressions used by the Author, which are Contradictory to the Book of *Deuteronomy*, and for these he might likewise be excused; and Lastly, he chargeth him with *Arianism*, from which he cannot be cleared without offering him some violence.

(*m*) *Mentioned by* Eusebius.] *Euseb.* Lib. 3. chap. 25 *Athan. in Ep. Fest. & Synops.*

(*n*) *Of* Nicephorus.] *Niceph.* in *Stichometria. Zonaras* in *Ep. Ath. Mat. Blastares* in a Collection of Canons that is not Printed.

(*o*) *Which the likeness of their Titles hath caused to be confounded.*] There are many Reasons to prove, that these are two different Books, for first S. *Athanasius* reckons the Book of the *Doctrine of the Apostles, among those that were usually read to the* Catechumens, whereas the Constitutions were composed rather for the use of Bishops, and we find it prohibited in the last Canon to publish them, or to discover the Contents thereof to all sorts of People. Secondly, the Book of *the Doctrine of the Apostles*, contained only Two hundred Verses according to the *Stichometria* of *Nicephorus*, which cannot agree with the Constitutions that are more voluminous. Thirdly, in the Index of Scripture made by *Anastasius Nicenas*, διδαχαὶ and διδασκαλία Κλήμεντος are mentioned as distinct Books, and in some Manuscripts the Constitutions are Entituled διδασκαλία. Fourthly, in the Epitome of S. *Athanasius* διδαχὴ. and κλήμεντια are distinguished; therefore this Work was not attributed to St. *Clement*. Fifthly, when *Eusebius* Discourses of the Writings of S. *Clement*, he takes no notice of the Apostolical Constitutions, neither have the Ancients mentioned them. The *Arians* might have objected them, in Vindication of their Heresie, and the Orthodox would have been obliged to make a Reply, but this is not done by either Party; therefore they are of a later Date, than *the Doctrine of the Apostles*, that was known to *Eusebius*, and S. *Athanasius*. These Reasons howsoever probable they may seem to be, are not altogether Irreprehensible; to the First it is replied, that the Constitutions were made for the use of all Christians, as appears from the first Words thereof; that the last Canon might perhaps be of a later Date; that S. *Athanasius* observes only, that this Book was useful for the instructing of Catechumens in the Discipline, and Faith of the Church, tho' it was not Canonical, which may be very safely affirmed of these Constitutions. In Answer to the Second it is alledged, that there were two Editions of the Costitutions, one more large, being that which is now extant; and another that was an Epitome thereof, and perhaps *Nicephorus* makes

mention

S. *Clemens Romanus.*

mention of this last under the Name of *The Doctrine of the Apostles*: Besides that there are some Manuscripts wherein there are 6000 Verses, and besides the Length of every particular Verse is not known. Thirdly, that the Distinction of Διδαχὴ and Διδασκαλία is nothing to the purpose, the one possibly was an Abridgment of the other; neither is it certain whether *The Constitutions*, be the Books now called Διδασκαλία. Fourthly, the *Clementinæ* are a Work different from the Constitutions, as well as *The Doctrine of the Apostles*. Lastly, the ancient Writers have not cited every thing that occurred to them; the *Arians* have not made all the Objections that were obvious; and the Orthodox have not replyed to every particular Circumstance that might be objected against them. These are the Answers, that are propounded to those that distinguish this Book of *The Doctrine of the Apostles* from *The Constitutions*, and I shall leave it to the Determination of the Reader, whether they do not cause greater Difficulties; for my part, I believe the former Opinion to be more probable.

It is therefore extremely difficult to determine when the Constitutions ascribed to the Apostles first appeared, since the Author of them is absolutely unknown, neither can it be proved whether they were at first the same as they are now. We can only conjecture, that it is most probable that the Constitutions ascribed to the Apostles, or St. *Clement* belong to the third, or rather the fourth Century, and that they have been from time to time corrected, altered, and augmented, according to the various Customs of different Ages and Countries *(p.)*

Those that we have at present are not in *Greek*. *Crabb* gives us a *Latin* Epitome of them in his Second Edition of the Councils, Printed *Anno* 1557. The first entire Version that ever appeared, was made by *Bovius*, and inserted by *Surius* in the Collection of Councils, which he set forth in the years 1567, and 1585. *Nicolinus* published another Translation of the Constitutions composed by *Turrianus*, together with the Annotations of the same Author; this was Printed at *Venice*, in 1563, and at *Antwerp* in 1578. Afterwards *Binius* caused it to be Reprinted in his first Edition of the Councils, *Anno Dom.* 1606. but he did not think fit to allow it a place in his Second Edition of the year 1608. *Fronto Ducæus*, a Jesuite, is the first that published a *Greek* and *Latin* Edition of those Constitutions at the end of *Zonaras*, which was annexed to the new Collection of Councils. They are divided into eight Books, containing a great number of Precepts relating to Christian Duties, especially to those of Pastors, and concerning the Ceremonies and Discipline of the Church, of all which it would be too tedious to give a particular account. They that are desirous to be further informed, may have recourse to the Titles of the Chapters that are prefixed to these Tracts.

The last Work attributed to St. *Clement*, is a Collection of divers pieces, Entituled, *Clementinæ*, and there hath been a Book under this Title for some time: The Author of the Epitome of the H. Scriptures attributed to St. *Athanasius* mentions them, and after him the Chronicle of *Alexandria*, *Nicephorus Callistus* in the Third Book of his History, *Chap.* 18. S. *John Damascen*, and some others *(q.)*

Perhaps this is the second Part of the *Recognitions* cited by *Ruffinus*, for it is a Continuation of the Preachings and Acts of S. *Peter*. The *Greek* and *Latin* Collection, published by *Cotelerius* under this Name, contains divers Tracts full of Errors in Philosophy, as also of the Heresie of the *Ebionites*, and is such another Book as the *Recognitions*. There must needs have happened some Alteration in these *Clementinæ*, as well because they do not agree with that which is cited from them by *Maximus*, and by the Author of the Chronicle of *Alexandria*, as because they are infected with the Errors of *Eunomius*; besides, there is a Passage cited by an Author in the Library of the College of *Clermont*, which is not to be found there; and we are informed by *Nicephorus*, that the *Clementinæ* are an Orthodox Work, whereas this (as we have already shewn) abounds with Errors. It contains, first, two Apocryphal Letters, one of which is attributed to S. *Peter* as written to S. *James*, wherein he adviseth him not to deliver the Book of his Preachings to the Gentiles, which is followed by a Protestation of S. *James*. The other is a Letter of S. *Clement* to S. *James*, which tho' it be Ancient, and Translated by *Ruffinus*, yet is certainly counterfeit; as we shall hereafter shew when we give an account of the Forgeries of the Decretals of the Popes. To these two Epistles there are nineteen Homilies annexed relating to the Voyages, Preachings, and Disputes of S. *Peter*. Moreover at the end of this Work is likewise inserted an Epitome of the Actions of S. *Peter* extracted from the *Clementinæ*, the *Recognitions*, and the Epistle of S. *Clement*. *Cotelerius* found three of them in the King's Library, and hath published but one, which is the shortest, formerly published by *Turnebus*, and Printed at *Paris*, *Anno Dom.* 1555. All these Writings, which are of very little use because they are full of Errors, are only a Contexture of Fables and idle Tales. Lastly, *Cotelerius* hath added the Records of the Martyrdom of S. *Clement*, concerning the Antiquity whereof we have no assurance, and which appear on the contrary to have been composed by the modern *Greeks (r.)*

(p) That they have been from time to time Corrected, &c. according to the various Customs of different Ages and Countries.] It is on this account, that the *Ethiopians* have certain Constitutions different from Ours, which are cited by *Anastasius Nicenus*, Cod. 189. in the King's Library, and in his *Questions*, Q. 160. where they are much commended.

(q) S. John Damascen *and some others.*] S. *Epiphanius* seems to quote *Hæres.* 26. *n.* 16. as also *Anastasius*, Q. 20. *p.* 242. *Maximus in Homil.* 53. and 55. *Cedrenus in Compend. Hist. p.* 170, 171. Moreover, it is cited in a Collection of the Works of the Fathers, which is in the Library of the Jesuits Colledge at *Clermont*, and by *Nicon* in his Pandect.

(r) Which appear on the contrary, to have been Composed by the Modern Greeks.] It is related in these Acts that S. *Clement* was sent beyond Sea (*ultra mare*) and afterwards into a Desart near the City, (*in Desertum urbi vicinum.*) That he found there 2000 Christians condemned to hew Marble out of the Quarries, who intreated him, saying, *Ora pro nobis Pontifex, ut digni efficamur promissione Christi*; *Pray for us O Priest, that we may be made worthy of the Promise of Christ.* That S. *Clement* caused a Spring to rise up in that place, because

because these Christians were obliged to fetch water Six Miles off from thence, that they built there within one Year 75 Churches, that they demolished the Temples, and cut down consecrated Trees to the Number of 300000, that the Empeaor *Trajan* being astonished at these Actions, sent thither the Peesident *Aufidianus*, who caused S. *Clement* to be drowned; that whilst his Disciples sought after the Relicks of his Body, the Sea withdrew, and they found it laid in a Tomb of stone, and that it was revealed to his Disciples, that his Body should not be taken away, and that the Sea should retire after the same manner every year during seven Days, which it continues to do (says the Author of these Acts) even unto this Day, and this was accompanied with divers Miracles. Here are many Fables that do not agoee with the time of S. *Clement*. Who can imagine that People condemned to hew Stones should find means to Erect 75 Churches, and to pull down an infinite Numbea of Temples? S. *Ephrem*, or rather the Author of the Narrative, which is falsly said to be his, gives an Account of the same Miracle, concerning the Sea that was dryed up, to discover the Body of S. *Clement*, and adds, that his Child being left in a Tomb, was found alive, and in good health at the end of the year following: But this pretended *Ephrem* is an Author no less addicted to Fables, who calls himself Archbishop of *Chersona*, thô he never was in that place. S. *Clemens Romanus.*

[There have been several Editions of S. *Clemen's* Epistle to the *Corinthians*, besides Mr. *Young's* and *Cotelerius's*: *Joachim Maderius* Printed it at *Helmstadt* 1654. in Quarto; *Colmesius* likewise set it out at *London* in Octavo, with some few Notes 1687; and it was Printed at *Oxon* in 1677 in Twelves. All these Editions are in Greek and Latin; Mr. *Burton* who writ Notes upon *Antonius's Itinerary*, as far as it concerned *Britain*, Translated it into English, and Printed it with Notes in Quarto 1947, at *London*]

Now it will not be amiss briefly to recollect all that hath been said concerning the Works of Saint *Clement*, and to declare our Opinion in this matter. The first Epistle to the *Corinthians* was certainly written by him, and is a good and useful Treatise. The second is very ancient, thô not of the same Authority. The Constitutions are an ancient and useful Book falsly imputed to S. *Clement*, in which many things have been added and altered in process of time, for which Reason several Errors have crept in among them. The *Recognitions* are an Apocryphal Work, ancient indeed, but abounding with Errors and Fables. The same Judgment ought to be given concerning the *Clementinæ*, which are not perhaps so ancient, as also the Second Part of the *Recognitions*. The Book Entituled, *The Doctrine of the Apostles*, may be the same with the Original Constitutions, but it is more probable that they are a different Work. We can give no account of the Book that bears the Title of *The Precepts of St.* Clement, Διδασκαλία Κλήμεντος. The Voyages or Itinerary of St. *Peter* are the same as the *Recognitions* and the *Clementinæ*. The Epitome is an Abridgment of the Apocryphal Writings. The Acts of the Martyrdom of S. *Clement* were composed by the modern *Greeks*. The Discourse of *Ephrem* is likewise of a later Date. There were also certain Sermons ascribed to S. *Clement* concerning the Just Judgment of God and Divine Providence cited by *Anastasius Antiochenus*, *Quest.* 96. but there is no probability of their being his. The five Decretals are counterfeit; and the Revelations or Apocalypse of S. *Peter*, heretofore thought to have been written by S. *Clement*, is likewise suppositious. Thus we have given in short, the Judgment that (according to our Opinion) ought to be given of all the Books that are, or have been attributed to S. *Clemens Romanus*, and all that we judge necessary to be propounded or explained concerning them in this place.

S. DIONYSIUS *the Areopagite.*

DIONYSIUS the *Areopagite*; who is reputed to have been a Native of *Thrace* (*a*), after he had been converted by S. *Paul*, as it is recorded in the *Acts* (*b*) of the *Apostles*; was made Bishop of *Athens* (*c*), and suffered Martyrdom (*d*) in that City. I shall not spend time in proving that he never came into *France*, and that that S. *Denys* who was the first Apostle of this Kingdom, is different from the *Areopagite*; this Question has been so clearly discussed in our time (*e*), that there is scarcely any one, thô never so incredulous that can question it. I could also very willingly forbear to give any Account of the Books that are attributed to him, or to shew how they have been forged, were it not that the Design of my Work obligeth me to this undertaking; therefore I shall do it with as much Brevity and Moderation as is possible. *St. Dionysius, the Areopagite.*

(*a*) *A Native of* Thrace.] Cæsarius Dialog. 2. *interrogat.* 112. *in Thracia ex qua Dionysius Areopagite ortus est.*

(*b*) *Acts* 17.

(*c*) *Was constituted Bishop of* Athens.] *Dionysius Corinthius* in *Euseb. Hist.* lib. 3. cap. 4. and lib. 4. cap. 4.

(*d*) *And suffered Martyrdom.*] *Aristides* in *Usuardus*, and the other ancient Writers of Martyrologies.

(*e*) *This question hath been so clearly discussed in our time.*] *Sirmondus* published a Discourse wherein he proves it beyond contradiction; after him *Launoy* wrote several Tracts to confirm his Opinion, and to shew the falshood of the Records produced by *Hilduinus*, which are urged to authorize the vulgar Opinion; and in a word, to confute all the Arguments that are usually brought. To which we may add what *Morinus* had said concerning this Question in the beginning of his Book of Ordinations; And though I inserted nothing relating to this matter in the Text, yet I thought it convenient to set down the Opinions of the Learned Men above-mentioned, for the benefit of those that have not read their Works. The first Proof is, That it is certain that the Gospel was Preached later in *France*, than in the other Regions of the World, and that there was no Persecution in that Country before that of *Valerian*, as it is expressly attested by *Sulpicius Severus* an Author who lived in the Fourth Century. Now if St. *Dionysius* the

S. Dionysius *the Areopagite*

Areopagite had been in *France*, the Christian Religion would have been introduced there very early, and there would have been many Martyrs in that Kingdom before the Persecution of *Valerian*. Secondly, It is evident that *Pothinus* was the first that propagated Christianity in *France*; that during his Life, and that of his Successor *Irenæus*, the Faith was only established in the Provinces of *Vienna* and *Lyons*, and that there were no Martyrs but in these two Churches in the time of the Persecution of *Marcus Aurelius*: therefore there were no other Churches then planted among the *Gauls*. And indeed *Eusebius* mentions no other Churches, or any other Martyrs in *France*, no more than the Christians of the Church of *Lyons* in the Epistle that they wrote concerning their Martyrs called by them *Proto-Martyrs*. Thirdly, it is related by *Gregory* of *Tours* in the first Book of his History, *ch.* 28. on the credit of an ancient Author that composed a Treatise concerning the Passion of St. *Saturnius*, that S. *Denys* and his Companions the Apostles of *France*, came thither under the Reign of the Emperor *Decius*, about the year of our Lord 250, to re-establish the Faith of Jesus Christ in that Country, which was almost entirely extinct after the Death of S. *Irenæus*. Fourthly, there are great numbers of Martyrologies, in which the Festivals of S. *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, and of S. *Denys* the Apostle of *France*, are described as on two different days, and wherein the place and circumstances of their Martyrdom are distinguished. We may likewise draw the same Argument from the ancient *Breviaries*, *Missals*, *Kalendars* and *Laitanies* in which St. *Denys* the Apostle of *France* is reckoned after the Saints that suffered under *Marcus Aurelius*. Fifthly, the Author of the Life of S. *Fuscianus*, *Fulbertus*, *Carnutensis*, and *Lethaldus*, distinguish two *Denys*'s. Sixthly, the opinion of those that affirm, that S. *Denys* the Apostle of *France* is the same with the *Areopagite*, was unknown before the Ninth Century, neither doth the Monk that wrote the Life of our S. *Denys* in the year 750, say one word concerning this matter. *Hilduinus*, who is the first that mentions it, is a very Fabulous Author, who tells abundance of Lies, and cites a Book written by one named *Vibius*, which is plainly forged; on the credit of which wretched Author he builds up the Opinion of those that confound the two S. *Denys*'s.

We must observe First, that the manner of the first appearing of those Books ought to be suspected; for it is certain, that being unknown to all Antiquity, they were first quoted by the *Severian* Hereticks, in a Conference holden between them, and the Orthodox Bishops at *Constantinople* in the Palace of the Emperor *Justinian* 532 Years after the Nativity of Jesus Christ. The silence of all the ancient Ecclesiastical Writers is without doubt a very great prejudice to them; for who can imagine that so considerable an Author as S. *Denys* (if these Books had been really Composed by him) should have been unknown to *Eusebius* and S. *Jerom*. And who can believe, that if they had known them, they should take no notice of them, when they Composed an exact Catalogue of all the Authors, of whom they had any knowledge; not omitting even those, that had so little Reputation that they were scarcely heard of in the World? Is it possible that *Eusebius* in making mention of *Dionysius* the *Areopagite* in two several places, should not have observed according to his usual Method, that he had written several Books. St. *Jerom* in his Epistle to *Magnus* doth not omit the Testimony of one single Author, to prove that it is lawful to make use of profane Books, whereas the Writings of S. *Denys*, might have serv ed as a notable Proof; why then doth he not speak so much as one word concerning them? He gives us an Account in his Catalogue, of *Quadratus* Bishop of *Athens*, and of *Aristides* the *Athenian* Philosopher; is it possible that S. *Denys* should be more obscure than these two Writers, or less esteemed by S. *Jerom*? How could it happen, that all the ancient Writers that mention S. *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, as *Dionysius Corinthius*, S. *Chrysostom*, S. *Ambrose*, S. *Augustine*, and the Author of the *Dialogues* ascribed to S. *Cæsarius* the *Brother* of S. *Gregory Nazianzen*, should give us no Intimation of these Books? In short, why were these Books which contain many things relating to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Christian Church, and that would have been of great Authority, as proceeding from so ancient and considerable an Author as S. *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, never cited, either for or against any Heretick, or for the Illustration of any point of Discipline before the sixth Age of the Church? Furthermore admitting, that they had appeared even at that time, as Books of whose Antiquity and Truth there could be no scruple; if they had been then produced by the Orthodox as ancient Records, if they had been rejected by none, would not this be a matter of great moment? But who are they that produce them? They are Hereticks who have been used to quote counterfeit Records. How do they cite them? As uncertain Books, *sicut suspicamini*, say the Catholicks. To what end do they produce them? To establish their Errors. Against whom do they cite them? Against the Orthodox. And what do they reply? This ought to decide the Controversie; let us then hearken to them, and let us give credit to their Testimony, rather than to that of the Hereticks: *How can you prove* (say the Orthodox Bishops to the *Severian*) *that these Records which you affirm to belong to S.* Dionysius *the* Areopagite, *are Genuine, as you may imagine; for if they were his, they could not have been unknown to S.* Cyril *of happy Memory; but why do we only mention S.* Cyril? *If S.* Athanasius *had believed that they had been written by S.* Dionysius, *would not he have made use of their Authority in the Council of* Nice, *to prove the Consubstantiality of the Trinity against the blasphemies of* Arius? *If they have not been cited by any of the ancient Writers, how can you demonstrate, that they were written by him?* Thus the Orthodox then argued; but having since perused these Books, and finding nothing therein, that is contrary to the Catholick Faith, they admitted them without much Examination; thô there have always been some Criticks, who have questioned them. *Photius* says in the beginning of his *Bibliotheca*, that one *Theodorus* wrote a Book by way of reply to the Objections that were generally urged against these Books, and he produceth the Objections that were propounded by this Author, but takes no notice of the Answers that he had annexed to them, which is an Argument that he thought them to be of no great strength.

2. The style and method of these Books, is very far from the manner of writing used in the First and Second Centuries, as being swelling and too much affected; the Author purposely leaves ordinary

nary and natural Expressions, to make use of those that are lofty and Figurative; he Amplifies every thing, even that which ought to be recited after the most simple manner, he uses a great deal of Artifice in the disposing of his Periods, and observes an exact Method in the Order of his Arguments; which shews that it was written by a Philosopher, who had leisure to revise and polish it with much Care and Study, which doth not agree with the Character of S. *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, nor with the way of writing in his time. *St. Dionysius, the Areopagite.*

3. Neither are the Contents of these Books conformable to the *Genius* of the Age, wherein S. *Dionysius* the *Areopagite* lived. The Christians were employed in these primitive Times, in Composing Three sorts of Books, Apologies for their Religion, Epistles for the Instruction of the Faithful, and to exhort them to suffer Martyrdom; and Lastly, Treatises against the Hereticks: Now these Writings attributed to S. *Denys* plainly relate to another Subject, and have a quite different Design; for his principal Intention is to treat of Mysteries after a curious and exquisite manner, and to expound them according to the Principles of *Plato*'s Philosophy, and even in *Platonick* Terms. He is not content to propound them with the simplicity of the ancient, but he applies himself nicely to enquire into all the Difficulties that might occur therein, and to raise divers Questions more curious than useful concerning the Nature of God, and the different Orders of Angels: He explains the Doctrine of the Trinity more distinctly, even than S. *Athanasius* himself: He plainly rejects the Errors of the *Nestorians, Eutychians, Anthropomerphites.* He speaks of the Church as in a prosperous Condition, and enjoying Peace; neither doth he make any mention of Persecutions or Martyrs: He distinguishes the several Orders of Angels, and observes their difference, things that were unknown to the ancient Writers, and concerning which they were not sollicitous to be informed, as S. *Irenæus* assures us, in *Lib. 2. chap. 55.* and S. *Cyril Catech. Illum.* 11, Upon the whole matter, if we compare these Writings, with those of the other ancient Authors, we shall find that there can be nothing more different, either as to their Style and Method, or as to the Matters therein contained.

We shall now proceed to give particular Proofs whereby it will plainly appear, that these Books were not written by S. *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, and there are two sorts of these, some proving that they cannot belong to S. *Denys*, others shewing that they were composed by an Author who lived after the Fourth Century. I shall begin with the Arguments which prove that those Books do not belong to S. *Denys*. 1. The Author of the Book, *de Divinis Nominibus*, Dedicates it to *Timothy*, and then cites an Epistle of S. *Ignatius*. Now *Timothy* was dead when S. *Ignatius* wrote his Epistles, and *Onesimus* succeeded him; and besides, he calls *Timothy* his Son, and yet he must needs be older than S. *Denys*. He cites and explains the Gospel according to S. *John*, and the Apocalypse, which were scarcely written when *Dionysius* the *Areopagite* was alive: And yet he declares in those Books, that he was but a young Man. He cites the Revelation, as undoubtedly included in the Canon of Holy Scripture, and yet it was very much questioned in the Primitive Ages of the Church, whether it were Canonical or not. The same Reflection may be likewise made upon his Citations, taken from the Second Epistle of S. *John*, and that of S. *Jude*. 3. He rejects the Error of the Millenaries which could not have appeared in his time. 4. He expressly produceth in *Lib. de Divinis Nomin. chap.* 4. certain Passages out of the Epistle of S. *Ignatius* to the *Romans*, written by this Bishop a little before his Martyrdom; whereas S. *Ignatius* was put to Death under the Reign of the Emperor *Trajan*, and S. *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, under that of *Domitian*, and consequently the later was dead, when the former wrote this Epistle. *Maximus* replies that this Citation is added, but there are Three or Four entire Lines that relate to this matter, which there is no reason to disallow. 5. This Author affirms, that he was present at the Death of the Virgin *Mary*, but S. *Dionysius* the *Areopagite* was not Converted at that time; for it is generally believed, that she died Fifteen years after the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ, and S. *Paul* who Converted S. *Denys* came not to *Athens* till Seventeen years after our Saviour's Passion.

Lastly, There are many Reasons, by which it may be proved, that this Author wrote after the Fourth Century; For, 1. He treats of the Mysteries of the Holy Trinity, and the Incarnation in such Terms as were not known till after the Fourth Age of the Church; he used the word *Hypostasis* to signifie *the Divine Persons, (c. 7. Cœlest. Hier. c. 1. de Divinis Nominibus)* whereas it is well known, that this word was not used in this Sense, till after the end of the Fourth Century. 2. In *Lib. de Cœlesti Hierarchia cap. ult.* He confirms the Baptism of Infants by an ancient Tradition: *We declare that* (says he) *which our Bishops have taught us according to an ancient Tradition.* Could this have been written by S. *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, or rather, doth not this shew, that he that discourseth thus, is a much later Author than this Bishop of *Athens*? 3. He describes the solemn Administration of Baptism as it was, when the Church being delivered from Persecution, began to practice the ancient Ceremonies with exterior Pomp and Splendor. 4. He speaks of Churches built on purpose, wherein there was a Sanctuary separated from the rest of the Churches; as also of the perfuming of Altars with incense, and of divers Ceremonies relating to the *Energumens, Catechumens*, and *Penitents*, which were not observed in those Primitive times. 5. It is certain, that the Institution of Monks is not so ancient as St. *Denys*, and that they were not consecrated till long after the Age wherein he lived. Yet the Author of the *Divine Hierarchy* in *chap. 6.* mentions them, as being more ancient than himself, and adds that his Instructers called them *Therapeutæ* or *Monks*; and he gives an Account of the manner of their Consecration, and distinguisheth several sorts of them. 6. He often cites the Ecclesiastical Authors that lived before him, who wrote concerning matters that were only debated in the 4th Century, such were the distinctions between Love and Charity, the Opinions relating to the several Functions and Orders of Angels, as also the Lot by which S. *Matthias* was elected, the Prayers that

were recited at Maſs, which he declares to have been received from their Anceſtors by Tradition; The Baptiſm of Infants, of which he affirms the ſame thing; The Funeral Rites and Solemnities, the Ceremonies of Baptiſm, and many other Cuſtoms. Laſtly, he cites St. *Clemens Alexandrinus* under the name of *Clement* the Philoſopher, and the paſſage of this Author produced by him, is taken from *Stromat. lib.* 8. which ſhews that he ſpeaks of St. *Clement*, who lived in the Third Age of the Church.

S. Dionyſius *the Areopagite*

However many Arguments are alledged to prove the Verity and Antiquity of theſe Books, which nevertheleſs may be very eaſily confuted in a few words. It is objected firſt, That it is affirmed, by *Maximus*, *Anaſtaſius Sinaita*, and *Cyparisſiota*, that St. *Dionyſius Alexandrinus* compoſed *Scolia*, or Annotations on the Books of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite de Nominibus Divinis*. 2. That St. *Athanaſius in Queſt.* 4. *ad Antiochum*, and *Origen*, in his firſt Homily on St. *John* quotes the Writings of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, and that St. *Gregory* the Great calls him an ancient Father; St. *Gregory Nazianzen* ſeems likewiſe to cite him in *Hom.* 38. 42. where after having declared that the repetition of the word *Holy* thrice, relates to one and the ſame Lordſhip, and to one and the ſame Divinity, he adds, *as another hath very excellently and very clearly Philoſophized before us*, which may well be applied to the Author of the Hierarchy, who lived before the time of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, and whoſe Philoſophy was very ſublime: Moreover, S. *Denys* is cited by S. *Chryſoſtom* in his Sermon of falſe Prophets; *Where is* (ſays he) *St.* Ignatius *the Tabernacle of God, where is* Dionyſius *the* Areopagite, *the Eagle of Heaven?* deſigning by this Expreſſion to ſet forth the magnificence of his ſtyle. There is a compariſon *in Lib. de Divinis Nominibus, chap.* 3. of an Anchor that attracts us to it more than we drew it to us, which St. *Clemens Alexandrinus* ſeems to have taken from S. *Denys*. Laſtly, *Nicephorus* affirms, that *Juvenalis* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, who aſſiſted at the Council of *Chalcedon*, in replying to *Pulcheria* concerning the Sepulchre and Death of the Virgin *Mary*, made uſe of the words of S. *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*. All theſe Arguments ſeem to prove, that the Books *de Hierarchia & de Nominibus Divinis*, were written by S. *Denys*, or at leaſt that they are more ancient than the Fourth Century.

But if we examine theſe Objections, they will appear all very weak: For 1. We ought not to believe on the Teſtimony of *Anaſtaſius* and *Maximus*, that *Dionyſius Alexandrinus*, the Diſciple of *Origen*, compoſed any Annotations upon the Writings of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, ſince *Euſebius* and S. *Jerom*, who took a Catalogue of the Works of this Saint, did not mention it; whence we ought to infer, either that it was another *Dionyſius Alexandrinus*, or that ſome *Grecian* hath forged Commentaries on the Books attributed to S. *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, under that name. 2. The Book Entituled, *Queſtiones ad Antiochum*, cited under the name of St. *Athanaſius*, and the Homilies on ſeveral places of the New Teſtament aſcribed to *Origen* are alledged to no purpoſe, becauſe it is certain that theſe Books are falſly attributed to St. *Athanaſius* and *Origen*, as it is generally agreed. 3. St. *Gregory Nazianzen* doth not cite St. *Denys* by name; *Elias Cretenſis* is of opinion that Saint *Athanaſius* is here meant, and indeed the paſſage quoted by St. *Gregory Nazianzen* concerning the *Triſagion* is found word for word in one of the Homilies of St. *Athanaſius*, who living before St. *Gregory* might be cited by him. 4. The Sermon quoted under the name of S. *Chryſoſtome*, was without queſtion not written by this Father, but by *John the Faſter*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*; and though it really belonged to the former, yet he takes no notice of the Writings of St. *Denys*, but only extols him as a great Saint, Laſtly, it is more probable that the Author of the Treatiſe *De Divinis Nominibus*, hath borrowed the ſimilitudes from St. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, whom he cites in another place, than that St. *Clement* ſhould have taken them from him.

As for the Authority of *Nicephorus* and other modern Writers, it proves nothing elſe, but that theſe Books were attributed to St. *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite* when they wrote, and this is agreed on all ſides, for after they firſt appeared in the beginning of the Sixth Century, they ſoon got a great deal of Reputation and Authority; They are cited by St. *Ephrem* in a Treatiſe that he compoſed in vindication of the Synod of *Chalcedon*; The Monk *Jobius*, *Andræas Cæſarienſis*, *Leontius*, *Anaſtaſius Sinaita*, *Suidas*, *Nicephorus*, and many other modern *Greeks*, make honourable mention of them; and *Joannes Scythopolitanus*, *Maximus*, and *Pachymeres*, wrote Commentaries on this Author. Among the Latins, *Gregory* the Great cites them with great applauſe; *Joannes Scotus Erigena* tranſlated them into *Latin*, and *Anaſtaſius* the Library-Keeper ſent this Verſion to *Charles* the Bald, with a Preface and Annotations. But the Teſtimony of theſe modern Authors is of very little moment in this matter, and only proves, that theſe Books were then thought to belong to St. *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*; On the contrary, the Reaſons that we have already alledged are ſufficient to convince all Perſons that are Ingenuous and of a clear Judgment, that they were forged about the end of the Fifth Century, or at the beginning of the Sixth, for the time when they firſt appeared cannot be preciſely determined; but it is certain, that they were written ſince the Fourth Century, and before the middle of the Sixth. Moreover it cannot be affirmed, that the Works of ſome other *Denys* might accidentally be imputed to St. *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, it being evident that the Author of theſe Books affects to ſeem to have lived in the time of the Apoſtles.

We ſhall here ſubjoin a Catalogue of the Works that have been publiſhed under the name of St. *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*; A Book *concerning the Celeſtial Hierarchy*, another *of the Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy*, a Treatiſe *of the Divine Attributes*, another *of Myſtical Divinity*, together with Ten Epiſtles, whereof the Four firſt are written to the Monk *Cajus*, the fifth to *Dorotheus*, the ſixth to the Prieſt *Soſipater*, the ſeventh to the Biſhop *Polycarp*, the eighth to the Monk *Demophilus*, the ninth to the Biſhop *Titus*, and the tenth to St. *John*. All theſe belong to the ſame Author, who hath

likewiſe

likewise composed some others which are cited by himself; A Book *concerning Symbolical Theology* (*f*,) another treats *of the Soul* (*g*,) another *of Divine Hymns* (*h*,) another *of Theological Instructions*; a Treatise *concerning the just Judgment of God* (*i*,) and another *of those things that are understood by the Mind, and of those that may be perceived by the Senses* (*k*;) but these are lost. The others have been often Printed in *Greek* and in *Latin* separately (*l*,) and were published in *Greek* and *Latin* by *Lanselius* at *Paris, Anno Dom.* 1615. afterwards at *Antwerp* in 1634, and again at *Paris* 1644, by the Jesuit *Corderius*. together with the Commentaries of *Pachymeres* and *Maximus*.

S. Dionysius *the Areopagite.*

(*f*) Cited *cap.* 15. *lib. de Cæleſt. Hier. cap.* 1. and 13. de *div. nom. cap.* 3. de *Myſt. Theolog.* and *Ep.* 9.

(*g*) C. 4. *lib.* de *div. nom.*

(*h*) C. 1. and 2. *de divin. nomin.* and *cap.* 3. *lib.* de *Myſt. Theolog.*

(*i*) *Lib. de Cæleſt. Hier.* c. 7.

(*k*) C. 1, and 2. de *Cæleſt. Hier.*

(*l*) *Often Printed in* Greek *and in* Latin *ſeparately.*] In *Greek* by *Merellus* in the year 1562, with the *Scholia* of *Maximus* and *Pachymeres*; at *Basil* in 1539, and at *Venice* in 1558, in *Latin*, of the Version of *Ambroſius Camaldulenſis* at *Strasburg* in 1468, and in 1502, with the Notes of *Jacobus Faber Stapulenſis*; in 1504, at *Alcala* of the Translation of *Ficinus*; at *Colen* by *Quentelius in* 1546. In this Edition they have put in the Version of *Scotus Erigena*, *Petrus Sarraſinus*, *Ambroſius Camaldulenſis*, and *Marſilius Ficinus*, together with a Paraphraſe by the Abbot *de Verceil*, and the Annotations of *Dionyſius Carthuſianus*. *Perionius* finding theſe Versions too obſcure, made a new Translation, which was Printed at *Colen*, at *Paris* in 1557, and 1567, and at *Lyons* in 1585. *Clauſerus* likewiſe made another Translation that was Printed at *Strasburg* in 1546. The Book *de Myſtica Theologia* was Printed with the Notes of a Divine at *Paris*, in *Quarto*, in the year 1626.

St. *IGNATIUS.*

IGNATIUS Sirnamed *Theophorus* (*a*,) was the Succeſſor of *Evodius* (*b*) in the Epiſcopal See of *Antioch*, about the year of your Lord 70. He governed this Church for the ſpace of almoſt Forty years with admirable Prudence and Conſtancy, and at laſt ſuffered Martyrdom in the Tenth Year of the Reign of *Trajan*, when this Holy Prelate having profeſſed the Faith even in the preſence of the Emperor himſelf with great Courage, (if we may believe the Acts of his Martyrdom) was condemned to be expoſed to wild Beaſts in the *Amphitheatre* at *Rome*: And he is reputed to have wrote his Epiſtles to ſeveral Churches, in the way as he was carried a Priſoner in Chains to that City, for maintaining the truth of the Chriſtian Religion: but ſince there are very great difficulties concerning the number and different Editions of theſe Epiſtles, it will be neceſſary to draw up their Hiſtory, and to produce the Teſtimony of Authors that have mentioned them ſince his time.

S. Ignatius.

Immediately after the death of this Holy Martyr, *Polycarp* Biſhop of *Smyrna*, his Diſciple, collected theſe Epiſtles, and ſent them to the Chriſtians of *Philippi*, as appears from a Letter that he wrote to them, and which cannot be queſtioned without contradicting, not only *Euſebius*, S. *Jerom*, and *Photius*, the moſt renowned Criticks of Antiquity, but alſo S. *Irenæus* himſelf the Diſciple of S. *Polycarp*, who cites this Epiſtle, and commends it in theſe words: *There is an Epiſtle of* Polycarp *to the Chriſtians of* Philippi. *which is extremely accurate, and very proper to ſhew the character of the Faith, and the Doctrine of the Truth, to thoſe that take any care of their Salvation*, Moreover we have not only an approbation of St. *Polycarp's* Epiſtle by S. *Irenæus*, to prove the Authority of S. *Ignatius's*, but it is likewiſe evident, that this Father had read theſe Epiſtles: *Irenæus* (ſays *Euſebius*) *was not ignorant of the Martyrdom of S.* Ignatius, *and mentions his Epiſtles in theſe words*: *Thus one of our* Brethren *being condemned for maintaining the Faith, to be expoſed to the wild Beaſts, ſaid,* (*c*) *I am the Wheat of God, and ſhall be ground by the Teeth of wild Beaſts, that I may become the Bread of* Jeſus Chriſt. The words recited by S. *Irenæus* in *Lib.* 5. *contra Hæreſ. cap.* 28. are alſo found at preſent in the Epiſtle of S. *Ignatius* to the *Romans*. *Origen* hath cited the Epiſtles of S. *Ignatius*, and that which he produceth in two ſeveral places, is read in thoſe that are now extant. *I have found it written* (ſays he in his 6th Homily on S. *Luke*) *in the Epiſtle of a certain Martyr, I mean* Ignatius *Biſhop of* Antioch, *who was expoſed to wild Beaſts at* Rome, *I have found it written* (I ſay) *very elegantly, that the Virginity of* Mary *was unknown to the Prince of this World.* This paſſage is word for word in

(*a*) *Sirnamed* Theophorus.] This is not an Epithet, but his Sirname. Some have believed, that he was that young Child, whom Jeſus Chriſt placed in the middle of his Apoſtles, and that from thence he took the Name of *Theophorus*, but this is a vain Imagination without any ground, not ſupported by the Teſtimony of any ancient Author; and beſides, it contradicts the Opinion of St. *Chryſoſtom*, who declares that S. *Ignatius* never ſaw our Saviour in the Fleſh.

(*b*) *The Succeſſor of* Evodius.] S. *Chryſoſtom*, *Theodoret*, and the Author of the Chronicle of *Alexandria* affirm, that he was ordained by S. *Peter*; but *Euſebius* S. *Jerom* and the other ancient Eccleſiaſtical Writers, place *Evodius* between S. *Peter* and S. *Ignatius*.

(*c*) *Wild Beaſts ſaid.*] In citing the Teſtimony of any Author, we ſay, *as he ſays*, or *as he writes*, without uſing any Choice; and it ought not to be concluded from thence, that S. *Irenæus* only produced a remarkable Expreſſion of S. *Ignatius*, without taking it from any of his Works, for it is much more probable, that he took it from his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, becauſe it is found there word for word.

the

St. Ignatius.

the Epiſtle of S. *Ignatius* to the *Epheſians*. The Second paſſage quoted by *Origen* is in his Commentary on the *Canticles*. *We remember* (ſays he) *the Expreſſion of a Saint named* Ignatius *in ſpeaking concerning* Jeſus Chriſt, *my Love is Crucified, and I do not believe that he ought to be reprehended on this Account*. Theſe are the Teſtimonies taken from Authors who wrote in the Second and Third Centuries; in the Fourth, *Euſebius* cites the Epiſtles of S. *Ignatius*, declares their number, and gives us a Catalogue of them. He ſays in the Third Book of his Hiſtory, *chap*. 36. that this Holy Martyr being carried from *Aſia* into *Italy*, confirmed the Churches of the ſeveral Cities, through which he paſſed, in the Faith, and admoniſhed them to avoid Hereſies by conſtantly adhering to the Tradition of the Apoſtles; and that being arrived at *Smyrna*, where (*l*) *Polycarp* was then Biſhop, he wrote four Letters; The firſt to the Church of *Epheſus*, wherein he mentions *Oneſimus* their Paſtor; The ſecond to the *Magneſians*, wherein he ſpeaks of *Damas* their Biſhop; The third to the *Trallians*, where he names Biſhop *Polybius*; and the laſt to the Church of *Rome*, wherein he intreats the *Romans* not to deprive him through the fervour of their Prayers of the Crown of Martyrdom. Afterwards he recites a large fragment of this Epiſtle, and adds, *that being departed from* Smyrna, *and arrived at* Troas, *he wrote to the* Philadelphians, *as alſo to the Church of* Smyrna, *and particularly to S.* Polycarp *their Biſhop, recommending to him the care of the Church of* Antioch, *as unto a good Paſtor worthy of thoſe Apoſtolical times*. He cites likewiſe a Fragment of the Epiſtle to the Inhabitants of *Smyrna*, and confirms what he had before alledged by the Atteſtations of S. *Irenæus*, and S. *Polycarp*. It is evident from this paſſage, that in the time of *Euſebius* there were Seven Letters, which were eſteemed undoubtedly to be S. *Ignatius*'s, and that they were the very ſame with thoſe that are ſtill extant, becauſe they were written from the ſame places, to the ſame Perſons, and on the ſame Subject, and contain all the Paſſages that are produced by *Euſebius* word for word, after whom theſe very Epiſtles were unanimouſly allowed by the whole Church, and cited by an infinite number of Eccleſiaſtical Authors. S. *Athanaſius* who could not be led by the Authority of *Euſebius*, whoſe Hiſtory perhaps he had never ſeen, ſets down in his Book of the Synods, a paſſage of this ancient Biſhop, which is in the Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*. S. *Chryſoſtom*, in the Oration, that he made in the Commendation of S. *Ignatius*, recites this famous Sentence taken from his Epiſtle to the *Romans*: *Would to God that I might ere long fight with Beaſts*, and in another Oration, if that be really his, (*d*) he quotes a paſſage of the Epiſtle to S. *Polycarp*.

S. *Jerom* acknowledgeth the Seven Epiſtles of S. *Ignatius* mentioned by *Euſebius* to be Genuine: they are reckoned in his Catalogue of Authors, and cited by him in divers other places of his Works. The Learned *Theodoret* uſes the Authority of the Letters of this Father, as certainly written by him, againſt the Hereticks, and in his Dialogues produceth many large paſſages out of the Epiſtles to the *Smyrneans*, *Epheſians*, and *Trallians*, that are expreſſed after the very ſame manner, as they are Printed in the Editions of *Voſſius* and Biſhop *Uſher*. *Gelaſius* likewiſe cites a paſſage of the Epiſtle to the Chriſtians of *Smyrna* on the ſame Subject in his Treatiſe concerning the two Natures of Jeſus Chriſt? The Author of the Book of the *Divine Attributes*, aſcribed to *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, produceth a Sentence taken from that to the *Romans*. S. *Ephrem* in the ſixth Century (according to the report of *Photius*, Cod. 228.) hath cited the Writings of S. *Ignatius*: *Gildas de Excidio Britanniæ*, produceth a large paſſage of the Epiſtle to the *Romans*: The Monk *Jobius* (as it is related by *Photius*, Cod. 222.) quotes another of that to the *Smyrneans*: *Leontius* oppoſeth the Authority of S. *Ignatius* to the Hereticks in *Lib. de Sect. Act.* 3. *Anaſtaſius Sinaita* of the Seventh Century, in his Book Entituled ὁδηγὸς (*The Guide*) ſets down a paſſage taken from the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, and *Antiochus* a Monk of *Paleſtine*, in his 124th Homily to *Euſtathius* concerning *the Honour, that is due to the Biſhops*, recites many paſſages of thoſe to *Polycarp*, the *Philadelphians* and *Trallians*. S. *Maximus* acknowledgeth the Works of S. *Ignatius*, and *Theodorus* in the Eighth Century (whom *Photius* mentions *Cod.* 1.) produceth divers paſſages thereof, as alſo *Andreas Cretenſis* a Writer of the Ninth Century, in *Hom.* 2. *de Virgine*; and *Singelus* in his *Panegyrick* upon S. *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*: To theſe may be added, *Simeon Metaphraſtes* in the Tenth Century, *Honorius* Biſhop of *Autun* in the Twelfth, *Nicetas Choniates* in the Thirteenth; and Laſtly, *Nicephorus Caliſtus* in the Fourteenth: This ſhews that the Epiſtles of S. *Ignatius* have been allowed by the Church in all Ages, as authentick Records; but the modern *Grecians* ſince the time of S. *Joannes Damaſcen* have uſed other Letters, that are not named by *Euſebius*, whereas before, the Seven Epiſtles mentioned by *Euſebius* and S. *Jerom* were only cited.

Having produced the ſeveral Teſtimonies of the Ancients, concerning the Epiſtles that are attributed to S. *Ignatius*, we ſhall now proceed to ſhew what Judgment hath been given by the Moderns concerning the ſame, and for the better underſtanding of this matter, it ſeems to be neceſſary in the beginning, to ſet down a Catalogue of the different Editions of theſe Epiſtles that have been made in our time.

The firſt Edition of the Epiſtles of S. *Ignatius*, was publiſhed at *Paris*, *Anno Dom.* 1494. which did not contain any of the Seven that are recited by *Euſebius*, but only the Three *Latin* Letters, one whereof

(*d*) *If that be really his*] We find this Oration in the ſixth Tome of his Works, it is *Entituled*, *Quod unus ſit Veteris & Novi Teſtamenti Legiſlator*. It hath been cited by Pope *Adrian* 1. In his Epiſtle to *Charles* the Great. *Epiphanius* the Deacon hath likewiſe alledged it againſt *Gregorius Neocæſarienſis*; it is quoted alſo by *Theodoſius* in the Second Council of *Nice*. The Style doth not ſeem to be that of S. *Chryſoſtom*, as being full of Allegories; ſome ſay that it ſeems to have been written about the time of the declining of the *Roman* Empire; through the Incurſions of the Barbarous Nations, which are mentioned therein; nevertheleſs, it may be underſtood of the inroads of the *Arabians* that were made under the Reign of the Emperor *Valent*. Others think that this paſſage is put in ſince.

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was written to the Virgin *Mary*, and the other two to S. *John*. In the Year 1498, Eleven were Printed in *Latin*, which being revised by *Clictovæus*, were Reprinted at *Strasburg* in 1502, 1515, and 1527, as also by *Henry Peter* at *Basil*, in 1520. Not long after *Champerius* added three others, and one written to *Maria Cossobolita*, which he caused to be Printed at *Colen*, by *Quentelius* in 1536. together with the Commentaries of *Dionysius Carthusianus* on the Works attributed to S. *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*; afterwards they were Printed at *Antwerp* in 1540. at *Alcala* in 1541. at *Basil* in 1530, and 1540. at *Zurick* in 1546, 1550, 1557, and 1560. at *Paris* in 1569, 1575, and 1610. at *Colen* in 1570. at *Basil* in 1569, and 1628. at *Louvain* in 1568. and at *Antwerp* in 1572. In the Year 1557, they were set forth at *Colen*, according to the Version of *Perionius*, *Pæsus* gave us the *Greek* Text. In 1557, 1558, and 1562 *Morellus* procured them to be Printed in *Greek*, at *Paris* in *Octavo*. Moreover, *Gesner* published them in *Greek*, in 1559, with the Translation of *Brunnerus*. In the Year 1566. they were published at *Antwerp*, being corrected from certain Manuscripts by *Vairlenius*, and Printed by *Plantin*, *Mestræus* set forth a new Edition of them in 1608. *Vedelius* a Protestant caused them to be Printed with large Annotations in *Quarto*, at *Geneva*, *Anno Dom.* 1623. Lastly *Usher* having observed, that three *English* Divines had formerly quoted a passage of S. *Ignatius*, in the very same words as it is expressed by *Theodoret*, which was not inserted in the *Greek* Text, nor in the Vulgar Translations, judged that it might not be difficult to find some Manuscripts of the Original Epistles of S. *Ignatius* in *England*; Whereupon having made Enquiry, he happened to meet with two, one in the University of *Cambridge*, (in *Caius* Colledge Library,) and another in a private Library of one *Richard Mountague*, which contained an ancient Version of those Epistles very different from the Vulgar; and afterwards having compared this Translation, with the passages recited by the Fathers, he perceived that it exactly agreed with them, quite through; for which reason, when he set out a new Edition, (*e*) of the Epistles of S. *Ignatius* he used them, and caused the places that were added by the Modern *Greeks*, to be distinguished, in the *Greek* Text by Red Characters. Not long after, the Learned *Isaac Vossius* found in the Library of *Florence* a *Greek* Manuscript of the same Epistles, which had been perused about an hundred years before by *Turrianus*, wherein the *Greek* Text perfectly answered to the Version published by *Usher*, and so he published the *Greek* Original of S. *Ignatius*. (*f*)

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We may Learn from the knowledge of these Editions, that the Epistles of S. *Ignatius* ought to be divided into three *Classes*. The first contains those Three that are only extant in *Latin*, written to the Virgin *Mary* and S. *John*. The Second comprehends those that are in *Greek*, whereof *Eusebius* and S. *Jerom* make no mention, which being five in number (*g*.) are cited by some Modern *Greeks*. In the Third Rank are comprized those Seven Epistles mentioned by *Eusebius* (*h*,) but these are either such as were published before the Editions of *Vossius* and *Usher*; or such as are conformable to their Copies, that is to say, more concise, and more simple.

We must likewise distinguish three several Opinions concerning these Epistles: The first is, of those that allow them all, even the Three which are written only in *Latin*, as *Faber*, *Roffensis*, *Driedo*, *Marianus*, *Victorius*, *Canisius* and *Halloixius*. The last of whom, tho' Living in a clearer Age than the former yet was not a better Critick than any of them that were before him. We may also reckon almost in the same Rank, those that admit all the *Greek* Letters, wherein they follow the Opinion

(*e*) *He made use thereof in preparing a new Edition.*] The first Edition of *Usher* was Printed at *Oxford*, *An. Dom.* 1644. It contains, 1. A preliminary Dissertation. 2. The Six Epistles of S. *Ignatius* in *Greek*, wherein all that is not in the ancient Version is distinguished by Red Characters. 3. The counterfeit Letters. 4. The ancient *Latin* Translation. 5. Several Notes in the Year 1647. He published another Edition which he calls *Appendix Ignatiana*, in which he inserted the *Greek* Text, published by M. *Vossius* in 1646. as also a new Translation. He added therein, 1. The Ancient Records of the Martyrdom of S. *Ignatius*, which bear the Name of *Philo*. 2. The Letters of *Tiberianus*; *Pliny*, and *Trajan* concerning the Constancy of the Martyrs. 3. The entire Epistle of the Church of *Smyrna*, concerning the Martyrdom of S. *Polycarp*. 4. Annotations on the Acts of the Epistles of S. *Ignatius*.

(*f*) *To publish the Greek Original of S.* Ignatius.] His Edition was Printed at *Amsterdam*, *Anno Dom.* 1646. It contains, 1. The seven Original Epistles, excepting that to the *Romans*, as they were written in his *Greek* and *Latin* Manuscripts. 2. The *Greek* Epistles falsly attributed to S. *Ignatius*, which are not cited by *Eusebius*. 3. The three *Latin* Letters to the Virgin *Mary* and S. *John*. 4. The seven *Greek* and *Latin* Epistles, as they were in the former Editions. 5. The Epistle of S. *Barnabas*, together with Notes on the whole Work. The Editions of *Cotelerius* and of *Maderus* at *Helmstadt* in *Octavo*, are not different from that of *Vossius*, which hath been lately Reprinted at *London*, in 1680.

(*g*) *Which being Five in Number.*] We find at the beginning, the Epistle of *Maria Cassobolita*? afterward the first Epistle of S. *Ignatius* to this *Mary*; the Second to the Inhabitants of *Tarsus*; the Third to the *Antiochians*; the Fourth to *Hero* a Deacon of the Church of *Antioch*; and the last to the *Philippians*.

(*h*) *The seven Epistles mentioned by* Eusebius.] They are written according to the Order observed by M. *Vossius*, 1. To the Christians of *Smyrna*; The Second to S. *Polycarp*; The Third to the *Ephesians*; The Fourth to the *Magnesians*; The Fifth to the *Philadelphians*; The Sixth to the *Trallians*; and the Seventh to the *Romans*. Moreover, we may distinguish Four ancient Editions of the Epistles of S. *Ignatius*; the First contained only these seven that were known to *Eusebius*, and the other ancient Writers without any Additions; the Second comprehended only these seven Epistles, but with several Additions; *Pearson* had a Manuscript of them; which Copy had been used by *Goharus*, *Anastacius Antiochenus*, and the Author of the *Alexandrian* Chronicle; in the Third there are the seven Authentick Epistles without Interpolations, together with the counterfeit; such are those of the Version of *Usher*, and the *Greek* Manuscript of M. *Vossius*, and these were perused by S. *Joannes Damascenus*, and *Antonius*; the Fourth is that of the seven Genuine Epistles, together with the Additions, and the others that were forged, which is the Vulgar.

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of Cardinal *Bellarmin*, *Baronius* and *Poſſevin*. The ſecond is of thoſe who reject all. *Calvin* was the chief promoter of this Opinion, being followed by the *Centuriators*, *Socinus*, and even, after the Editions of *Uſher* and *Voſſius*, by *Salmaſius*, *Blondel*, *Albertinus* and *Daille*, who have uſed their utmoſt endeavours to ruin the Credit of their Copies. The Third Opinion is that of thoſe who keeping the middle way, aſcribe to S. *Ignatius* only the Seven Epiſtles, that are recited by *Euſebius* and S. *Jerom*, diſallowing all the reſt as Suppoſititious, and owning that there were ſome Additions in the others. This has been formerly obſerved by very Learned Men, even before the Editions of *Voſſius* and *Uſher* appeared, as by *Chemenitius*, *Perkins*, *Cook*, and *Vedelius*, who tho' ſeparated from the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, yet were very able Criticks. But ſince their Editions, the judicious of both perſuaſions as *Rivet*, *Grotius*, *Petavius*, *Labbœus*, and the Author of the *Offices of the Holy Sacrament*, have acknowledged that the Seven Epiſtles of S. *Ignatius*, which had been corrupted by many Additions, were reſtored to their Original purity in *Voſſius*'s *Greek* Edition, and in the Verſion publiſhed by *Uſher*. *Morinus* is the only Perſon among the Learned, that maintains the contrary Opinion, affirming that the Original Text of thoſe Letters is contained in the ancient *Greek* Edition, whereas it is retrenched and corrupted in the later of *Voſſius*. I had almoſt forgotten to obſerve, that *Uſher* and ſome others after him, have rejected the Epiſtle of S. *Ignatius* to S. *Polycarp*; and therefore reckon only ſix as Genuine. Thus we have repreſented the different Opinions concerning the Epiſtles of S. *Ignatius*; let us now conſider which ſide we ought to take.

Firſt, it is certain, that the Three *Latin* Epiſtles, whereof two are written to S. *John*, and the Third to the Virgin *Mary* are forged. S. *Bernard* is the firſt that quotes them in his 7th Sermon, on the Pſalm *Qui habitat*; they were unknown to the ancient and modern Grecian Writers; they were never extant in *Greek*, and the affected gingling of words that appears therein, ſhews that they were compoſed in *Latin*, and by one of that Nation. Beſides, they are written in a mean Style, and they are full of uſeleſs Notions unworthy of S. *Ignatius*.

Secondly, neither can it be doubted, but that the Five *Greek* Letters, which are not quoted by *Euſebius* and S. *Jerom* are in like manner counterfeit. For had they been extant when theſe Authors lived, it were impoſſible but they ſhould have ſeen or heard of them. And is it credible that having ſeen them, they ſhould take no notice of them, when they made a Catalogue of the Epiſtles of S. *Ignatius*? 2. They were not only unknown to *Euſebius* and S. *Jerom*, but likewiſe to all the Greek Fathers, whoſe Teſtimonies we have produced, and who have all cited only the Seven Epiſtles mentioned by *Euſebius*, the others being quoted only by the more modern Writers: They contain many things that do not agree with the time of S. *Ignatius*, for there are ſome Hereſies named which did not appear until a great while after his Death: We find an account of *Subdeacons*, *Lecturers*, *Chanters*, *Porters*, *Exorciſts*, and of thoſe that were called among the *Grecians* ἀναγνῶσται or Readers. Now who knows not that theſe Orders were eſtabliſhed after the Deceaſe of S. *Ignatius*? They mention alſo Aſſemblies of *Virgins*, *Lent*, the *Sabbath*, *Feſtivals*, &c.

Thirdly, it muſt be confeſſed that the Epiſtles of S. *Ignatius* ſuch as they were before the Editions of *Uſher* and *Voſſius*, were corrupted, and different from thoſe that are cited by the ancient Writers. 1. Becauſe the paſſages cited by *Theodoret* and others, are not conformable to thoſe which we may find in the vulgar Edition. 2. Becauſe if we compare the ancient Edition with *Voſſius*'s, it will evidently appear, that the later is not an Epitome of the former, but that the other is a kind of a Paraphraſe of this laſt: for the greater part of the paſſages which are extant in the ancient Edition; and are not to be found in *Voſius*'s, are Explanations and Paraphraſes, or Thoughts added afterward, that have no manner of coherence with the reſt, and wherein one may find a plain difference in the Style and Doctrine. 3. There are divers things contained in the vulgar Edition, that cannot belong to the time of S. *Ignatius*, and which might give an occaſion juſtly to doubt of their Authority, before the Editions of *Uſher* and *Voſſius* were publiſhed. As for Example, in that to the *Trallians* we find the Names of *Theodotus* and *Cleobulus*; there are certain paſſages that confute the Opinion of *Saturninus* concerning Marriage, and the errors of *Praxeas*, mention is alſo made therein of the *Nicolaitans*, of the leſſer *Orders*, &c. things that by no means ſuit with thoſe Primitive Ages of the Church.

I have now only to enquire whether the ſeven Epiſtles, according to the Edition of *Voſſius* were written by S. *Ignatius*, and the firſt Queſtion that offers it ſelf to our Examination, is whether this Father wrote any Epiſtles at all: To which I reply, that it cannot be reaſonably doubted. For, 1. This matter of Fact is atteſted by all Antiquity. 2. It is proved by the above-cited Tradition that the Authors who ſaw S. *Ignatius*, as S. *Polycarp*, and thoſe that lived immediately after him, as *Irenæus* and *Origen*, knew and quoted theſe Epiſtles. Now to believe that they were falſly attributed to him even in their time, is in my Opinion great Nonſenſe; therefore it ought to be taken for granted, that S. *Ignatius* wrote Epiſtles; And who can imagine, that thoſe are not Genuine that were collected by S. *Polycarp*? Or what likelyhood is there that they were loſt between S. *Polycarp*'s death, and *Euſebius*'s time, and that others were ſubſtituted in their room? Wherefore *Euſebius* had the Original Epiſtles of S. *Ignatius*, and they that ſucceeded him, whoſe Teſtimonies we have already alledged, having without doubt preſerved the Seven that are mentioned by him, it cannot be affirmed with any probability that they have cited fictitious Epiſtles. From whence we ought to conclude, that ſince all the paſſages produced by them may be found word for word in the Editions of *Uſher* and *Voſſius*, it is very probable that they contain the Authentick Epiſtles of S. *Ignatius* in their Original Purity. And this Argument is of ſo much the more force, becauſe this is not only true in the reſemblance of one or two Paſſages, for it were not to be admitted that they ſhould agree, ſince they might have been inſerted by an Impoſtor; but in a very great number that are cited by different Authors,

Authors, which makes it much more certain. Besides, there is nothing in these Epistles that does not agree with the Person and Time of S. *Ignatius*; there are no Defects in the Chronology, nor any Anachronisms, which are usually found in Supposititious Works; there is no mention made of any Heretick that lived after S. *Ignatius*; the Errors that are refuted belong to his time, as that of the *Simonians* and *Ebionites* concerning the Passion and Divinity of *Jesus Christ*; the Tradition of the Church is confirmed according to *Eusebius*: He speaks of those Gifts of the Holy Spirit that were visible in the Church; he cites very few Passages out of the Holy Scriptures; he imitates the Style of S. *Paul*, and intermingles nothing of Prophane Learning. Upon the whole matter, these Epistle are written with great simplicity, and bear an Apostolical Character; thus all the Arguments that evince the Falsification, or the Corruption of the other Epistles, invincibly prove the Truth and Purity of these. But this will appear yet further from the Answers to the Objections propounded by *Salmasius*, *Blondel* and *Daille*, which we shall set down and confute in a few Words, replying only to those that may be alledged against the seven Epistles, as they are Printed in the Edition of *Vossius*, and omitting the others which do not relate to our Opinion. S. *Ignatius*

Objection 1. Our Adversaries not being able to produce any considerable Testimonies, at least such as can be esteemed to be of sufficient Authority, and being unwilling to appear to be the first Authors of the Opinion which they maintain, have sought for the Author of the *Stichometria*, which is prefixed to the Works of *Syncellus* and *Theophanes*, and is commonly attributed to *Nicephorus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, tho' it is not certain whether it is his or not. This *Stichometria* is a Catalogue of the Sacred Books both Canonical and Apocryphal, together with the number of their Verses, at the end whereof are annexed, *The Apocryphal Books of the New Testament*, *the Voyages of S.* Peter, and *The Doctrin of the Apostles*, of S. *Clement*, *Ignatius*, *Polycarp* and *Hermas*; from whence M. *Daille* concludes, that this Author hath inserted the Epistles of S. *Ignatius* among the Apocryphal and Counterfeit Writings.

Answer. First, This Author calls all those Books Apocryphal that are not Canonical, and in this Sense the Epistles of S. *Ignatius* may be reckoned under this Denomination, as the Book of the *Pastor*, which is Styled Apocryphal by those that do not receive it as Canonical, tho' it is very ancient, and was certainly writ by him whose Name it bears.

Secondly, This Author doth not mention the Epistles of S. *Ignatius* or S. *Polycarp*; and there is no probability that he intended to do it, because his Design is to make a Catalogue of the Sacred Writings both Genuine and Apocryphal; now what Analogy is there between this and the Epistles of S. *Ignatius*, which being writ a long time after the Death of the Apostles, could not be comprized amongst the Books of the Holy Scripture? And indeed if the Epistles of S. *Ignatius*, and S. *Polycarp* ought to be rejected as fictitious, because this Author hath inserted their Names among the Apocryphal Books of the *New Testament*, we must likewise reject the Epistle of S. *Clement*, whose Name is found immediately before; therefore it must necessarily be inferred, that he intended to reject some other Books that were ascribed to S. *Clement*, to S. *Ignatius*, and to S. *Polycarp*, and that the Word διδαχὴ ought to be understood with relation to these three last; for after having said διδαχὴ ἀποστόλων, *The Doctrin of the Apostles*, he adds, without specifying any thing else, of *Clement*, *Ignatius* and *Polycarp*, that is to say, the Books in like manner Entituled, *The Doctrin of* Clement, *The Doctrin of* Ignatius, and *The Doctrin of* Polycarp; this is the plain Sense of that Passage.

Thirdly, Altho' it were granted, that this Author had rejected the Epistles of S. *Ignatius*, which is not true, Of what weight could his Testimony be, against the Tradition that we have even now alledged?

Object. 2. It is said, That these Epistles were unknown to S. *Justin*, to S. *Clement* of *Alexandria*, and to all the ancient Writers before *Eusebius*.

Answ. Tho' this were true, yet there are many Books whose Truth is not called in question, that are mentioned by *Eusebius* alone, and by no other ancient Author; but besides, we have already shewn, That these Epistles are cited by S. *Polycarp*, S. *Irenæus*, and *Origen*, and that the Passages which they produce, are found in those Letters that we have.

Object. 3. The Style (say they) of the Epistles attributed to S. *Ignatius*, is very different from that of this Father; it is full of lofty Expressions and affected Epithets, which is very far from the simplicity of the Apostolical Times. They say moreover, that the Inscriptions of these Letters are long and full of pompous Epithets.

Answ. The Objections taken from the Style are of little Moment; for who hath informed these modern Criticks how S. *Ignatius* writ? However it is not true, that the Style of these Epistles is far from the simplicity of the ancient Christians; on the contrary, it is very simple, and extremely natural: It must be confessed indeed, that there are some Epithets and compound Words, but this agrees with the *Asiatick* Style, which is generally more florid than that of other Nations. It might also be added, That we find the like Epithets in the Epistle of S. *Clement*, and in other ancient Authors. The Inscriptions are not longer than S. *Paul*'s Epistles, and in the Editions of *Usher* and *Vossius* they are not so large nor so magnificent as in the Vulgar, as well as in that of the Epistle to the *Romans*, recited by *Metaphrastes*.

Object. 4. This Objection is the first of those that are taken from the Contents of the Epistles themselves. It is said, That the Author writes against the Opinion of *Saturninus*, who believed, that *Jesus Christ* suffered only in Appearance; and of *Theodotus*, who imagined that our Saviour was a mere Man. Now these two Hereticks are later than S. *Ignatius*.

Anſw. The firſt of theſe Errors was maintained by *Simon Magus* and *Menander*; the other was S. *Ignatius* aſſerted by *Cerinthus* and *Ebion*, Hereticks who lived in S. *Ignatius*'s time.

Object 5. This is the Principal, or the only Objection that hath any Difficulty, it is taken from an Expreſſion in the Epiſtle to the *Magneſians*, *That the Eternal Word proceeded not from Silence*, οὐκ ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών, which ſeems to be ſaid purpoſely againſt the Errors of the *Valentinians*, who firſt uſed the Word *Silence* as a Term of Art.

Anſw. If there were no Anſwer to be given to this Objection, I ſhould rather chuſe to affirm, That this Paſſage is added, than merely on this accoût to reject the Epiſtles that are acknowledged as Authentick by all the Ancients. There are many Books wherein ſome Additions have been made, which make them appear later than they really are; and we find ſome of this ſort in the Bible, in *Homer*, and in almoſt all the Eccleſiaſtical and Prophane Authors. But there is no neceſſity to make uſe of this Anſwer, ſince we have ſeveral others that are ſufficient to afford reaſonable Satisfaction to the Impartial and Judicious Reader.

For 1. It is not true that S. *Ignatius* here ſpeaks of the Silence of the *Valentinians*, or of any other Notion of the Hereticks that is like it; he only declares, That the Word of God is not like unto that of Men, which comes from, or follows after Silence. Theſe are his Words: *There is but one God, who hath made himſelf manifeſt by his Son* Jeſus Chriſt, *who is the Eternal Word of God, that doth not proceed from Silence, and that is in all things like unto him that ſent him.* The main Deſign of S. *Ignatius* in this Place, is to eſtabliſh our Saviour's Divinity againſt the *Ebionites*. He ſhews that he is God, becauſe he is the Word or the Speech of God, which being Eternal, is not preceded by Silence as that of Men. This Explication is Natural and liable to no Difficulty, though M. *Daille* hath thought fit to cenſure it as Impertinent; however, there is none that reads this Paſſage but will readily grant, that this Senſe is moſt proper and very conformable to the Intention of the ancient Writers, who endeavoured to demonſtrate the Difference that there is between the Word of God and that of Men. S. *Auſtin*, in his Homily concerning the Nativity of *Jeſus Chriſt*, makes uſe of the very ſame Compariſon, without having any regard to the *Valentinians*; *Quid eſt* (ſays he) *hoc Verbum? Quod dicturus antea non ſilebat, quo dicto, non ſiluit qui dicebat:* And S. *Fulgentius*, lib. 3. *ad Traſim.* cap. 28. *Idem Verbum nullo potuit coerceri ſilentio, quia ipſe Patris eſt ſempiterna locutio.* That which is affirmed by M. *Daille*, that the Word προέβαλεν was uſed by the *Valentinians*, may be true, but they oftener uſed the Word προβάλλω, neither is the Word προελθὼν peculiar to the *Valentineans*, it is commonly applied in *Greek* to ſignifie *To go or come forth.* Beſides, S. *Ignatius* ſays not ἐκ σιγῆς, but ἀπὸ σιγῆς, which may ſignifie, that the Word of God came not forth after Silence as that of Men.

2. *Valentinus* and his Diſciples did not affirm, That the *Word* came from *Silence*. The *Word* according to their fantaſtical Imagination, came from *the Spirit* and *the Truth*, and not from *the Deep* and *from Silence*.

3. The Opinion of *Valentinus* concerning *Silence*, was deviſed and propagated before his Time, for all that ſpeak of his Hereſie obſerve, that he revived the ancient Errors of the *Gnoſticks*. *Euſebius* declares in *lib. 2. de Theolog. Eccleſ. cap. 9.* That *Simon Magus* often talked of Silence among his Followers: *Secundum impium* (ſays he) *Hæreticorum principem, qui, impia dogmatizans, pronunciavit dicens, erat Deus, & Sige*; which comes nearer to the Error, that is ſuppoſed to be confuted by S. *Ignatius*. S. *Irenæus* attributes this Opinion to all the *Gnoſticks*, as alſo *Tertullian*, S. *Epiphanius*, and S. *Auguſtin*. S. *Gregory Nazianzen*, *orat.* 23. and after him *Ellas Cretenſis*, charge it upon the *Gnoſticks*. This ſhews, that tho' the Author of the Epiſtle to the *Magneſians* ſhould have oppoſed the Error of thoſe that maintain that the *Word* proceeded from *Silence*, yet this doth not hinder but that it might have been written by S. *Ignatius*.

4. It is not certainly known, whether *Valentinus* had not already began to divulge his Errors even before the Death of S. *Ignatius*, ſince it is evident that S. *Polycarp* ſurvived this Arch-Heretick, and tho' he was not declared to be the Ring-leader of this Party till afterwards, yet he might even then have taught ſome of his pernicious Doctrins, to which S. *Ignatius* might allude. Theſe four Anſwers are ſolid, and every one of them ſeparately might be ſufficient to convince any Man; but the firſt in my Opinion is moſt natural.

Object. 6. In the Epiſtle to the Chriſtians of *Smyrna*, mention is made of certain viſible Princes that ſhall be judged, if they do not believe in *Jeſus Chriſt*. Now what probability is there (ſay they) that S. *Ignatius* ſhould ſpeak this of the Emperors and Kings of his Time?

Anſw. Why may not this be affirmed of the Unbelieving Emperors and Kings that were Contemporary with S. *Ignatius*? Since *Tertullian* and S. *Juſtin* have declared as much of the Emperors of their time, and that too in the Preſence of the Emperors themſelves. Moreover, it is not neceſſary to underſtand the Word Ἄρχοντες only of Emperors and Kings, ſince it may ſignifie all that are inveſted with any Authority.

Object. 7. In the Epiſtle to the *Romans* we find this Expreſſion, *That he was led by the Leopards, which are Soldiers.* This Explication (ſay they) is needleſs, and the compariſon is childiſh.

Anſw. And, I ſay, that the Similitude is very natural, and that the Explication was neceſſary. *Bochart* indeed affirms, That the Word *Leopard* was not uſed until the Time of *Conſtantine*; but how does he know it? It is in the Acts of the Paſſion of S. *Perpetua* and S. *Felicitas*; *Ælius Spartianus*, in the Life of *Geta*, thinks, that it was an old Word at the time when he wrote his Hiſtory.

Object. 8. In the Epiſtle to the *Philadelphians*, he ſpeaks of Penitents that were publickly received by the Church, whereas, (ſay they) in the firſt Ages, they that had once fallen were not afterward readmit-

readmitted into the Communion of the Church; neither was there any Penance that ended in Reconciliation. S. *Ignatius*

Answ. There is nothing in the Epistle to the *Philadelphians* concerning publick Penitents who had committed enormous Crimes; this is a meer Imagination. It is only declar'd, That they that had departed from the Church should obtain Pardon for their Fault, if they repented thereof by re-entring into it, that is to say, if they re-united themselves to the Church, from which they were separated. It is certain, that Hereticks and Schismaticks returning to the Church, were always readmitted. Beside, the Example of the Young Man who was reconciled by S. *John*, after he had been for a long time Captain of a Troop of Highway-men, and of many others, shew, that Penance was then in use; and *Morinus* evidently proves, That in the two first Centuries Absolution was granted more easily than in the third.

Object. 9. *Onesimus* Bishop of *Ephesus*, who died before S. *Ignatius*, is cited by Name in this Epistle.

Answ. This *Onesimus* is not he that was the Disciple of S. *Paul*, whom others affirm to have been Bishop of *Berœa:* And besides, even the *Onesimus*, mention'd by S. *Paul*, might be living when S. *Ignatius* wrote this Epistle, since that of S. *Paul* to *Philemon* was written from *Rome* about the Year of our Lord 64, therefore tho' *Onesimus* might be 26 Years old then, yet he could not have been above 70 Years of Age about the Year 107, or 108, when S. *Ignatius* compos'd these Works, which is no very extraordinary thing.

Object. 10. The Author of the Epistles attributed to S. *Ignatius* cites (as they say) several Apocryphal Books. He produceth in the Epistle to the *Smyrneans* a Sentence concerning *Jesus Christ*, taken from the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*. Who can believe this of S. *Ignatius*?

Answ. This is no unusual thing among the Ancients. S. *Jerom* gives us the same Passage of S *Ignatius*, and *Papias* hath likewise quoted the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*. S. *Clement*, in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, uses some Expressions as taken from the Holy Scriptures which are not there, as is observed by *Photius*, *Cod.* 126. S. *Jude* also cites the Book of *Enoch*. And besides, we cannot positively affirm, that the Gospel according to the *Hebrews* is cited by S. *Ignatius*, for he only produceth a Sentence, as knowing by Tradition that it was uttered by *Jesus Christ*. Thus S. *Clement* and S. *Barnabas* set down the Words of our Saviour, which they had either heard spoken by him, or had received from those by whom he was seen in the Flesh. Lastly, this Passage in S. *Ignatius*, is quoted by S. *Jerom*, as belonging to the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*; but *Origen* produces it out of the Book, entituled, *The Doctrin of S.* Peter, which shews that it was a very common Expression.

Object. 11. The ardent Desire of suffering Martyrdom, express'd by S. *Ignatius*, is (according to their Judgment) too excessive.

Answ. This hath been admired in the Epistle to the *Romans*, by the ancient Christians; the same Ardor appears likewise in S. *Cyprian*, in *Germanicus* a Martyr of *Smyrna*, and in many others. Certainly they must needs have but a very little Knowledge of Antiquity, who deny that the Primitive Christians were inflamed with a fervent Desire of suffering Martyrdom, and a Man shews that he is but meanly skill'd in Divinity, if he blames this Passion, when it neither does, nor says any thing that is Impudent or Indecent. And this is the Case of S. *Ignatius*, who, in testifying an earnest Desire of becoming a Martyr, uttered no Expressions but such as were very prudent, and very moderate: Let us read his Epistle to the *Romans* with the same Spirit as he wrote it, and we shall be so far from censuring it with the modern Criticks, that we shall admire it as much as the Ancients did.

Object. 12. S. *Paul* doth not mention the *Ephesians* in all his Epistles, as it is affirmed by the Author of the Epistle to the *Ephesians*: Therefore, *&c.*

Answ. He doth not say that S. *Paul* mention'd the *Ephesians* in all his Epistles, but throughout the whole Epistle that he wrote to them, (ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ) and compos'd altogether for their Use.

Object. 13. He declares that he saw *Jesus Christ*, which, S. *Chrysostom* says, is not true.

Answ. The Passage which is meant by them signifies only, that he knew and believed the real Incarnation of *Jesus Christ*. And after all, it was not impossible for S. *Ignatius* to have seen our Saviour.

Object 14. He gives an account of the Errors of certain Hereticks that abstain'd from the *Eucharist*; now there were not any such (says M. *Daille*) in the time of S. *Ignatius*, but afterwards when these Epistles were counterfeited.

Answ. Who hath informed him, that there were no such at the time when these Epistles were forged, and none before? These Hereticks are the *Docetæ*, who believed that *Jesus Christ* suffered only in Appearance, whose Heresie was very ancient.

Object. 15. He affirms, that the *Romans* might easily have deliver'd him from his Persecutor, why then did they not do it?

Answ. He doth not declare that they were absolutely able to deliver him, but only that he was ready to undergo Martyrdom, if they did not prevent it; that they might easily do whatever they thought fit, that is, use their Endeavours to rescue him from Death; but for his part, he could not find a better Opportunity of suffering for *Jesus Christ*.

Object. 16. He promiseth to send a Book to the *Ephesians*; but how could he do it when he was going to be put to Death?

Answ. His meaning is, That he would write a second Letter to them, Δεύτερον βιβλίον, *a second*

ſmall *Volume*, upon two Conditions: Firſt, if God ſhould permit; and, Secondly, in caſe the *Epheſians* S. *Ignatius* ſhould want it. He might well hope to write another, having had the liberty to write the former.

Object. 17. There appears (ſay they) too much Arrogance and Affectation in theſe Epiſtles; the Author boaſts, that he hath the knowledge of Celeſtial Things, *Se multa ſapere in Deo*, and that he knew the Orders, Offices, and Stations of the Angels.

Anſ. All this might be affirmed by an ancient Biſhop, that had acquired the Reputation of S. *Ignatius*; all the Chriſtians might likewiſe boaſt, that they were endued with the knowledge of Celeſtial Things, and more eſpecially Biſhops. S. *Ignatius* immediately adds, after the Words cited in the Objection, *Whatſoever Knowledge I have, I am not puffed up, but I meaſure my ſelf.* He ſays nothing of Angels, but what had been ſaid before by S. *Paul.*

Object. 18. What reaſon is there, that S. *Ignatius* ſhould be ſent to *Rome*, to be expoſed to wild Beaſts in the Amphitheatre of that City, as if Perſons condemned to this ſort of Puniſhment, were not executed in all the great Towns, where Shews were exhibited? Why muſt he be brought thither by Sea and Land, a Way ſo far about?

Anſ. If we may believe the Hiſtory of the Martyrdom of S. *Ignatius*, he was ſent to *Rome* by the expreſs Command of the Emperor. However, if this were not true, it is ordained by the Law, *Ad beſtias, tit. de Pœnis*: That Criminals, condemned to be torn in pieces by wild Beaſts, ſhould be conveyed to *Rome* with the Emperor's Permiſſion; (which ought to be underſtood of conſiderable Malefactors;) ſuch were the Ring-leaders of Factions, and the Biſhops among the Chriſtians, eſpecially ſo famous a Biſhop as that of *Antioch*. The way through which he was conducted thither was the ordinary Road; for to come to *Rome* out of *Syria*, it is neceſſary to go to *Smyrna* or to *Epheſus*, afterward to croſs the *Helleſpont*, and ſo to *Brunduſium*, and from thence to *Rome*.

Object. 19. The laſt Objection, which is the cauſe why all the others were made, is taken from the different Orders of Biſhops and Prieſts, who are often diſtinguiſhed in the Epiſtles that are attributed to S. *Ignatius*; it is ſuppoſed that this diſtinction was not made until the third Age of the Church, from whence it is concluded that theſe Epiſtles are none of his.

Anſ. This Suppoſition being falſe, the whole Objection muſt conſequently fall of it ſelf, and tho' we had no other Proofs of the diſtinction of Biſhops and Prieſts in the ſecond Century, than the Epiſtles of S. *Ignatius*, yet we ought not to doubt thereof, and inſtead of inferring from thence, that theſe Letters are Counterfeit, it may well be concluded on the contrary, that the different Orders of Biſhops and Prieſts, were eſtabliſhed in S. *Ignatius*'s time, ſince they are found in the Epiſtles that have been acknowledged by all the ancient Writers as certainly belonging to him: But there are many other Teſtimonies which make it appear, that there was a diſtinction between Biſhops and Prieſts even in the ſecond Age of the Church. *Hegeſippus*, for Example, gives us a Catalogue of the Biſhops of *Jeruſalem*; can this be ſaid to be a Liſt of the Prieſts of that City? *Polycrates* hath made another of the ancient Biſhops of *Aſia*, and *Euſebius* hath compiled that of the principal Cities throughout the whole World ſince the time of *Jeſus Chriſt*. Therefore there muſt of neceſſity have been always in the Church, Perſons called *Biſhops*, who preſided over Churches and Prieſts. The Martyrs of *Lyons* ſtyle *Photinus* Biſhop, and S. *Irenæus* Prieſt. The anonymous Author, cited by *Euſebius* againſt the *Cataphrygians*, diſtinguiſhes Prieſts from Biſhops. And there are infinite Numbers of Teſtimonies and Arguments, by which it may be proved, that there was ſome difference made between Prieſts and Biſhops even in the ſecond Century; but we ſhall inſiſt no longer on this Subject: And I am afraid that I have already tired the Reader's Patience in Refuting all the Objections that have been alledged againſt the Epiſtles of S. *Ignatius*, but I judged it neceſſary for the confirmation of their Authority.

It remains only, for the concluſion of our Critical Enquiries concerning theſe Epiſtles, to give ſome account of that to S. *Polycarp*. I know not what reaſon *Uſher* might have to reject it, ſince it plainly belongs to the number of the Seven that are mentioned by *Euſebius*, who clearly diſtinguiſheth it from that which was written to the Inhabitants of *Smyrna*. S. *Jerom* follows *Euſebius* in this particular, *Et proprie* (ſays he) *ad Polycarpum*. It is true, indeed, that here he cites a Paſſage of the Epiſtle to the *Smyrneans*, as appertaining to that of S. *Polycarp*, but this may only be an Error as to Matter of Fact, and it very frequently happens, that in Citations one Work is taken for another. A notable mark of the Truth of this Epiſtle is that in the Manuſcript of *Florence*, it is found to be different from the Vulgar Edition, as well as the ſix others that are eſteemed Authentick, whereas all the reſt which are forged do not vary in this Manuſcript from the ordinary Editions; this ſhews, that the Author of theſe Letters, is the ſame Perſon that made the Additions in the real Epiſtles of S. *Ignatius*, and that all thoſe that are purged from theſe Additions in the above-cited Manuſcript of *Florence*, and in the Edition of *Voſſius*, are undoubtedly genuine.

The Chronological Order of theſe ſeven Epiſtles is this: Firſt, it is certain that they were all written by S. *Ignatius* when he was in Bonds, and as he was conveyed from *Antioch* to *Rome* to be expoſed to wild Beaſts in that City. Secondly, it is likewiſe evident, that four of them were made at *Smyrna*, where he reſided, perhaps, for ſome conſiderable time; theſe four in the Edition of *Voſſius* and in S. *Jerom*, are put in this following Order; the Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, to the *Magneſians*, to the *Trallians*, and the laſt to the *Romans*. It cannot be preciſely determined, whether this be the Order wherein they were written, or whether they were all compoſed at the ſame time. It is probable that the Epiſtle to the *Romans* is the laſt, becauſe he declares therein, that he wrote to the other Churches, and that he went chearfully to ſuffer Martyrdom: It ſeems to have been made when he was ready to depart, being wearied with the long ſtay of his Guards in that place; ſo great was his Paſſion to ſuffer Martyrdom.

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He wrote the three others at his departure from *Smyrna* whil'st he stayed at *Troas*, from whence he was obliged to go to *Naples*. The Epistles to the *Smyrneans* and to S. *Polycarp*, seem to have been written together, and that to the *Philadelphians* last, because it is expressed in the later, that the other Cities had sent several Bishops and Priests into *Syria*; and in the Epistle to S. *Polycarp*, he chargeth him to depute a fit Person for the Episcopal Function in that Country. However, there is a more probable conjecture to prove, that the two others were written after that to the *Philadelphians*, according to S. *Jerom's* Opinion, because S. *Ignatius* declares therein, that he was ready to embark for *Naples*, and that this was the reason why he could not write to the other Churches, which shews, that the time of his departure drew near when he Composed them. He there mentions his Martyrdom, as a thing certainly to be accomplish'd. S. *Ignatius* in his Epistle to the Christians of *Smyrna*, confutes the Error of those that denied that Jesus Christ took upon himself the Human Nature; that he assumed a real Body, and that he actually suffered: He affirms, that those Hereticks neglected the Poor and the Widows, and separated themselves from the Publick Prayers of the Church, and from the Eucharist, because they did not believe that it was the Body of Jesus Christ, which had been nailed to the Cross for our sakes, and afterwards rose again from the dead: He admonisheth the *Smyrneans* to avoid Divisions, as the Original of all Evil, to obey their Bishop, to honour the Priests and Deacons, and to do nothing contrary to the Precepts of their Bishop, without whose Assistance (saith he) it is not lawful even to Baptize, or to celebrate the *Agapæ* or *Love-feasts*. S. *Ignatius*

In the Epistle to S. *Polycarp*, he gives excellent Counsels to this Bishop; he advises him to endeavour to preserve Union in his Church, to watch continually over his Flock, and to apply convenient Remedies to their Distempers, to reprove those that offend, with Charity and Gentleness, to pray to God incessantly and to sue for his Grace. In short, to labour without Intermission as a faithful Servant and Soldier of Jesus Christ, who being invisible and impassible, made himself visible and mortal for our sakes. He admonisheth him to take care of the Widows, not to despise the meanest People, not to suffer any thing to be done without his Concurrence, and to do nothing himself but what is conformable to the Will of God, to enjoyn Women to please their Husbands, and Husbands to love their Wives, as also to recommend to them Chastity, accompanied with Humility, and to inform the Christians, that their Marriage, when performed, according to the Will of God, ought to be solemnized in the Presence of the Bishop. Afterward he exhorts all the faithful, to submit to their Bishop, Priests and Deacons, and to work out their own Salvation. Lastly, directing his Discourse to S. *Polycarp*, he adviseth him to call a Synod, and to ordain a Bishop to be sent into *Syria*.

In the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, he testifies his Joy in seeing *Onesimus* their Bishop, who came to him with a Deacon, named *Burrus*, and two other Believers; he admonisheth them to live Holily, in perfect Unity among themselves, and in Obedience to their Bishop and Priests; he declares, that they that do not joyn with the Bishop and are not present at the Publick Service of the Christians, over which the Bishops preside, are without the Pale of the Church, and deprived of the Celestial Food. Afterward he warns them to beware of Heresies, to avoid the Company of Hereticks, and to believe that Jesus Christ is God, who was incarnate, that he is impassible as he is God, and passible as he is Man. Lastly, after having commended their Piety, he exhorts them to pray to God, for all sorts and conditions of Men, frequently to assemble together, to make Publick Prayers and Supplications, and inviolably to preserve Faith and Charity; he affirms, that the Prince of this World, that is to say, the Devil, was ignorant of the Virginity of *Mary*, of her Child-birth, and of the Death of our Lord: He promiseth to send to them a little Book, that is to say, a Letter concerning the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, and he intreats them to pray to God for him.

In the Epistle to the *Magnesians*, he exhorts the Christians of that Church to be obedient to their Bishop *Damas*, who came to see him, to do nothing without him, and to live in Unity one with another. He admonisheth them not to suffer themselves to be led away with vain Opinions, not to live like Jews but as Christians, to believe in Jesus Christ, who is the Word of God that doth not proceed from Silence, but was sent by God the Father, and is our only hope. At last he desires them to remember him in their Prayers.

In the Epistle to the *Philadelphians*, he Congratulates their Union, he exhorts them to avoid Corrupt Doctrins, and advises them not to follow those that are the Abetters of Schisms and Divisions amongst them, and to concur in every thing with their Bishop. Lastly, he refutes the Arguments of those that refused to believe any thing, but what was written in the Old Testament, and declares that the Gospel is the perfection of that which was prefigured in the Old Law.

In the Epistle to the *Trallians*, he commends their Union, and the Submission and Respect that they shewed towards their Bishop, Priests and Deacons, and exhorts them to persevere in this Union, and to beware of Hereticks. He expounds the Orthodox Doctrins of the Catholick Church, that Jesus Christ was born of the Virgin *Mary*, that he was really Man, that he actually suffered and died, and not in appearance, as some Hereticks said.

Lastly, In the Epistle to the *Romans*, he expresseth his Zeal, and ardent desire of suffering Martyrdom, and entreats them not to take this glorious Crown from him, by preventing his being exposed to wild Beasts in the Amphitheatre of *Rome*.

Upon the whole matter, all these Epistles are full of very wholsom Precepts, and useful Exhortations; they are extremely worthy of a Christian, of a Bishop, and of a Martyr, and are all full of Warmth and Piety. One cannot read them, without perceiving every-where, that this Holy Man was animated with a Zeal truly Divine for the Salvation of Souls, for the fulfilling of the Law of Jesus Christ, and for the preservation of his Doctrin. In every thing that he says, he appears to be full of Love to

our

S. *Ignatius*

our Saviour, of Affection towards his Brethren, of Care for the Diſcipline of the Church, and of Ardor for the Bleſſing of Peace. In ſhort, let Criticks that are of a contrary Opinion ſay what they pleaſe, I dare maintain that theſe Epiſtles deſerve to be well eſteemed, and to be admired by all thoſe who profeſs to have any Reſpect for Books of Piety.

S. POLYCARP.

S. *Polycarp.*

S. *Polycarp* (*a*) the Diſciple of S. *John* the Evangeliſt (*b*), and by him ordained Biſhop of *Smyrna*, was after the Deceaſe of this Apoſtle, eſteemed as the Head of the Churches of *Aſia*; (*c*) when he went to *Rome*, under the Pontificate of *Anicetus* about the Year 160 (*d*) he converted ſeveral *Marcionites*, and obliged them to return to the Boſom of the Church. He had ſeveral Conferences with Pope *Anicetus*, probably about ſeveral particular Cuſtoms of the Church of *Rome*; They debated the Queſtion of the Day when they ſhould keep *Eaſter*, which was afterwards diſputed under the Pontificate of Pope *Victor*, but each of them having judged it to be moſt convenient to obſerve his own Cuſtom, they amicably communicated one with another; and *Anicetus* to do the greater Honour to S. *Polycarp*, cauſed him to officiate in his own Church (*e*), and in his own Place.

This Holy Biſhop always abhorred Hereticks; and he uſed to tell a Story, That S. *John* having ſeen *Cerinthus* entring into a Bath, ſpeedily fled from thence without bathing himſelf therein, fearing leſt the Building ſhould fall becauſe *Cerinthus* the Enemy of the Truth was there; and he himſelf having once accidentally met with *Marcion*, who deſired that he would vouchſafe to take notice of him, he replied, *I know that* thou *art the eldeſt Son of the Devil.* He had a very particular Reſpect for the Memory of S. *John*; he took much delight in telling over the Diſcourſes that he formerly had with him, and with others that had ſeen *Jeſus Chriſt* in the Fleſh; he related every thing whereof he had been informed by them concerning his Doctrin and Miracles, and if he had heard any one maintaining any Principles contrary to the Apoſtolical Faith, he was wont to cry out, *O God to what Times haſt thou reſerved me!* and would immediately depart from the Place where he was. All this is recorded by S. *Irenæus*, and cited by *Euſebius* in the 14th Chapter of the fourth Book of his Hiſtory, and in Book 5. Chap. 20.

The illuſtrious Martyrdon of this Saint, which happened in the Year 167. after the Nativity of Jeſus Chriſt on the 23d Day of *February*, is deſcribed after a moſt elegant manner in the Excellent Epiſtle of the Church of *Smyrna* to thoſe of *Pontus*, produced in part by *Euſebius*, in the Fifteenth Chapter of the fourth Book of his Hiſtory, and publiſhed entirely firſt by Archbiſhop *Uſher*, and afterward by *Valeſius*. They there give an account that S. *Polycarp* did not voluntarily ſurrender himſelf to his Executioners, but that he waited after the Example of our Saviour, 'till he was deliver'd into their Hands; that many Chriſtians ſuffered before him with admirable Conſtancy, all the Torments imaginable; that there was only one *Quintus*, who had perſuaded the others to preſent themſelves before the Tribunal of the Judge, that was overcome in the great Tryal, *which ſhews* (as it is obſerved in the ſame Epiſtle) *that although we cannot but admire the Conſtancy of thoſe that have generouſly ſuffered, after they had preſented themſelves, yet their Conduct ought not to*

(*a*) S. *Polycarp*] *Halloixius ſays* that S. *Polycarp* was originally of *Smyrna*; that he was born in the Eaſt, and that he was a Slave in his Youth, that he was bought by a certain Lady named *Caliſtione*, who gave him his Liberty, and cauſed him to be inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion; that ſhe afterward made him her Steward, and at laſt her Heir. He enlarged on the liberal Donations of this Lady; he affirms that *Bucolas* Biſhop of *Smyrna* was at firſt Tutor to S. *Polycarp*, and afterwards S. *John*; he writes much in the commendation of this Fictitious *Bucolas*, and declares, that he ordained S. *Polycarp*, who is the Angel of *Smyrna*. Theſe Tales and many others are extracted from the falſe Acts of the Life of S. *Polycarp* forged under the name of *Pionius* from the *Menologium Græcorum* by the modern Greeks.

(*b*) *The Diſciple of S.* John *the Evangeliſt.*] S. *Irenæus* tells us, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 3. That he was conſtituted Biſhop of *Smyrna* by the Apoſtles; and this could be done by no other than S. *John*.

(*c*) *The head of the Churches of* Aſia.] S. *Jerome* ſays that he was *Princeps Eccleſiarum Aſiæ*, that is to ſay, that he was the moſt conſiderable Biſhop, and (as I may ſay) ſucceeded in the Authority of S. *John*.

(*d*) *About the year* 160.] He died in the ſeventh Year of the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius* in the Year 167. he had then ſerved Jeſus Chriſt 86 Years, as he declares himſelf in the Acts of his Martyrdom; Thus he might have begun to ſerve God in the Year 81. after the Nativity of our Saviour, and then he might be Ten Years old. He converſed with all the Apoſtles, if we may believe the Teſtimony of S. *Irenæus*. S. *John* died in the Year of our Lord 101, and in the ſecond of *Trajan*; he was baniſhed in the fourteenth of *Domitian*, *Anno Dom.* 95. and returned into *Aſia* after the Death of this Emperor. Theſe Obſervations may ſerve to fix the Chronology of the Life of S. *Polycarp*. He was born about the Year of our Lord 70. he began to conſecrate himſelf to the ſervice of God in the year 81. At that Time he converſed with the Apoſtles, and became the Diſciple of S. *John*; after the return of this Apoſtle he was ordained Biſhop of *Smyrna*, however it is not preciſely known in what year, but this muſt of neceſſity have happened before the Year 101, ſince S. *John* died that Year: He undertook his Journey to *Rome* in the beginning of the Pontificate of *Anicetus*, who preſided in the from that See Year 158 to the Year 169.

(*e*) *In his own Church*] All theſe Circumſtances are related by S. *Irenæus*. There are ſome who affirm, That the Expreſſion of S. *Irenæus* ſignifies only, that *Anicetus* adminiſtred the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to S. *Polycarp*, but he would not thereby have done him much Honour, it may be better underſtood according to our Explication.

be

be approved, since it is condemned in the Gospel. That S. *Polycarp* being informed of what had happened, determined to remain in the City; but being constrained to retire into a little House in the Country, he there continually prayed to God Night and Day for all the Churches, and for all Men; that three Days before he was apprehended, being fervent in Prayer, he saw a Vision, wherein he perceived that his Bedstead was all on Fire, which caused him immediately to foretel that he should ere long be burnt alive; that although he was removed from the Place of his Abode, yet he was seized by the Soldiers of the Provost-Marshal, led into the City, and brought before the Pro-Consul, who endeavoured to perswade him to swear by the *Genius* of *Cæsar*, and to curse Jesus Christ, whereupon *Polycarp* being encouraged by a Voice from Heaven, openly declares that he was a Christian; That the Pro-Consul having caused his Profession to be proclaimed with a loud Voice, all the People who were in the *Amphitheatre*, cryed out, That he should be burnt alive: That being tied to a Stake, he prayed to God, and concluded with Blessing the most Holy Trinity; that when the Fire was kindled it made a kind of a Circle round about the Body of this holy Martyr, who remained in the midst thereof without receiving the least Hurt; And lastly, that the Pagans perceiving that the Fire could not burn or consume him, sent an Officer to run him through with a Sword; and would not suffer the Christians to carry off his Body, which continued whole and intire, lest (as these deluded Heathens affirm'd) they should adore it in stead of Jesus Christ. *Fools as they were* (these are the Words of the Epistle of the Church of *Smyrna*) *they did not know that the Christians worship none but* Jesus Christ *because he is the Son of God, and only honour the Martyrs who are his Disciples and Followers, because of the Love which they testifie to have for their King and Master. The Centurion having caused the Body of this Martyr to be burnt, the Christians carried away his Bones being more valuable than the most precious Stones, and more pure than Gold, which they buried in a place where they assembled together, to celebrate with joy and chearfulness the Day of his Martyrdom, thus honouring the Memory of those that have fought gloriously for the defence of their Religion, and to confirm and instruct others by such Examples.* These were the Notions of the Primitive Church concerning the Respect due to Martyrs and their Relicks, explained after a clear and exact manner, which are as far removed from the Aspersions that are cast on them by the Protestants of our Time, as from the Superstition of some *Roman Catholicks.*

S. *Irenæus* assures us, in his Letter to *Florinus*, that S. *Polycarp* wrote several Epistles to the neighbouring Churches to confirm them in the Christian Faith, and others to some of his Brethren to encourage and exhort them to persevere in the Truth. We have at present but one single Epistle written by him to the *Philippians*, and particularly cited by S. *Irenæus*, *Eusebius*, S. *Jerom* and *Photius*, (*f*) who have all commended and approved it as really belonging to this Primitive Bishop. And it cannot be doubted that it is the same with that which was extant in the time of these ancient Writers; wherefore I shall make no difficulty to affirm, That it would be great Rashness to reject it, as M. *Blondel* and M. *Daille* have done; for by whom have these Modern Authors been informed that this Letter was not composed by S. *Polycarp?* What Reasons can they alledge? Do they know S. *Polycarp*'s style better than S. *Irenæus* his Disciple? Have they a greater insight into this matter than *Eusebius*, S. *Jerom*, or *Photius?* Besides, if the Arguments produced by them had any Weight, one might set them in the Balance with the Authority of these ancient Writers, but they are so weak that they scarcely deserve to be mentioned. This Epistle (says M. *Daille*) is disallowed by *Nicephorus* in his *Stichometria:* This is indeed an Authority of great Moment fit to be set against the Testimony of *Eusebius*, S. *Jerom* and *Photius!* It is not certainly known by whom this *Stichometria* was composed, and altho' we should allow that it was written by *Nicephorus*, yet he is a late Author, and of very little Authority in comparison of those that we have now cited. After all, he doth not reject the Epistle of S. *Polycarp*, but only a certain Work that was attributed to him, and the Book of the Doctrin of S. *Polycarp* (as we have elsewhere observed) ought to be thereby understood, after the same manner as the Book of the Doctrin of S. *Ignatius*, and the Book of the Doctrin of S. *Clement*. Otherwise we must likewise disallow the Epistle of S. *Clement* to the *Corinthians*, whose Name is found among the Apocryphal Writings immediately before that of S. *Polycarp*. It is certain also, that there was extant a Book, entituled, The Doctrin of S. *Polycarp*, as well as one called, The Doctrin of S. *Clement*, since it is cited by *Maximus*, *Bede*, *Ado*, *Usuardus*, *Metaphrastes*, *Pachymeres*, *Honorius* and *Nicephorus Callistus.*

S. *Polycarp* S. *Polycarp*.

[*There is nothing in this Declaration of the Church of* Smyrna *which the Protestants ever disallowed: They are far from thinking that those are not worthy of extraordinary Honours here below, who are so peculiarly graced by God himself. But yet if they are jealous of the Honour which is only due to* Jesus Christ, *and afraid of doing any thing which may derogate from it, they think this to be a thing which needs no excuse; since we have a positive command for the one, whereas the other is wholly discretionary: And we can never Err in assigning the Bonds of that Respect which is due to Saints and Martyrs, if we consider that their great Honour arises from their inviolable fidelity to our common Master; and that the chiefest reason why the Church at first commanded the anniversaries of Saints and Martyrs to be observed with so much splendor, was to encourage the rest of the Faithful to imitate them as they imitated* Jesus Christ.]

(*f*) *By* S. Irenæus, Eusebius, *S.* Jerom *and* Photius] S. *Irenæus* in *lib.* 3. *contr. Hæres.* says thus, *There is extant an Epistle of* Polycarp *to the Christians of* Philippi, *which is extremely accurate, and very proper to shew the Character of the Faith, and the Doctrin of the Truth, to those that take any Care of their Salvation. Eusebius* adds, in *lib.* 4. *cap.* 14. That S. *Polycarp*, in this Epistle, makes use of some Testimonies taken from the First Epistle of S. *Peter*; These References are found in that which we now have under his Name. S. *Jerom* affirms, that this Epistle was read in the Assembly of the Faithful of *Asia*. See *Photius*, *Cod.* 126.

M. *Daille*

S. *Polycarp.*

M. *Daille* perceiving the weakness of his Objection against the Epistle of S. *Polycarp*, is obliged to assert, that tho' the first Part is genuine, yet the second, wherein he mentions those of S. *Ignatius*, is supposititious: And to prove this he shews, that the Epistle was concluded with the Invocation of Jesus Christ, and that which follows ought to be esteemed as an addition made afterwards, being of no Authority. But M. *Daille* cannot maintain this *Hypothesis* without rejecting the Testimony of *Eusebius* and *Photius*, who cite this second Part, and more especially that which relates to the Letters of S. *Ignatius*; neither doth it signifie any thing to urge that the Epistle was concluded before, because it is evident, that the Invocation of Jesus Christ is frequently inserted in the middle of an Epistle, which is nevertheless continued after this sort of Conclusion; this is very often to be found in S. *Paul's* Epistles, particularly in the fifteenth Chapter of his Epistle to the *Romans*. The only Objection alledged by M. *Daille* that hath any manner of Probability is this; it is manifest (says he) that the Author who wrote that part wherein S. *Ignatius* is mentioned, supposeth him to be yet living, since he requires the *Philippians* to inform him concerning the transactions of S. *Ignatius*, and of those that were with him; *De ipso* Ignatio *& de iis qui cum eo sunt* (g) *quod certius agnoveritis significate.* But if we observe these Words, it will appear, that they might as well be written after the Death of S. *Ignatius* as when he was alive, and that S. *Polycarp* only desired an account of the particular Circumstances of the Life and Martyrdom of that eminent Bishop, which were not unknown to the Christians of *Philippi*, through which City he had passed in his Journey to *Rome*.

This Epistle being full of admirable Counsels, Precepts and Exhortations taken from the Holy Scriptures, is written with a great deal of Elegancy and Simplicity, as *Photius* has observed already. It was Printed in *Latin* together with the Epistles of S. *Clement* and S. *Ignatius* in the years 1498, 1502, 1520, 1536, and 1550. at *Basil* in 1579. at *Colen* in 1530. at *Paris* in 1569. with the Works of S. *Irenæus*, at *Ingolstadt* in 1546, at *Paris* in 1562, and at several other times: It is likewise inserted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* set forth by *La Bigne*. Besides, it was Printed at *Colen* in 1557. of the Translation of *Perionius*, with the Works of *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, and in 1585, with them and the Epistles of S. *Ignatius*. *Halloixius* first published part thereof in *Greek* from a Manuscript which *Sirmondus* had transcribed from a Copy written by *Turrianus*. *Usher* hath printed it in *Greek* and *Latin* afterwards with the Epistles of S. *Ignatius* in the year 1644. *Cotelerius* put it into his Collection of the ancient Records of the Fathers. *Moderus* hath likewise procured it to be reprinted at *Helmstadt*; and lastly it was Printed in *Holland* in 1687. with a Dissertation concerning the Life and Writings of S. *Polycarp*, in a Collection of Treatises, entituled, *Varia Sacra*, set forth by M. *Le Moine*.

There are several other Works attributed to this ancient Bishop, as an Epistle to S. *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, quoted by *Suidas*, and a Treatise concerning the Union of S. *John*, which is pretended to be kept in the Abby of *Fleury*; some Passages or Notes on the Gospels are likewise produced for his, which are taken from the *Catena* of *Feuardentius* under the Name of *Victor Capuensis*. But it is very probable that these Tracts are fictitious. S. *Jerome* in his 28th Epistle to *Bæticus* declares, that it was commonly reported in his Time, that the Authentick Works of *Josephus*, *Polycarp* and *Papias*, were brought to him, but that it was a false Rumor.

(g) *Qui cum eo sunt*] It is expressed in the *Greek*, Τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ, that is to say, they that had been with him, and who followed him when he passed through *Philippi*.

P A P I A S.

Papias.

Papias, Bishop of *Hierapolis* (a) a City of *Asia*, was a Disciple either of S. *John* the Evangelist (b), or of some other Person who bore the same Name: He wrote five Books, entituled, *The Explications of our Lords Discourses*, which were extant even in the Time of *Trithemius*; but at present we have only some few Fragments in the Writings of the ancient and modern

(a) *Hierapolis.*] There are several Cities of that Name, but this lies betwen *Phrygia* and *Lydia* near *Laodicea*, being famous for Springs of hot Water.

(b) *A Disciple of S.* John *the Evangelist*] S. *Irenæus*, lib. 5. cap. 33. *Hæc Papias Joannis auditor Polycarpi contubernalis.* S. *Jerom*, Ep. 29. ad Theodorum: *Refert Irenæus vir Apostolicorum temporum & Papiæ auditoris Evangelistæ Joannis Discipulus.* In the Martyrologies of *Beda*, *Usuardus*, and *Ado*, as also in the *Roman*, in the Works of *Trithemius* and *Andreas Cæsariensis*, in *Anastas. Sinait.* lib. 7. in *Hexamer. Oecumen.* in *Act. cap.* 2. he is called, *The Disciple of S.* John *the Evangelist.* *Eusebius* on the contrary reciting a Passage of *Papias* in *Hist. lib.* 3. *cap. ult.* wherein he speaks of two *Johns*, observes that the Master of *Papias* was not *John* the Evangelist, but the other *John* called the Elder. His Reason, or rather Conjecture, is, That this Author in the beginning of his Books doth not assure us, That he was the Disciple of the Apostles, or that he had learn'd any thing from them, but only that he had received that which he declares from those that were familiar with the Apostles, and who knew them. However, in the Passage alledged by *Eusebius* to prove his Assertion, *Papias* only affirms, That he interrogated the ancient Men who had seen the Apostles, demanding of them, What says *Andrew*? What says *Philip*? What says S. *John*? What says *John* the Elder? Therefore if it may be inferred from thence, that he was not the Disciple of S. *John* the Evangelist, because he informs us, that he enquired of those who had seen him what were the Opinions of this Apostle; it may as well be inferred that he was not the Disciple of *John* the Elder. However, the Words of *Papias* may be inter-

Authors

Authors. He was the first that promoted the famous Opinion, or rather Dotage of Antiquity (*c*), concerning the Temporal Reign of Jesus Christ, which they fansied should happen on Earth a thousand Years before the Day of Judgment, when the Elect should be gathered together after the Resurrection in the City of *Jerusalem*, and should enjoy there all the Delights imaginable during these thousand Years. *Papias.*

S. *Irenæus* produceth a Fragment taken from the fourth Book of *Papias*, wherein he endeavours to prove this Opinion by a Passage of the Prophet *Isaiah*: And *Eusebius* having cited a Paragraph of his Preface to these Books, in which he shews the great Care that he took to be informed of the Doctrin of the Apostles, by interrogating their Disciples, adds; *That this Author hath set down many things, which he pretended to have learnt by an unwritten Tradition, of which sort there are several new Parables and Instructions of our Saviour* Jesus Christ, *that are not contained in the Gospels, together with other fabulous Histories, among which we may reckon the Reign of* Jesus Christ *on Earth during the space of a thousand Years after the Resurrection of the Body; that which led him into this Error* (continueth *Eusebius*) *is that he understood the Discourses and Instructions of the Apostles too literally, not understanding that a mystical Sense ought to be given to this sort of Expressions, and that the Apostles only made use of them as illustrations; for he was a Man of a very mean Capacity, as appears from his Books, who nevertheless gave occasion to many of the ancient Fathers, and among others to* Irenæus, *to follow this Error, which they maintained by the Authority of* Papias. *Eusebius* in the same Place relates two Miracles, the account whereof *Papias* declares that he had received from the Daughter of *Philip* the Deacon, who resided at *Hierapolis*; That a dead Man was raised at that Time, and that *Barsabas* sirnamed *Justus*, Elected to be an Apostle, together with S. *Matthias*, having swallowed deadly Poison, was not hurt by it: Moreover he assures us, That *Papias* had collected in his Books divers Explications on some Words of Jesus Christ composed by *Aristion* a Disciple of the Apostles, and the Traditions likewise of the venerable Elder S. *John*; but omitting these things, he is content only to recite a Passage wherein this ancient Writer affirms, That S. *Mark* compiled his Gospel from what he had heard S. *Peter* tell of the Actions and Discourses of Jesus Christ, and this is the reason that he hath not observ'd an Historical Method; That S. *Matthew* wrote his Gospel in *Hebrew*, and that it was afterward Translated into *Greek*. Lastly, *Eusebius* affirms, that he cited the first Epistles of S. *Peter* and of S. *John*, and that he explained the History of a Woman that was accused before our Saviour of several Crimes, which was found in the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*. Thus we have given an account of all that is recorded by *Eusebius* concerning *Papias*. *Andreas Cæsarienſis* and *Oecumenius* have likewise produced some Passages (*d*) of his Works in their Commentaries on the Holy Scripture, but it is not certain whether they were *Papias*'s or no.

The Judgment that ought to be given concerning him, is that which hath been already given by *Eusebius*, that is to say; That he was a good Man, but very credulous, and of very mean Parts, who delighted much in hearing and telling Stories and Miracles. And since he was exceedingly inquisitive, and inclined to believe every thing that was told him, it is not to be admired that he hath divulged divers Errors and extravagant Notions, as the Judgments of the Apostles, and hath given us fabulous Narratives for real Histories, which shews, that nothing is so dangerous in Matters of Religion, as lightly to believe, and too greedily to embrace, all that hath the Appearance of Piety, without considering in the first place how true it is (*e*).

preted after such a manner, as to signifie nothing else, but that he was careful whensoever he happened to meet with any one that had familiarly conversed with the Apostles, to desire of them a particular account of their Doctrin or Judgment; Which makes me believe, that he was the Disciple of the Evangelist, and this is confirmed by the Authority of S. *Irenæus*, who certainly means S *John* the Evangelist; for S. *Polycarp* was his Disciple, and he asserts that *Papias* was the Companion of *Polycarp*, *Polycarpi contubernalis*.

(*c*) *The famous Opinion, or rather Dotage of Antiquity.*] This was the Opinion of S. *Justin*, *Athenagoras*, S. *Irenæus*, S. *Clement*, *Tertullian*, *Lactantius*, and many other ancient Writers.

(*d*) Andræas Cæsarienſis *and* Oecumenius *have likewise produced some Passages.*] *Andræas Cæsarienſis*, in *Serm.* 12. in *Apocalyps.* cites a Passage of *Papias* wherein he says, that the disposing of sublunary Things was committed to the Care of the Angels that are round the Earth, but that they did not perform their Duty as they ought to do; *Oecumenius* upon the *Acts* observes, That *Papias* believed that *Judas* did not end his Life by hanging, but that he was run over with a Chariot, which is the Opinion of *Theophylact*, *Euthymius* and *Oecumenius*.

(*e*) *Without considering in the first place how true it is.*] This is conformable to an excellent Passage of S. *Augustin*: *Non sit Religio nostra in Phantasmatibus nostris; melius est enim qualecunque verum quam omne quicquid pro arbitrio fingi potest, melior est vera stipula, quam lex inani cogitatione pro suspicantis voluntate formata*: *De ver. Rel. c.* 55.

QUADRATUS *and* ARISTIDES.

Quadratus and Ariſtides.

THeſe two Defenders of the Faith preſented Apologies for Chriſtians to the Emperor *Adrian*: The firſt was a Diſciple of the Apoſtles (*a*), and it is ſaid, that he had the Gift of Prophecy (*b*). *Euſebius* aſſures us, That the Apology of this Author was extant in his Time, and that it ſhewed the Genius of this Man, and the true Doctrin of the Apoſtles. But we have only a ſmall Fragment produced by *Euſebius* in the fourth Book of his Hiſtory, *chap.* 3. wherein the Author declares, That none could doubt of the Truth of the Miracles of *Jeſus Chriſt*, becauſe the Perſons that were healed or raiſed from the Dead by him, had been ſeen, not only when he wrote his Miracles, or whilſt he was upon Earth, but even a very great while after his Death: *So that there are many* (ſays he) *who were yet living in our Time* (*c*).

We have alſo loſt the Apology of *Ariſtides*, which was preſerved till S. *Jerom*'s Time. *This* Ariſtides *was a very Eloquent* Athenian *Philoſopher*, (ſays the ſame S. *Jerom*) *who when he changed his Religion, did not alter his Profeſſion, and preſented unto the Emperor* Adrian, *at the ſame Time as* Quadratus, *a Volume in form of an Apology, wherein he produced the Proofs of our Religion, and being ſtill extant, ſhews the Learned how excellent a Writer this Author was.* The ſame S. *Jerom* obſerves in another Place, that this Work was full of Philoſophical Notions, and that it was afterward imitated by S. *Juſtin.*

(*a*) *A Diſciple of the Apoſtles.*] *Hieron. Ep.* 84. *ad Magnum.* This appears from the Fragment that is ſet down afterward. We muſt not confound this *Quadratus* with another of this Name who was Biſhop of *Athens*, and the Succeſſor of *Publius* mentioned by *Euſebius*, *Lib.* 4. *cap.* 23. S. *Jerom* makes no diſtinction between them in his Catalogue, nor in his Epiſtle to *Magnus*; and they are likewiſe confounded in the *Menologium Græcorum*: But *Valeſius* clearly proves that they are different; for the firſt was not a Biſhop, as appears from the Teſtimony of *Euſebius*, *Lib.* 3. *c.* 37. and *Lib.* 4. *c.* 3. Beſides, the former *Quadratus* was a Diſciple of the Apoſtles, and lived in the time of the Emperor *Adrian*, whereas the other never ſaw the Apoſtles, as being Contemporary with *Dionyſius Corinthius* under the Reign of *Antoninus*. And it cannot be doubted, but that it was the Elder who preſented the Apology to *Adrian*.

(*b*) *It is ſaid, that he had the Gift of Prophecy*] *Euſebius*, *Lib.* 3. *cap.* 37. aſſures us, That he was endued with the Gift of Prophecy, as were the Daughters of *Philip* the Deacon; and *Miltiades* in *Euſeb. Lib.* 5. *cap.* 17. reckons him in the Number of the Prophets of the New Teſtament.

(*c*) *In our Time.*] *Euſebius Theſſalonicenſis* cites this Author againſt *Andreas Cretenſis*, *apud Phot. Cod.* 335. *Bede*, who hath confounded him with the Biſhop of *Athens*, declares, that he determined that there was no Meat from which a Chriſtian ought to abſtain, which is likewiſe Recorded in the *Menologium Græcorum* upon the 21*ſt* day of *September*.

AGRIPPA.

Agrippa.

AT the ſame Time, and under the Reign of the ſame Emperor, lived *Agrippa*, Sirnamed *Caſtor*, a Learned Man, who wrote a very convincing Book againſt the Hereſie of *Baſilides*, in which he confuted the Errors of this Heretick, after he had diſcovered them, and detected all his Devices and Frauds. He obſerves, (ſays *Euſebius*) that *Baſilides*, had written twenty four Books on the Goſpels, and that he forged ſeveral Prophets that never were in the World, to whom he attributed extraordinary Names, ſuch as *Barſabas* and *Barcoph*, on purpoſe to amuſe the Minds of his Auditors. He affirmed alſo, That this Heretick taught his Followers, That it was a thing indifferent to eat Sacrifices that were offered unto Idols; That it was lawful to renounce the Faith in the Time of Perſecution; and that, in imitation of *Pythagoras*, he impoſed Silence on his Diſciples for the ſpace of five Years. We have no further Knowledge of this Author, ſince his Book is loſt, and I know not whether we have any conſiderable Fragment of it left.

HEGESIPPUS.

Hegeſippus.

HE*geſippus* appeared in the World a little after the Death of the Apoſtles, about the beginning of the Second Age of the Church (*a*). He left the *Jewiſh* Religion, in which he was born (*b*), to Embrace that of the Chriſtians; he took a Journey to *Rome* under the Pontificate of Pope *Anicetus*,

(*a*) About the beginning of the Second Age of the Church.] *Euſeb.* Lib. 2. cap. 23. Ὁ Ἡγήσιππος ὅτι δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς πρὸς ἀποστόλων ἱκανῶς διαδοχῆς. S. *Hieron.* Hegeſippus *vicinus Apoſtolicorum temporum omnes a Paſſione Domini uſque ad ſuam ætatem Eccleſiaſticorum Actuum texens Hiſtorias, multaque alia ad utilitatem legentium pertinentia hinc inde congregans, quinque libros ſcripſit Sermone ſimpliciori, ut quorum vitam ſectabatur, dicendi quoque exprimeret caracterem.*

(*b*) He left the *Jewiſh* Religion, in which he was born.] *Euſeb.* Lib. 4. c. 22. *Nonnulla item in Hebræorum Evangelio, & ex Hebraica Lingua profert in medium, ſuis per hæc aperte ſignificans ſe ex Hebræis ad Chriſti fidem tranſiſſe.*

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and remained there until that of *Eleutherus* (*c*), that is to say, from the Year 165, until the Year 180, or thereabouts; he is the first Author that hath Composed an entire Body of the Ecclesiastical History, which he divided into five Books (*d*), wherein he relates the principal Occurrences which happened in the Church from *Jesus Christ*'s Passion to his own Time. This Book was written in a simple Style (*e*), because he resolved (says S. *Jerom*) to imitate the Phrases and Dialect of those, whose Lives he wrote. We have only some few Fragments left, which are inserted by *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiastical History. *Hegesippus.*

The first Fragment extracted from the Writings of *Hegesippus*, and produced by *Eusebius* in the second Book of his History, Chap. 23. contains a Relation of the Martyrdom of S. *James* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, but his way of telling it looks more like a fabulous Narrative than a true History (*f*).

The second Fragment of *Hegesippus* is likewise to be found in the History of *Eusebius*, Book 3. Chap. 20. He therein informs us, That the Emperor *Domitian* caused a strict Search to be made after the Posterity of *David*, who were the Children of S. *Jude* the Brother of our Lord, but that perceiving them to be extremely poor, and very far from being able to make any Attempt against the Empire, he soon dismissed them without any Molestation (*g*).

The third is also found in the same Book, *Ch.* 32. where he gives an account of the Martyrdom of *Simeon* the Son of *Cleophas* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who was crucified under the Reign of *Trajan*, and adds, That hitherto the Church had remained a Virgin (*h*), but that after the Death of those that had heard and seen *Jesus Christ* in the Flesh, the first *Heresiarchs* began openly to divulge their detestable Errors.

The fourth Fragment concerning *Antinous*, whom *Adrian* caused to be registred among the Gods is cited, *Book* 4. *Chap.* 8. only to shew that *Hegesippus* lived after the Time of that Emperor.

The fifth is in *Book* 4. *Chap.* 22. where *Hegesippus* speaks of his Journey to *Rome* in passing through *Corinth*, where he saw *Primus* the Bishop of that City; he describes the Election of *Simeon* in the room of S. *James*, and makes mention of a certain Person named *Thebutis*, whom he affirms to have been the first that rent the Church by his Errors, being incensed because he was not made a Bishop; he observes, that this *Thebutis* had collected his Doctrins from the seven Sects that were among the *Jews*, as well as the other Hereticks.

Eusebius adds, That *Hegesippus* produced divers Passages out of the *Hebrew* and *Syriack* Gospels, and that he speaks of several Traditions of the *Jews*; it is likewise observed by him, That he cites the Proverbs of *Solomon*, as well as S. *Irenæus*, under the Name of *The Book of Wisdom*, and that he mentions certain Apocryphal Writings composed by the Hereticks of his Time. This is all that is extant of the Five Books of the History of *Hegesippus*, the Order of which is also unknown to us; but, as far as we can judge by the remaining Fragments of this Work, it was not very exact, and was rather filled with feigned and fabulous Relations, than with solid and real Histories.

We have besides, under the Name of *Hegesippus* an History of the Wars of the *Jews*, and of the taking of the City of *Jerusalem*, divided into five Books, which hath been often published, and particularly at *Colen* with the Notes of *Galterius*, in the Year 1559. It was likewise printed in a Collection of the Works of the Fathers, set forth by *Laurentius de la Barre*, *A.D.* 1583. as also in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* of *La Bigne*, *&c.* But it is certain that this Work does not belong to *Hegesippus*, it being evident that it was written by an Author who lived after the Reign of *Constantine* the Great. For first, the History of *Hegesippus* was merely Ecclesiastical, whereas this is an History of the *Jews* copied out in Part from *Josephus*. Secondly, We do not find therein any of the Pas-

(*c*) *And remained there until that of* Eleutherus.] So S. *Jerom* says; but *Hegesippus* only declares, That he came to *Rome*, and resided there during the Pontificate of *Anicetus*, whose Deacon *Eleutherus* was at that time; that *Soter* succeeded *Anicetus*, and *Eleutherus Soter*. This shews, that he lived in the Time of the *Antonines*, and wrote his History at least under the Pontificate of *Eleutherus*. In the Chronicle of *Alexandria* it is observed, that he died under the Reign of the Emperor *Commodus*.

(*d*) *Which he divided into five Books.*] According to the Testimony of *Eusebius* and S. *Jerom*; this Work was entituled, Ὑπομνήματα τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς πραγματείας, *Apud Euseb. & Gobarum apud Phot. c.* 232.

(*e*) *This Work was written in a simple Style.*] This *Eusebius*, *Lib.* 4. *c.* 8. and S. *Jerom de Script. Eccles.* both bear witness.

(*f*) *But his way of telling it, looks more like a fabulous Narrative than a true History.*] *Scaliger* proves by many Arguments that this Relation is fabulous, some whereof are not very solid, but others are so convincing, that the Answers of *Halloixius* and *Petavius* are not sufficient to give Satisfaction to any Man of a sound Judgment; for to omit the particular Circumstances of the Life of S. *James* recited by *Hegesippus*, which cannot be true; as that he alone was permitted to enter into the Sanctuary, because he was not cloathed in Woollen but in Linnen, and other Things of the like nature; the account of his Martyrdom being contrary to that of *Josephus*, the verity of whose History was never suspected by any, furnishes us with Arguments against which it is almost impossible to dispute. See *Valesius* his Notes on *Eusebius*.

(*g*) *He soon dismissed them without any molestation.*] This Narrative is likewise accused of Falshood by *Scaliger*, but his Arguments are not so considerable as those which he urges against the former: The Answers of *Halloixius* and *Valesius* are indeed of some Weight; yet I can scarcely perswade my self of the Truth of this Relation.

(*h*) *Hitherto the Church had remained a Virgin.*] Not but that the Church always remains in this state. Therefore the meaning of *Hegesippus* is this; That until that time she was not torn in pieces by Heresies and Schisms, and that all those who were called by the Name of *Christians*, had one and the same Faith, whereas afterward the Arch-Hereticks divided the Professors of Christianity, rent the Church, and propagated their pernicious Errors. It were a manifest Abuse of this Passage to interpret it otherwise.

Hegeſippus. ſages of the true *Hegeſippus* that are produced by *Euſebius*. Thirdly it is Recorded by this Author, in *Book* 3. *C.* 5. that the City of *Antioch*, which was reckoned as the third in Order and Dignity among thoſe of the *Roman* Empire, became the ſecond ever ſince the City of *Byzantium* was called by the Name of *Conſtantinople*. It is plain therefore, that the Author of this Book lived after *Conſtantine*. Some with *Gronovius* attribute it to S. *Ambroſe*, by reaſon of the Conformity of its Style to that of the Writings of this Father; others, as *Labbee*, are of Opinion, that it is a *Greek* Verſion; and laſtly, others, as *Voſſius* and *Miræus*, affirm, That this Book was Compiled ſince the Time of *Nicephorus Phocas*, that is to ſay, after the tenth Century, becauſe the Author diſcourſing concerning the City of *Antioch*, declares, that it formerly belonged to the *Perſians*, and that at preſent it was a Bulwark againſt them, which may be underſtood of the taking of this City by the Emperor *Phocas*. However it be, this Author is only a Tranſcriber, or an Interpreter of *Joſephus*, who hath made a kind of an imperfect Epitome of his Hiſtory. The *Latin* Interpreter, who hath Tranſlated it from *Joſephus*, gave it the Title of *Joſeppi* or *Joſippi*, and the Tranſcribers not underſtanding this Word, have ſubſtituted *Igiſippi* or *Egeſippi* in its Room, as it appears from ſome ancient Manuſcripts.

Father *Mabillon* obſerves in his Voyage into *Italy*, that he found in the *Ambroſian* Library at *Milan* an ancient Manuſcript of this Book, wherein it is ſaid, that it was Tranſlated by S. *Ambroſe*, in the Titles whereof it is ſometimes written *Joſippi*; he ſaw another likewiſe at *Turin* that appear'd to be about 700 years old, and that was entituled *Egeſippi*. If theſe Manuſcripts are as ancient as *Mabillon* would have them to be, this Book muſt of neceſſity be of greater Antiquity than *Voſſius* and *Miræus* have imagined. It was Printed by it ſelf at *Paris* in the Years 1511, 1589, 1610; and afterwards inſerted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

S. JUSTIN.

S. Juſtin. S. *Juſtin* was a Native of the City of *Sichem*, otherwiſe called *Naples* of *Paleſtine* (*a*), which even at this Day bears the Name of *Napolous*; his Father was called *Priſcus Bacchius*; he was a *Græcian* by Birth and Religion (*b*), but having in vain ſought for the Knowledge of the true God among all the Sects of the *Pagan* Philoſophers, (tho' he chiefly adhered to the *Platonick*) was converted to the Chriſtian Faith in a private Conference that happened between him and a certain ancient Man unknown to him, as himſelf tells the Story in his Dialogue with *Tryphon*; however being turned Chriſtian he did not lay aſide his Habit nor his Profeſſion, but added to his Skill in the Heathen Philoſophy, a profound Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. He was at *Rome* when the Perſecution, that was raiſed under the Reign of *Antoninus Pius* the Succeſſor of *Adrian*, began to break forth, where he compoſed an excellent Apology in behalf of the Chriſtians, and Dedicated it to the Emperor, and to the *Cæſars* his Sons (*c*), about the Year 150 after the Nativity of *Jeſus Chriſt* (*d*).

(*a*) *Of the City of* Sichem, *otherwiſe called* Naples *of* Paleſtine.] In *Dialog.* 2. *a p.* 212. *ad p.* 223. *Juſt. Apol.* 2. *p.* 53. Ἰουστῖνος Πρίσκου τοῦ Βακχείου τοῦ ἀπὸ Φλαυίας νέας πόλεως τῆς Συρίας, Juſtin *the Son of* Priſcus Bacchius *of* Flavia, *The new City, or* Naples *of* Syria. This was one of the principal Cities of the *Samaritans*, and it hath had four Names. The firſt and moſt ancient is that of *Sichem*; thus it is uſually called in the Holy Scripture, and in the Works of *Joſephus*. The Second is *Maboboriha*, or *Mamortha*, in *Joſeph.* Lib. 5. *de bello Judaico*, c. 4. and in *Plin.* Lib. 5. *Nat. Hiſt.* c. 13. The Third is *Naples*, and the Fourth is *Flavia*, which Name it has had ever ſince one of the Emperors (it is not certainly known, whether it were *Veſpaſian* or *Domitian*) cauſed a Colony of the Greeks to be Tranſported thither. Moreover this Name is to be found, not only in the Paſſage of S. *Juſtin*, that we have even now cited, but alſo in ancient Medals and particularly in one of *Domitian*'s Φ ΒΙ ΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΣΑΜΑΡΕΙΤΩΝ.

(*b*) *He was a Greek by Birth and Religion.*] S. *Epiphanius* ſeems to believe, that S. *Juſtin* was of the Extraction and Religion of the *Samaritans*, when he ſays, that he paſſed from the *Samaritan* to the Chriſtian Religion, ἀπὸ Σαμαρειτῶν εἰς Χριστὸν μεταγενέσθαι. But when S. *Juſtin* himſelf mentions his Converſion, he declares, that he had been Educated in the Greek Religion, and that having diſcovered the Falſhood thereof he readily embrac'd the Chriſtian. It is true indeed that he calls the *Samaritans* in his Dialogue, and in his firſt Apology, *his Stock, his Nation*, and the like: But it was becauſe he was born among them, in a City the Original whereof was *Samaritan*, as S. *Paul* is ſaid to be a Citizen of *Rome*, and of the City of *Tarſus*, tho' he was a Jew, and of the Tribe of *Benjamin*; and perhaps *Epiphanius* meant nothing elſe in this Place.

(*c*) *To the Emperor, and to the* Cæſars *his Sons.*] The Inſcription of this Apology is, *To the Emperor* Ælius Hadrianus, Antoninus Pius, Auguſtus Cæſar, *and to his Son* Veriſſimus, *and to* Lucius *the Philoſopher, the natural Son of* Cæſar, *and the adoptive of* Antoninus Pius. To underſtand this Inſcription it is requiſite to know, that the Emperor *Antoninus Pius*, the Adoptive Son of *Adrian*, adopted *Marcus Antoninus* the Philoſopher; and *Lucius Verus*, the Son of *Ælius Verus*, whom ſome affirm to have been adopted by *Marcus* the Philoſopher; therefore the firſt, who is named in this Inſcription, is the Emperor *Antoninus Pius*; the Second called *Veriſſimus*, is *Marcus Antoninus* the Philoſopher, the adoptive Son of *Antoninus*; the Third is *Lucius Verus*, the Son of *Ælius Verus*, who had been *Cæſar*, and was the adoptive Son of *Antoninus Pius*; he affects to call them Philoſophers, and Pious, that ſo he might inſinuate himſelf into their Favor, and that he might oblige them patiently to hearken to the Reaſons of the Chriſtians.

[This Reaſon is by no means true: S. *Juſtin* deſigned only to give theſe Emperors thoſe Titles, by which they themſelves deſired to be called: This Family of the *Antonines* from *Adrian* to *Commodus* affected the Title of *Philoſophers*, as much as of *Fathers of their Country*, or any other Title by which the flattering *Romans* endeavoured to get the Favour of their Maſters whom they Courted.]

(*d*) *About the Year after the Nativity of Jeſus Chriſt.*] It could not be written before this Time, becauſe he mentions in two ſeveral places, the

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This Apology is commonly called the second, but is really the first, whereas the other, commonly so called, is actually the second (*e*), nay, (if we may give Credit to the Testimony of *Eusebius*) it was not Presented unto the Emperor and the Senate (*f*) until the Time of *Marcus Antoninus* the Philosopher and Successor of *Antoninus Pius*. The Subject of these two Apologies is almost the same. S. *Justin* in the former, to shew the Injustice of their Proceedings in Punishing and Persecuting the Christians, and that they were Innocent of the Crimes laid to their Charge, gives an exact account to the Emperor and his Sons, of their Doctrin, Manners, and Ceremonies, which Qualifications render this Apology one of the most considerable Records of Antiquity, and one of those wherein many things are contained relating to our Religion: We there find the Doctrin of the Church concerning the Trinity, the Incarnation of our Saviour, and Eternal Life, as also the Proofs of the Christian Faith, the Holiness of the Conversation of its Professors, together with a Description of their Assemblies, and the Ceremonies used by them in the Administration of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. S. *Justin.*

The second Apology, whereof some few Sentences are lost, doth not comprehend such variety of Matter, as being properly a Complaint or Remonstrance directed to the Emperor, the Senate, and all the People of *Rome*, concerning the Injuries that were unjustly offered to the Christians. In this last Apology he describes the Snares that were laid for him by a certain *Cynick* Philosopher named *Crescens*, whom he had convinced of Ignorance and Debauchery. *I expect* (says he) *that those that falsly call themselves Philosophers, should lie in wait for me, and should cause me to be bound with Chains; perhaps through the Instigation of this ignorant* Crescens, *who delights more in vain Glory than in the Truth.* This really happened just as he foretold; for not long after, *Tatian* (*g*) the Disciple of *Justin* observes, this *Crescens* caused him to be Condemned to Death in the Sixth Year of the Reign of *Marcus Antoninus* the Philosopher (*h*), in the Year 166. It is not certainly known what kind of Punishment was inflicted on him, unless we stand by the Accounts which are given us in the *Menelogium* (*i*) of the Greeks, or the Acts of his Martyrdom (*k*) related by *Metaphrastes*, which seem to be very ancient; wherein it is declared, that he was beheaded by the command of *Rusticus* the *Prefect* or Gover-

Followers of *Marcion*, who came not to *Rome*, till the Death of Pope *Hyginus* in the Fourth Year of *Antoninus*, and did not begin to propagate his Heresie, until about the end of the Reign of the same Emperor. S. *Justin* himself says, that it was 150 Years after the Birth of Christ, when he wrote it, *Dici a nobis Christum ante centum quinquaginta annos natum sub Cyrenio.* It is observed by *Eusebius* in his History, That it was Composed under the Pontificate of *Anicetus*, wherefore S. *Jerom* is deceived when he asserts, that it was presented in the Fourth Year of *Antoninus*, and *Scaliger* is yet more mistaken, when he maintains that it was written in the beginning of his Reign; and the Argument alledged by him, that S. *Justin* mentions the War raised against the Jews under *Adrian*, as a thing that lately happened, ἀπ' νὺν γεγενημένον πόλεμον, is not considerable, since this might very well be affirmed of a War that was made ten or twelve Years before.

(*e*) *Is actually the second*] It is not to be doubted but that the Apology which is commonly called the first, is really the second, for besides the Authority of *Eusebius*, and *Anastasius* the Library Keeper, it is evident that it was written a little before the Martyrdom of S. *Justin*, since he therein describes the snares that were laid for him by the Philosopher *Crescens*. But there is only the Testimony of *Eusebius* to induce us to believe that it was Composed in the time of *Marcus Antoninus*. *Valesius* affirms, That *Eusebius* is mistaken in this Point; 1. because he affirms in this Apology, That a certain Woman that was desirous to live separately from her Husband, presented a Petition to the Emperor, σὺν τῷ ἀνδρὶ ῥήτει, and not to the Emperors which she ought to have done, if this had happened in the beginning of the Reign of *Marcus Antoninus*, who had *Lucius Verus* for his Associate in the Empire. 2. Because he there says, That a certain Person named *Lucius* reproved a Judge in these Words: *This is not worthy of a pious Emperor, nor of him who is the Son of a* Cæsar *and a Philosopher*; or, as it is expressed by *Eusebius*, *Of a Philosopher the Son of a* Cæsar, ὑ φρόνιμα εὐσεβῆ εὐ]σκεφότος, ἀλλ' φιλοσόφυ Καίσαρος παῖδ, *Eusebius*, ἀλλ' φιλοσόφφ. This Pious Emperor (says *Valesius*) is *Antoninus Pius*. And the Philosopher the Son of *Cæsar* can be no other than *Marcus Antoninus* surnamed the Philosopher. The third Objection is, that *Urbicus* who is mentioned in this Apology, as *Præfectus* or Governour of the City of *Rome*, exercised this Office under *Antoninus*, as appears from the third Oration of *Apuleius*, and from the Inscriptions of *Gruter*, *p.* 38. These are the Reasons or rather Conjectures of *Valesius*, which nevertheless seem not to deserve to be preferred before the Attestation of *Eusebius*, and in my Opinion they may be easily answered; for, 1. Mention is only made of one Emperor in this Apology, because *Lucius* was absent, and might be engaged in his Expedition against the *Persians*. 2. The Epithet of *Pious* might likewise be attributed to *Marcus Antoninus* the Philosopher, and his Son *Commodus* might well be called the Son of the Philosopher. Lastly, *Urbicus* might be Governour of *Rome* in the beginning of the Reign of *Marcus Antoninus* the Philosopher, as well as at the end of that of *Antoninus Pius*.

(*f*) *And the Senate.*] *Valesius* affirms, That it was directed to the Emperor alone, and not to the Senate; however it is not only addressed to the Senate, but the Author likewise in the sequel of his Discourse makes application to the *Romans* in the plural Number.

(*g*) *As is observed by* Tatian.] In *Lib. contr.* Gr. ὡς ἔ]ιγνον καθάπερ μεγάλω κακῶ τῷ θανάτῳ περιβαλεῖν πεφ]ματυσθαι. *He procured that* Justin *should be condemned to Death, as if to dye were the greatest of all Evils.*

(*h*) *In the sixth Year of the Reign of* Marcus Antoninus *the Philosopher.*] The Author of the *Alexandrian* Chronicle sets the Death of S. *Justin* down in this Year, and we have not any certainer Proof.

(*i*) *To the* Menologium.] *In Menolog. Kalend. Junii.*

(*k*) *Or to the Acts of his Martyrdom.*] These Acts are very plain, and contain the Replies of S. *Justin* and of six other Companions of his Martyrdom, which are very generous and pathetical; which makes me think that they are ancient.

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nour of the City of *Rome*, under whom *Epiphanius* (*l*) likewise affirms, That S. *Justin* suffer'd Mar-
S. *Justin.* tyrdom.

Besides these two Apologies, there are several other Books of this ancient Father, as, his excellent Dialogue against *Tryphon* the Jew, which was Composed by him after his first Apology, since he expressly assures us therein, That he had informed the Emperor, in a particular Writing, that some *Samaritans* were led away by the Impostures of *Simon Magus*; (*m*) which Passage is in his Apology, dedicated to the Emperor *Antoninus*, from whence it follows that it was written before this Dialogue. *Eusebius* says, That this Conference was holden at *Ephesus*, but whether S. *Justin* ever had any Discourse with *Tryphon*, or whether he only feign'd it, as *Plato*, *Cicero* and many others have done, this Book is very considerable. This Author proves against the Jews by an infinite number of Passages taken from the Old Testament, That Jesus Christ is the *Messiah* and the *Word*; who first appeared unto the Patriarchs, and afterward condescended so far as to be made Man, and to be born of the Virgin *Mary*, for our Salvation. Of all the Writings of this ancient Martyr, cited by *Eusebius*, these only that we have now mentioned remain entire; to which may be added, a Fragment of his Treatise of Monarchy, wherein (says *Eusebius*) he demonstrated the Unity of one God, not only by the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, but also by the Testimony of profane Authors. The first part of this Work is lost, but I am perswaded, that there is no reason to doubt, but that the Tract which is at present Entituled, *Of Monarchy*, is the Second Part thereof, and so much the rather, because it begins after this manner; (*n*) *Having already produced Divine Authority; I shall also make use of human Allegations*, from whence it evidently appears, That this Book which we now have, is the Second part of that mentioned by *Eusebius*.

We might likewise attribute to S. *Justin*, two Orations which are prefixed at the beginning of his Works, wherein he exhorts the Gentiles to embrace the Christian Religion, in shewing the absurdity and Novelty of that of the Pagans, and the Truth and Antiquity of ours. These two Discourses are undoubtedly ancient, and tho' they are not quoted by *Eusebius*, and the Style of them seems to be a little different from that of S. *Justin*, yet we may affirm them to have been written by him, without any Injury to his Reputation. The same Judgment may likewise be given of the Epistle to *Diognetus*, (*o*) which was also Composed by an ancient Author, who lived in a Time when the Christians were under Persecution: But the other Epistle written to *Zena* and *Serenus*, does not agree in the least with the Style of S. *Justin*, and contains many Precepts, which rather concern Monks than simple Christians (*p*).

As for the other Works that bear the Name of this Father; Besides that they are not cited by *Eusebius*, nor any of the ancient Writers, we have positive Proofs that they are counterfeit. The first of these is a Treatise purely Philosophical, the Compiler whereof produceth divers Passages of *Aristotle*'s *Physick*; which he confutes very dryly, and in a Style altogether different, not only from that of S. *Justin*, but even from that of the Age wherein he lived. At the End of this Tract there is another written, after the same manner, and probably Composed by the same Author, wherein are comprehended five Questions, which he calls Christian, tho they have a much greater Tincture of the subtilty of a Philosopher, than of the simplicity of a Christian. Besides, the Author of this Book resolves these Questions, after the Method of the Pagan Philosophers; and afterwards disallows of the first Answer, by accommodating Christianity to Philosophy; to this are annexed several Philosophical Axioms together with divers Questions and Answers concerning Incorporeal Things, and the Resurrection. All these Books are written in the same Style and by the same Author after the Heresie of the *Manichees* was sprung up, which is often mentioned therein; now since this Heresie was not known till above an Hundred Years after the Death of S. *Justin*, it must necessarily be affirmed that they were not written by him.

The Book of Answers to the Questions of the Orthodox, containing 146 that are very curious, is much more useful, and more worthy of a Divine than the preceeding; but neither can this belong to S. *Justin*, tho' it is ascribed to him by *Photius*; for besides that this sort of Questions and Answers were not usual in his time, in which no regard was had to matters of Curiosity, such as the most part of those that are comprised in this Work, *Origen* is cited in *Quest.* 82. and 88. S. *Irenæus* in the 115,

(*l*) *S. Epiphanius.*] It ought to be observed, That S. *Epiphanius* is deceived in referring the Martyrdom of S. *Justin* to the Reign of the Emperor *Adrian*; but he is not mistaken as to the Name of *Rusticus*, who lived in the Time of *Marcus Antoninus*, and was much esteemed by him.

(*m*) *Pag.* 342.

(*n*) *It begins after this manner.*] Page 103. Φιλοδοξέω τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ χρήμενος φιλανθρώπῳ χρήσεμαι τῇ φωνῇ.

(*o*) *The Epistle to* Diognetus.] This Letter is written very much after S. *Justin*'s way. There is mention made of a certain Person named *Diognetus* an able Painter in the Writings of the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, and in those of *Julius Capitolinus*.

(*p*) *Rather concern Monks than simple Christians.*] such are these following Instructions; That they ought not to give occasion to Discord; That they ought not to withdraw themselves from the Publick Prayers on the account of any Difference; That they ought not to seek after the chiefest and the most honourable Employments; That they ought to keep Silence and to preserve Modesty; That they ought not to discourse of the Affairs of the World, but that they ought to look upon them as out of their Way, and not to retain them in their Minds; and many other Admonitions of this Nature, which although exceeding useful, yet suit more with another Age different from that wherein S. *Justin* lived, and seem to have been given to Monks rather than ordinary Christians. The Author gives an account there of a Letter which he had written to a certain Pope, and to his Superiors, which further confirms our Conjecture.

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and the *Manichees* in the 127. The Author Discourseth there of the Mysteries of the Trinity, and of the Incarnation, in such Expressions, and with such Precautions as were not in use, until those Heresies were started in which these Truths were called in Question. We find the Words *Hypostasis*, *Person*, *Consubstantial*, in *Quest.* 16, 17, 139, 144. according to the Sense that was attributed to them by the Church, in the Fifth and Sixth Century. In *Quest.* 126, he says, That at the Time when this Book was written, Christianity was no longer under the Dominion of Paganism, which evidently shews that the Author of these Questions is much later than S. *Justin*, not to mention that there are some things in this Work, which are not conformable to the Doctrin of this Father; as for Example, in *Quest.* 52. He denies that the Witch of *Endor* caused the Soul of *Samuel* to return, which is asserted by S. *Justin*, in his Dialogue against *Tryphon*; in *Quest.* 112. he says, that it was a created Angel that communed with *Moses* and *Jacob*, which is expresly contrary to the Doctrin of this Father, and of the rest of the Writers of that Age, who believed it to be the Word himself. Some attribute these Questions to *Theodoret*, as well because they come near his way of writing, as because there are several Phrases used by the Writer, which are also frequently found in *Theodoret*. However it be, this Book was written by an Author, who lived about the Fifth or Sixth Age of the Church. Lastly, the Exposition of Faith, attributed to S. *Justin*, and cited by *Leontius*, and *Euthymius Zagabenus*, too plainly refutes the Errors of the *Arians*, *Nestorians* and *Eutychians* to be written near the Age, in which this Father lived.

S. *Justin.*

It were to be wished, that instead of these Books which are falsly ascribed to S. *Justin*, we had those that were really Composed by him, whereof the Titles only remain at present. He wrote as he himself declares (*q*), a Treatise against Heresies; and it is difficult to determine, whether the Book against *Marcion*, cited by S. *Irenæus* in two several Places, was part of that Tract; or whether it were a distinct Work, according to the Opinion of S. *Jerom*; however (*r*), there is nothing now extant, except two Passages quoted by S. *Irenæus*. We have also entirely lost two Books that were Composed by S. *Justin*, against the Gentiles, in the first of which, after having Discoursed of divers Questions that are usually debated, as well by the Christians, as among the Pagan Philosophers, he treated of the Nature of Demons; the other was Ἔλεγχος called and contained a Confutation of the Errors of the Heathens. It may perhaps be suspected by some, that those two Treatises are the Orations prefixed at the beginning of the Works of S. *Justin*, immediately before his two Apologies; but besides that they have different Titles, there is not any Description in either of the two, of the Nature of Demons. Moreover there was another Work called Ψάλτης, that is to say, the Psalmist, and a Book of Collections concerning the Soul, wherein he produced the Opinions of the Pagan Philosophers, promising to give his own in another Discourse on this Subject. These are all the Writings of S. *Justin* mentioned by *Eusebius*, S. *Jerom* and *Photius*; besides which (says *Eusebius*) *There are many other Works written by him, in the hands of the Christians*; Perhaps the Epistle to *Diognetus*, and the two Books against the Gentiles belong to this Number. *Anastasius Sinaita* and *Glycas*, cite a Commentary of this Father upon the *Hexameron*. *Methodius*, *Leontius* and S. *John Damascen*, quote a Book of his concerning the Resurrection of the Body, but it is very probable, that these Writings are none of his.

This Author (says the Learned *Photius*, speaking of S. *Justin*) *was perfectly skilled in the Christian Philosophy, and yet more in the Profane; he had acquired an universal Learning, and a perfect Knowledg of History; but he hath taken no care to adorn the Natural Beauty of Philosophy, with the Artificial Ornaments of Eloquence; Therefore his Discourses, tho' very Learned, have not the Elegancy and Grace of Eloquent Discourses.* This Character appears throughout all his Works, which are extreamly full of Citations, and of Passages taken from the Holy Scriptures and Profane Authors, with little Order, and without any Ornament. He had joyned to his exquisite Skill in the Pagan Philosophy, an admirable Knowledge of the Sacred and Prophetical Writings, as also of the Principles of the Christian Religion; that there is scarce any one of the ancient Fathers who ever Discoursed more accurately, than he hath done of all its Mysteries. It is true indeed, that as to the Doctrin of the Trinity (*r*),

(q) *As he himself declares.*] Apol. 2. Pag. 70. Ὑπὲρ δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ σύνταγμα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γενομένην αἱρέσεων ὅ εἰ βούλεσθε ἐντυχεῖν δώσομεν. *We have also Composed a Book against all the Heresies that have appeared, which we shall present unto you if you desire it.* S. *Irenæus* Lib. 4. Cap. 14. *Præclare Justinus in eo libro, quem scripsit contra Marcionem ait, quoniam ipse quoque Domino non credidisset alterum Deum annuncianti*; and Lib. 5. *Bene Justinus in suo libro ait, quoniam ante adventum Domini nunquam ausus est Satanas blasphemare Deum, quippe nondum sciens suam damnationem.*

(r) *As to the Doctrin of the Trinity.*] The most difficult Passage concerning the Trinity is that which we read in his Dialogue, *page* 356, and 357. wherein he declares, That the Father is invisible and the Son visible, and that the Majesty of the Father is greater than that of the Son. But if we reflect a little on this matter, it will appear, that S. *Justin* and the other Fathers who said the same thing, yet do not affirm that the Father is of a different Nature or Substance from the Son; but only, that it is the Son who manifested himself unto Men, or rather, that the Father hath not discovered himself unto Men but by his Son. Their Principle is this, That the Father performs no exterior Action but through his Word, which is his Son; that it was the Son who created the World, who revealed himself under several Figures to the Patriarchs and Prophets, and who at last was made Man. It is on this account that they assert, That the Son is visible and the Father invisible, because the Father is not visible but through the Son; but this doth not hinder them from being of the same Nature. We find the like Expressions in S. *Athanasius*, *Orat.* 4. *contra Arian.* who cannot be suspected of maintaining any Heterodox Opinions concerning the Divinity of the *Word*.

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S. *Justin.* he seems to differ from us in following the Platonick Maxims; but it will appear to those who shall thoroughly examine his Opinions, and those of the ancient Fathers, that in the main they agree with ours (*s*), and that they are only different in the manner of Expression. He asserts with many of the ancient Writers, That the Souls of Men after their Separation from the Body, shall wait for the Day of Judgment, to be either entirely happy or miserable (*t*); but at the same time he acknowledgeth, that during this Interval they shall receive Punishments or Rewards, according to their Deserts. Moreover he believes (according to the Opinion of the most part of the Primitive Christians) That the Just after the Resurrection shall remain for the space of a Thousand Years in the City of *Jerusalem* where they shall enjoy all lawful Pleasures (*u*). He seems to have thought that the Souls of the Wicked should at last become capable of dying (*x*); tho' in other Places (*y*) he affirms that their Torments shall be eternal. He has a peculiar Opinion concerning the Souls of the righteous; which he affirms to have been before the coming of Jesus Christ, under the Power of the Devil, who could cause them to appear whensoever he should think fit (*z*). He hath asserted, as S. *Irenæus* assures us, (*aa*) that the Devils were ignorant of their Damnation until the coming of our Saviour; nay, he goes further in his Apology to the Emperor, affirming that they are not as yet thrust down into Eternal Flames (*bb*), &c. Lastly, he seems not to despair of the Salvation of those who have lived Vertuously among the Gentiles, having only the Knowledge of God without that of Jesus Christ. (*cc*) These are almost all the particular Points wherein he hath departed from the present Opinions of the Catholick Church.

The Works of S. *Justin* were first Printed all together in Greek (*dd*), by *Robert Stephen* in the Years 1551 and 1571; except the Second Treatise against the Gentiles, and the Epistle to *Diognetus* which were printed by themselves, by *Henry Stephen* in the Years 1592, and 1595. This Edition was soon followed by that of *Commelinus* in Greek and Latin, published by *Fridericus Silburgius*, Anno Dom. 1593. It comprehends the entire Works of S. *Justin*, divided into Three Parts, the first whereof contains the Books against the Gentiles, the Second, the Dialogue against *Typhon*, and the Third, the Tracts that were Composed for the Instruction of the Christians: They are translated by *Langus*; except the second Oration against the Gentiles, and the Epistle to *Diognetus*, which are of *Henry Stephen*'s Translation: At the End are subjoyned some Notes of *Silburgius*, *Stephens*, and other Learned Men. *Morellus* followed this Edition in the Impression of the Works of S. *Justin*, which he caused to be made at *Paris* in the Years 1615, and 1636. only he added the small Tracts of *Athenagoras*, *Theophilus*, *Hermias* and *Tatian*. This last Edition is thought to be the best, and yet it is very imperfect, and it were to be wished that another might ere long be published; to this end a

(*s*) *In the main they agree with ours.*] We need only examine his Discourse concerning the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity in his Apology to the Emperour, *p.* 36, 93, 94. as also concerning the Divinity of the Word, *p.* 67, 96. and in the first Apology, *p* 44, 45. and more especially his Declaration concerning the Word in his Dialogue, *p.* 267. where he not only confutes the Opinion of those that imagined that Jesus Christ was a mere Man, but he likewise proves that he is really God; and in *p.* 358. where he plainly asserts, that the Word was begotten of the Father without dividing his Substance.

(*t*) *To be either entirely happy or miserable.*] In his Dialogue, *p.* 223. he declares, that the Souls of the Just and of the Wicked wait for the Day of Judgment in a Place where they suffer more or less, proportionably to the Good or Evil that they have done in the World.

(*u*) *Where they shall enjoy all lawful Pleasures.*] See *p.* 306. of his Dialogue; This Opinion is common to him and almost all the ancient Fathers, and it was a Fancy set on Foot by *Papias*, and from him spread among the Primitive Christians, of the Vanity where of we are at present convinced.

(*x*) *That the Souls of the Wicked should at last become capable of dying.*] We find this Notion in the beginning of his Dialogue, *p.* 222, 223, and 224. where the old Man that instructs him, refutes the Opinion of *Plato*, that Souls are incorruptible of their own Nature, and maintaining that they are so only through grace; from whence he concludes, That the Souls of the Wicked are only tormented as long as it shall seem good to the Will of God; insomuch that after many Ages they shall cease to be.

(*y*) *Although in other Places*, &c.] In his Apology to the Emperor, *p.* 57. he affirms, That the Torments of the Damned shall not only last for a thousand years, as these mentioned by *Plato*, but that they shall be everlasting. Observe likewise what he says concerning these torments in *p.* 64, 65, 66. and in other places, wherein he always calls them Eternal, opposing this word Eternal to the Pains that shall one day have an end.

(*z*) *Who could cause them to appear*, &c.] He asserts this in speaking of *Samuel*, whose Soul the Witch really caused to return, according to his Opinion in Dialog. *p.* 332, and 333.

(*aa*) *According to the Testimony of S.* Irenæus.] This Passage is set down above.

(*bb*) *That the Devils are not as yet thrust down into Eternal Flames.*] We find this in his Apology to the Emperor, *p.* 71.

(*cc*) *Having only the Knowledge of God without that of* Jesus Christ.] In his second Apology, *pag.* 83. he declares, That they that lived according to the Principles of Natural Reason, as *Socrates*, *Heraclitus*, *Azarias*, *Misael*, &c. might be called Christians, and he seems to suppose that they were saved by living up to the Law of Nature.

(*dd*) *The Works of S.* Justin *were first printed all together in* Greek. I do not speak of the several Editions of the Versions which are common, and whereof there are three besides that of *Langus*. The first was Composed by *Picus Mirandula*, and printed at *Basil* by *Henry Peter* in the Years 1528, and 1551. The second by *Perionius*, and printed by *Nivelle* at *Paris* in 1554. The third by *Gelenius* was printed at *Basil* in 1555. Lastly, a Translation of all the Works of *Justin* was set forth by *Langus*, and printed at *Basil* in 1565, and at *Paris* in the same Year, and in 1578, together with large Commentaries. The Book of the Confutation of the Opinions of the *Aristotelians* was translated by *Postellus*, and printed by it self by *Nivelle* in 1552. A *Greek* Edition of his Apologies and several other little Tracts of the *Greek* Fathers were printed at *Rome* by *Zannerus*. The Exhortation to the Greeks in *Greek* is printed by it self by *Guillard* at *Paris*.

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new Version ought to be made of all S. *Justin*'s Works, because *Langus*'s hath many defects, the ancient Manuscripts ought to be consulted (if any such can be found) and exactly compared with the Greek Text, which was not corrected by *Silburgius* from any Manuscript: Lastly, some Annotations ought to be added, and many of those that are already Printed should be cut off. S. *Justin.*

As for the disposing of these Works, the following Order may be observed; They should be divided into Three Classes. 1. Those that were really Composed by S. *Justin.* 2. Those that may be his, tho' we cannot certainly affirm it. And, 3. Those that are manifestly Supposititious. His Apology to the Emperor *Antoninus*, that which ought to be called the first Apology, that so for the Future it may always be cited under that Name, ought to be placed in the Front: the other Apology, that immediatly follows, should be Entituled the Second; after this might be inserted the Fragment of the Books concerning Monarchy; the excellent Dialogue against *Typhon*, should be the last Treatise of this Class at least, till some of those that are lost, happen to be found. The Second Class should contain the two Orations to the Greek, and the Epistle to *Diognetus*. The Third may take in all the Books that are undoubtedly forged, which also might be distinguished into two Parts; in the first whereof should be placed those Writings, that may be in some manner useful, such are the 146 Questions, the Exposition of the Faith, and the Epistles to *Zena* and *Serenus*; and then in the Second one may add the Philosophical Tracts above cited, if it should not be thought more convenient to omit them altogether.

MELITO.

Melito Bishop of *Sardis* in *Asia*, is one of those Fathers, who wrote the most concerning the Doctrin and Discipline of the Church; but there remains nothing of them at present but the Titles, and a few small Fragments produced by *Eusebius* in the Fourth Book of his History, *chap.* 26. The Titles are these; *Two Books of the Feast of* Easter, *one of the Lives of the Prophets (a) one of the Church, one of the Lords-Day, one concerning the Nature of Man, another of his Creation, one of the submission of the Senses unto Faith (b), a Book concerning the Soul, the Body, and the Spirit, one of Baptism, another of Truth, another concerning the Generation of Jesus Christ, one of Prophecy, one of Hospitality, another entituled the Key, one of the Devil, another of the Apocalypse, one of God incarnate (c), and a Collection taken out of the Holy Scriptures.* Lastly, an Apology presented to *Marcus Antoninus*, whereof we have a Fragment in *Eusebius*, wherein *Melito* intreats the Emperor, that he would vouchsafe to examine the Accusations that were alledged against the Christians, and to cause the Persecution to cease by revoking the Edict that he had published against them: He represents to him, that the Christian Religion was so far from being destructive to the *Roman* Empire, that it was very much augmented since the propagation thereof; that this Religion was persecuted only by wicked Emperors, such as *Nero* and *Domitian*; that the Emperors *Adrian* and *Antoninus* had written several Letters in its behalf, and therefore he hoped to obtain of his Clemency and Generosity, the favour which he so earnestly requested. *Eusebius* also gives us another little Fragment out of the Book concerning *Easter*, to shew the time when this Author wrote, in which he mentions *Sagaris* Bishop of *Laodicea*, whom he affirms to have suffered Martyrdom, under *Servilius Paulus* the Proconsul of *Asia*. As also another Fragment more considerable, which is the Preface to his Collections, wherein he gives us a Catalogue of the Canonical Books of the Old Testament, omitting those that are not included in the Canon of the Jews; these are the Books of *Ecclesiasticus*, *Wisdom* (for he calls the Book of the *Proverbs* by the name of *Wisdom*) *Judith*, *Esther*, and the two Books of the *Maccabees*. *Melito.*

There is also another Fragment of *Melito*'s preserv'd by the Author of the Chronicle commonly called the *Alexandrian* in *Olympiad* 236. wherein he says, that the Christians do not adore insensible Stones, but that they worship one God alone; who is before all things, and in all things, and Jesus Christ who is God and the World before all Ages. It is not known from what Book this Fragment was taken; but it is probable, that it is in his Apology to the Emperor. Some other Passages are likewise attributed to him, which are taken out of a *Catena* of the Greek Fathers upon *Genesis*, but they seem to me to be unworthy of this Author (*d*); we find also in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, another Book under his Name, Entituled, *Of the Passage or Death of the Virgin* Mary, which is inserted

(*a*) *A Book of the Lives of the Prophets.*] Some reckon two Books on this Subject, but it is plain from the Greek Text of *Eusebius*, and the Authority of S. *Jerom*, that there was but one.

(*b*) *One of the Submission of the Senses unto Faith.*] S. *Jerom*, and *Ruffinus* distinguish the Book of *Faith*, from that of the *Senses*, but it is more probable, that it was but one Book bearing the above mentioned Title, as being Composed against some Hereticks, who asserted that we ought to believe only according to our Senses.

(*c*) *Of God incarnate.*] It is expressed in Greek Περὶ ἐνσωμάτου Θεοῦ, *of God incarnate, or invested with a Body.* Others expound this passage after another manner, imagining that he maintained that God was Corporeal; but this last is not the proper signification of the Greek word. However, *Origen*, cited by *Theodoret* in *Quest* 20. in *Exodum*, says that *Melito* wrote a Book περὶ τοῦ ἐνσωμάτου εἶναι Θεόν, That God was Corporeal, which answers to the other Interpretation.

(*d*) *Unworthy of this Author.*] One of these passages is produced by *Halloixius*, being a Comparison between *Isaac* and Jesus Christ, full of childish Notions and Expressions, that are more agreeable to the Modern, than the ancient Writers.

Melito. by Pope *Gelaſius* amongſt the Apocryphal Writings, and rejected by *Bede*; but it is at preſent generally agreed, that this Book as not being cited by any of the ancient Writers, and containing many untruths and abſurdities, is a counterfeit Work. *Melito* lived under the Reign of *Marcus Antoninus*; he preſented his Apology in the Second year of this Emperor, that is to ſay, in the Year of our Lord 182. and died before the Pontificate of *Victor*, as appears from the Epiſtle of *Polycrates* to this Pope, wherein he mentions him, as already dead, in theſe Words: *Why ſhould I not ſpeak of* Melito, *whoſe Actions were regulated by the Motions of the Holy Ghoſt, who lyes interr'd at* Sardes, *where he expects the Judgment and Reſurrection?* This ſhews that *Melito* was eſteemed as a Prophet, that is to ſay, as a Man inſpir'd by God, according to the Teſtimony of *Tertullian* produced by S. *Jerom*. If the ſame *Tertullian* had not aſſured us, that this Author wrote Elegantly and was a good Orator, it would be very difficult to give any Judgment concerning his Style, by that little of his Writings which is yet extant.

TATIAN.

Tatian. TATIAN Sirnamed the *Aſſyrian*, (*a*) from the Name of his Country, was an able Orator, and S. *Juſtin*'s Scholar. He remained in the Communion of the Church during the Life of his Maſter, but after his Martyrdom being puffed up with Pride, which often attends the Opinion of Knowledge, he became Head and Author of a new Sect (*b*), which was called the Hereſie of the *Encratites*, or of the *Continent*, becauſe theſe Sectaries condemned Marriage, as alſo the uſe of divers ſorts of Meats and Wine, leading a ſober and auſtere Life in appearance; beſides this, they maintained ſome of the Errors of the *Valentinians*, and affirmed that our Fore-Fathers were Damn'd: This Sect was afterwards augmented by *Severus* (*c*), from whom they took the Name of *Severians*: theſe latter rejected the Epiſtles of S. *Paul*, and the Acts of the Apoſtles. But to return to *Tatian*; he having got a great facility in writing, Compoſed a great number of Books, and among others an excellent Treatiſe againſt the Gentiles, which is moſt eſteemed of all his Works, as alſo a Goſpel Collected from the Four Evangeliſts.

There is yet extant the Treatiſe of *Tatian* againſt the Gentiles, which was firſt Printed at *Zurick*, in the Year 1546. together with the Verſion of *Conradus Geſner*, afterwards inſerted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*; and Laſtly, annexed to the Works of S. *Juſtin*; the Title thereof is as follows: *The Diſcourſe of* Tatian *againſt the Gentiles, proving that the Greeks are not the Inventors of any of the Sciences, as they boaſt themſelves to be, but that they were all invented by thoſe whom they call Barbarians.* This is indeed the Subject of the beginning of his Diſcourſe, but then he adds, that the Greeks corrupted the Sciences, which they received from the Barbarians, and more eſpecially Philoſophy. Afterwards he proceeds to the Explication and defence of the Chriſtian Religion; he Treats of the Nature of God, of the Word, of the Reſurrection of the Body, and Freedom of the Soul: He confutes the Opinion of Fate, he diſcourſeth of the Nature of the Soul, and of Devils, diſcovering the Snares that they lay for Men. He intermixeth all theſe things with Satyrical Reflections on the ridiculous Theology of the Pagans, and the corrupt Manners of their Gods and Philoſophers, ſhewing at the ſame time, that the Writings of *Moſes*, are more ancient than all other Hiſtories, and giving an admirable Deſcription of the Holy Converſation of the Chriſtians. This work is extreamly full of profane Learning, and the Style thereof is Elegant enough, but exuberant, and not very elaborate; and the Matters therein contained are not digeſted into any Order. It was certainly Compoſed by *Tatian*, before he fell into Hereſie, tho' after S. *Juſtin*'s Death, ſince he doth not condemn the State of Matrimony in that Book (*d*). He argues concerning the Generation of the Wrod in ſuch Expreſſions as do not agree with our manner of explaining it, but they may be interpreted in a Senſe which is not Heretical (*e*). He maintains that the Angels, and Devils conſiſt of Bodies and Souls: He denies the Immortality of the later, affirming that they die, and that they ſhall hereafter riſe again with their reſpective Bodies, which is a conſiderable Error.

As for the Goſpel that was Compiled by *Tatian*, S. *Epiphanius* in his Deſcription of the Hereſie of the *Nazarenes*, hath confounded it with that which was Entituled: *The Goſpel according to the* He-

(*a*) *Sirnamed the* Aſſyrian.] At the end of his Treatiſe againſt the Gentiles, he declares that he was born in *Aſſyria*, and that he had been inſtructed in the Theology of the Grecians.

(*b*) *Of a new Sect.*] S. *Irenæus* Lib. 1. Euſeb. Lib. 4. c. 29. S. *Jerom*, in *Catalogo*.

(*c*) *This Sect was afterwards augmented by* Severus.] S. *Ephiphanius* affirms, that *Severus* lived before *Tatian* but he is miſtaken.

(*d*) *He doth not condemn the the State of Matrimony in that Book.*] On the other hand, *Pag.* 168. he ſeems to approve it.

(*e*) *A Senſe which is not Heretical.*] He aſſerts that the Word was begotten in the time of the Creation of the World; altho' he was from all Eternity, calling the Generation of the Word his Application, (if we may ſo term it) to the exteriour Work: He adds, that the Word was not begotten by way of Separation, but after the ſame manner, as one Fire is lighted or kindled by another; ſo that God did not remain without the Word, but that the Word proceeded from him, and remained in him altogether, or at the ſame time: this he explains by the inſtance of human Speech. Theſe are the Principles of ſome of the ancient Chriſtians. The Verſion of this Treatiſe was Printed together with the Greek Text at *Baſil*, in the Years 1564, 1569, 1575, 1593. and at *Geneva* in 1592.

brews

brews; and indeed they had this in common, that the Genealogy of Jesus Christ was not in either of them: But the Gospel according to the *Hebrews* was older than *Tatian's*; besides the latter was only a kind of a *Catena* or Concordance, wherein this Author had gathered together, what he judged proper to be Collected out of the Four Evangelists. S. *Ambrose* seems to mention it in the Preface to his Commentaries on S. *Luke*; when he declares, that some Writers had made one single Gospel out of the Four, by Collecting those passages, which they believed to be most favourable to their Opinions, and omitting the rest. The Gospel of *Tatian*, was Composed after this manner; in which he retrenched the Genealogy of Jesus Christ, together with all that which relates to his human Nature, and his Extraction from the Stock of *David*. *Baronius* thought that that was the Work of *Tatian*, which is in the Seventh Tome of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, under the Name of *Ammonius*; but this is a distinct Book: for as *Valesius* observes, it is an Historical Epitome of the Gospels, written by an Ancient Orthodox Author, containing many Passages, wherein Jesus Christ is called the Son of *David*; whereas *Tatian's* Gospel was a Rhapsody of the Passages taken out of the four Evangelists, on purpose to induce us to believe that our Saviour was not descended from the Lineage of *David*. *Tatian* lived after the Death of S. *Justin*, and died about the time when S. *Irenæus* wrote his Book concerning the Heresies. S. *Clement* in the third Book of his *Stromata*, cites a Treatise of this Author, Entituled, *Of Perfection acording to the Saviour*, written by him after his Fall into Heresie; he produceth a passage out of it against Marriage, which he confutes in *Pag.* 460.

Tatian.

ATHENAGORAS *and* HERMIAS.

Athenagoras & Hermias.

ATHENAGORAS an *Athenian* Philosopher, lived in the time of the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*, to whom he presented an Apology for the Christians (*a*). This Work and its Author, were unknown to *Eusebius*, S. *Jerom*, and *Photius*; but 'tis cited by S. *Epiphanius* in the Heresie of *Origen*. In this Apology he refutes the three principal Calumnies that were alledged against the Christians, as 1. That they were Atheists. 2. That they eat humane Flesh. 3. That they committed horrible Crimes in their Assemblies. To the first Accusation he makes Answer, that the Christians were not Atheists, since they acknowledged and adored one God in Three Persons, and lived Conformably to his Laws and Commadments, believing that he sees and knows all things; that they refused to worship Idols, and to offer Sacrifice to them, as being persuaded that they were not Deities. He replys to the two last Objections, in shewing that the Life, Laws and Manners of the Christians were very far from Murther and those infamous Crimes whereof thew were accused. He plainly Establisheth the Unity of the Essence of God, and the Trinity of the three Divine Persons: He affirms that the Word, that remained in God from all Eternity departed from him, (if we may use such an Expression) to create and govern all things: He maintains the Worship of Angels, and declares that they were created to take care of Affairs here below. He asserts that the Devils were ruined through the Love that they bore unto Women; he admits Free-will in the utmost Latitude; he makes divers Descriptions of the Holiness of the Conversation of the Christians; he commends Virginity; he condemneth second Marriages, calling them an honest Adultery. Lastly, he Treats of the Resurrection, of the last Judgment.

There is another Treatise of this Father extant, concerning the Resurrection of the Dead, wherein he endeavours to prove, that it is not only not impossible, but even extreamly credible: These two Books are written in a Dogmatical style; they were Printed separatly in Greek and Latin (*b*), Translated by *Gesner*, *Nannius*, *Marsilius Ficinus* and *Suffridus*, and are inserted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, as also in Greek, in the Supplement to the *Bibliotheca*; and Lastly, after the Works of S. *Justin*, with the Annotations of *Gesner*, and *Henry Stephen*; there is another imperfect Tract annexed to them; which is a continual Series of Satyrical Reflections, on the Opinions and Philosophical Notions of the Gentiles, Composed by *Hermias*, a Christian Philosopher. But this Author is not known, nor the precise time when he wrote, however it is not to be doubted but that he is ancient, and that he lived before the Pagan Religion was extirpated. This little Book was Printed by it self in Greek and Latin, at *Basil*, *Anno. Dom.* 1553.

(*a*) *In the time of the Emperor* Marcus Antoninus, *&c.*] He joyns *Lucius Aurelius Commodus* and *Marcus*. *Labbe* affirms that it was *Lucius Verus*; but it is more probable, that it was *Commodus* the Son of *Antoninus*, and that this Apology was presented after his being taken into the Government, about the Year 178.

(*b*) *In Greek and Latin.*] At *Paris* in *Quarto*, by *Veke*, *Ann. Dom.* 1541, and in *Octavo*, by *Stephen* with *Nannius's* Translation in 1557. Also by *Plantin*, at *Antwerp* in 1560, 1583, and 1588. The Translation of *Suffridus* was Printed at *Colen*, with Commentaries in 1567, and 1573. *Nannius's* Version of the Treatise concerning the Resurrection, was published at the end of the Works of *Philo* at *Basil* 1561, and in 1558 by *Episcopius*, as also at *Colen* in 1599. There is a version of the Treatise of the Resurrection by *Ficinus*, and Printed at *Basil* in 1516, and another of *Valetus* in *Italian*, Printed at *Venice* in 1556. The Apology was Printed in Latin at *Paris* in 1498, in Greek and Latin in 1577. In Latin at *Basil* 1565. Translated by *Gesner*, and there again in 1558, in Octavo at *Zurick* in 1599. The Book concerning the Resurrection of the Dead, was Printed in Latin at *Paris* in 1498, at *Basil* in 1561. In Greek and Latin in *Venice* in 1498, and 1550. At *Basil* in 1593, and 1653. At *Paris* in 1615, 1618, and 1636. The Translations which are at the end of S. *Justin*, are *Nannius's* of the Treatise of the Resurrection, and *Gesner's* of the Apology.

[*Athenagoras* has also been Printed at *Oxon* Gr. Lat. in 12°. 1682; and at *Leipzick* 1684 in Oct. *cum Notis Var.*]

DIONYSIUS *of* CORINTH.

Dionysius of Corinth.

DIonysius Bishop of *Corinth* lived under the Reign of the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*, and in the beginning of *Commodus*'s. 'He not only took care of his own Flock, (*says* Eusebius, *Book* 4. *Chap.* 23.) but he also made the Christians of other Countries partakers of his Divine Labours, causing them to fructifie every where by his Catholick Epistles, which he sent to many Churches. The 'first is written to the *Lacedæmonians*, containing an Instruction of the Catholick Faith, and an 'Exhortation to Peace and Unity. The second is directed to the *Athenians*, to excite their Faith, 'and to induce them to lead a Life Conformable to the Rules of the Gospel: He likewise reproves 'their negligence, whereby they had almost abandoned the Christian Religion ever since their Bishop '*Publius* suffered Martyrdom in the Persecutions that were raised in his time: Moreover he mentions '*Quadratus*, who was elected Bishop of *Athens* after the Martyrdom of *Publius*, and testifies, that 'the Christians of this City owed the renovation of the ardour of their Faith to his Care. Besides 'this, he informs us, that *Dionysius* the *Areopagite* being converted by St. *Paul*, (as it is recorded 'in the *Acts of the Apostles*) was constituted the first Bishop of *Athens*. There is also another Epistle 'written by him to the *Nicodemians*, wherein he confutes the Heresie of *Marcion*, and keeps close 'to the Rule of Faith. He likewise composed a Letter directed to the Church of *Gortyna*; as also 'to all those of *Crete*, in which he extreamly commends *Philip* their Bishop, to whom his whole 'Church had given authentick Testimonies of his singular Abilities and Generosity, and he admonish-'eth them to avoid Heresies. In his Epistle to the *Amastrians*, and to the other Churches of *Pontus*, 'addressing his Discourse to their Bishop *Palma*, he explains divers passages of the Holy Scriptures; 'He therein lays down several Precepts concerning Marriage and Chastity, determining at the same 'time, that all Penitents should be received that returned from any Crimes whatsoever, and even 'from Heresie. In the same Volume is contained another Epistle to the *Gnossians*, wherein he ad-'viseth *Pinytus* their Bishop not to impose on the Christians the heavy burden of the Obligation to 'preserve their Virginity, but to have respect unto the weakness which is incident to most of them. '*Pinytus* in replying to this Epistle, extols and admires *Dionysius* of *Corinth*, and exhorts him at last 'to afford them more solid nourishment, and to send frequent Letters to him which might fill and 'satiate the People that were committed to his charge, lest being always nourished only with Milk, 'they should grow old, and yet remain in a kind of Infancy. This answer represents as it were a 'lively Portraiture of the Faith of *Pinytus*, his diligence in watching over the Flock, with which he 'was entrusted by God, his profound knowledge in Divinity, and his extraordinary Eloquence. We 'have also in our hand another Letter of *Dionysius* written to the *Romans*, and particularly directed 'to *Soter*, who was then their Bishop; a passage whereof it will be expedient here to produce, in 'which he recommends to them the continuation of a certain Custom, that had been always ob-'served by them from their first plantation unto the persecution which happened in our time. *This is* (says he) *a custom which hath been established among you, O ye* Romans, *ever since the beginning of your Church, to be charitable unto your Brethren, and to send to divers Churches throughout the World things necessary for their subsistence; you comfort the poor in their indigence, and relieve the urgent necessities of those that are condemned to the Mines; This custom you have received from your Ancestors, which the blessed Bishop* Soter *hath not only retained, but even augmented, by abundantly distributing the Donatives appointed for the relief of the Faithful, and cherishing as a Father would do his Children all the Brethren who came to* Rome. 'He mentions St. *Clement*'s Epistle to the *Corinthians*, which had 'been for a long time constantly read in the Church of *Corinth*, as he testifies in these Words: *We have even now passed the Lords Day, when we perused your Epistle, which we shall hereafter read continually, as we do that of St.* Clement, *that we may be replenished with Precepts and wholsom Instructions:* Afterward he observes, that his Letters were corrupted by Falsifiers in these Words: *I wrote several Epistles at the Entreaty of the Brethren, but the Ministers of the Devil have filled them with Tares, by retrenching and adding many things; they may well expect this terrible Sentence;* Cursed be he that adds or diminisheth any thing from my Words. *Wherefore it is not to be admir'd that some have presumed even to corrupt the Sacred Writings, since they have done it in Books of much less Authority.* 'Beside 'these Epistles, there is another Extant, written to *Chrysophora* his faithful Sister, to whom he gave 'Instructions suitable, carefully nourishing her with spiritual Food. These are the Contents of this passage of *Eusebius*, concerning the Epistles of St. *Dionysius*, which I have set down entire, because he hath made use of the same Method as we should have done, in case those Epistles had been still Extant.

Moreover *Eusebius* in his 2*d. Book Chap.* 25. recites another Fragment of his Epistle to the *Romans* wherein it mention'd the Death of S. *Peter*, in the City of *Rome* in these Words. 'Thus (says he) as, 'may so say, by your Exhortations you have mixed the Grain that sprung from the Seed of St. *Peter* 'and S. *Paul*, that is to say, the *Romans* and the *Corinthians*: for these two glorious Apostles entring into 'our City of *Corinth*, instructed us in dispersing the spiritual Seed of the Gospel, afterwards they passed 'together into *Italy*, and having given you also like Instructions, they suffered Martyrdom with 'you at the same time. This is all that we certainly know concerning the Life and Writings of *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*. In the *Menologium* of the Greeks, he is reckoned among the Martyrs, (*a*) but

(*a*) *He is reckoned among the Martyrs.*] On the 29th of *November*, τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ Διονύσιος ἐπίσκοπος Κορίνθου ξίφει πληγεὶς τελειοῦται, *on this day* Dionysius *Bishop of* Corinth *died by the Sword.* *Glycas* affirms that he suffered Martyrdom under the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*; and yet it is certain, that he lived under *Marcus Aurelius*.

sino

since neither *Eusebius*, nor S. *Jerom* take any Notice of the matter, I am apt to believe that the Latin Church hath done more prudently in placing him in their Martyrology in the Rank of the Confessors

Pinytus, Philippus, Modestus, Musanus, and *Bardesanes.*

Pinytus, &c.

AT the same time lived *Pinytus* Bishop of *Gnossus* in the Island of *Crete*, who replyed (as we have even now observ'd) to S. *Denys* of *Corinth*, in an Eloquent and Learned Epistle. *Philippus* Bishop of *Gortyna*, mentioned likewise by the later, wrote a Treatise against *Marcion* as well as *Modestus* (*a*), but less accurate.

Among these may be reckoned *Musanus*, who wrote a Work against the *Encratites*, and *Bardesanes* (*b*) the *Syrian*, who Composed two Tracts translated into Greek by his Disciples, the First against *Marcion*, and other Hereticks, and the Second concerning Fate: this last was dedicated to the Emperor *Antoninus* (*c*). Besides he wrote other Treatises upon the Persecution, that was then raised against the Christians of *Syria*. *Eusebius* observes, that this Author having been engaged in the Sect of the *Valentinians*, though he had acknowledged and retracted the most part of his Errors, yet he retained some of them; wherefore he is accused by S. *Jerom*, of being the Deviser of a new Heresie: Tho' he owns that *Bardesanes* was endued with a very quick Apprehension, and was extremely vehement in his Disputes. S. *Epiphanius* likewise makes him to be the Ring-leader of an Heresie. '*Bardesanes* (says he in *Hæres.* 56.) is the Author of the Heresie of the *Bardesianites*; he was a Native of '*Mesopotamia*, and an Inhabitant of the City of *Edessa*; moreover he was a very good Christian (*d*), 'and wrote many useful Books, being well skill'd in the Greek and Syriack Tongues (*e*). He was in-'timately acquainted with *Abgarus* Prince of *Edessa*, and assisted him in his Studies; he lived until 'the time of *Antoninus Verus*, and Collected many things concerning Fate against the Astronomer *Abi-'das*: There are also other Works written by him agreeable to the Faith: He Courageously withstood '*Apollonius* the Friend of *Antoninus* (*f*), who advised him to deny that he was a Christian, and un-'dauntedly replyed, that he did not fear Death, which he could not avoid, tho' he should do that 'which the Emperor required: But at last this Man adorned with so many Vertues fell into Heresie, 'suffering himself to be infected with the Errors of the *Valentinians*; inventing divers *Æones*, and de-'nying the Resurrection of the Dead. He acknowledged indeed the Law and the Prophets, toge-'ther with the whole New Testament, but then he admitted several Apocryphal Books along with 'them. *Eusebius* in *Lib. 6. Præparat. Evangel.* produceth an excellent Fragment of the Writings of this Author against Fate, whereby it is evident that it was written in the Form of a Dialogue. He proves in this Fragment, that Men are not Conducted by Nature and Necessity as brute Beasts, but by Reason and with Liberty; because, altho' the Nature of all Men be the same, yet there are infinite numbers of Manners, Customs, Laws and Religions among them, that are different even in the same Country, and under the very same Climate, which cannot proceed but from the different Choice that is made by them. Afterwards having alledged many Examples to evince this Truth, he adds: 'What 'shall we say, of the Society of Christians, who are dispersed throughout all the Cities of the World, 'and who cannot be induced by any Consideration, nor by any Arguments whatsoever, to follow the 'Manners and Customs of those among whom they reside; but on the contrary, wheresoever they are, 'they still adhere to peculiar Laws, and have Manners different from those of the People among whom 'they live, without being perswaded by any means to commit those things, which their Matter hath 'declared to them to be Criminal, chusing rather to suffer Poverty, Dangers, Ignominy, Torments, 'and even Death it self? This passage set down by *Eusebius*, not only shews that *Bardesanes* was a Person of a quick Apprehension, and of a vehement Temper, (as hath been observed by S. *Jerom*) but it likewise informs us, that he had acquired much Learning (*g*), and that his Style wanted neither Elegancy nor Ornament.

(*a*) *As well as* Modestus.] S. *Jerom* affirms, that in his time there were other Tracts extant under the Name of *Modestus*; but that they were rejected by the learned as Suppositious.

(*b*) Bardesanes] *Porphyrius*, *Lib. de Abst.* cites one *Bardesanes* a *Babylonian*, who he says lived in the time of his Fore-fathers, and writ concerning the *Brachman* and *Indian* Philosophers: But he must needs have been another Person.

(*c*) *Was Dedicated to the Emperor* Antoninus.] It is asserted by S. *Jerom*, that he presented it to him; but it is more probable, that being Translated, it was afterwards delivered by others; for since he wrote in Syriack, it is not credible, that he presented, or even Dedicated his Book to the Emperor; on the contrary, he Composed it at the Entreaty of his Friends; and in the form of a Dialoge.

(*d*) *A very good Christian.*] S. *Epiphanius* is deceived; for it is otherwise affirmed by *Eusebius*, that he was at first a *Valentinian*, and that his Errors were the remainders of this Heresie.

(*e*) *Being well skilled in the Greek and Syriack Tongues.*] He did not understand Greek, since, as *Eusebius* assures us, his Disciples Translated his Works.

(*f*) *The Friend of* Antoninus.] Neither is there much certainty in this Relation.

(*g*) *That he had acquired much Learning.*] This Fragment contains an Enumeration of the Manners, Customs and different Laws of a very great number of People, which plainly shews his Learning, and it is written as agreeably as the Subject was capable of allowing it.

S. IRENÆUS.

S. *Irenæus.* WE know nothing of the Country of S. *Irenæus* (*a*), but only in general, that he was a Greek. It is probable, that he was at firſt Educated in the Chriſtian Religion (*b*), or at leaſt that he made profeſſion thereof even from his Youth, during which he was a Diſciple of S. *Polycarp* Biſhop of *Smyrna* in *Aſia*, who was then very Old. This induceth me to believe, that this Father could not be born till about the end of the Reign of the Emperor *Adrian*, or the beginning of that of *Antoninus Pius*, ſome time before the Year 140, after the Nativity of Jeſus Chriſt (*c*). He was alſo a Diſciple of *Papias*, if we may believe S. *Jerom* (*d*), and perhaps it is he whom he frequently cites in his Work againſt the Hereſies, under the Name of an Elder, that had ſeen the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles (*e*). After he had thus ſpent the time of his Youth in the School of the moſt Learned of the Apoſtles, (*f*) he went into *France*; where he was ordained Prieſt of the Church.

(*a*) *That he was a Greek.*] *Galeſinius* and ſome other Authors tell us, that he was of *Smyrna*, but this is barely a Conjecture: 'Tis certain, he was a Greek, and in all probability of *Aſia*.

(*b*) *He was at firſt Educated in the Chriſtian Religion.* He always ſpeaks of the Chriſtian Religion, as if he had never been of any other, and he no where takes notice, that he had ever been a Heathen. Beſides it is certain that he was a Chriſtian, and a Diſciple of S. *Polycarp* from his tender years, as he himſelf teſtifies in his Letter to *Florinus*, as it is cited by *Euſebius*, Lib. 5. c. 20. *I have ſeen you*, ſays he, *when I was as yet but a Child in* Aſia *with S.* Polycarp, *I remember it very well, becauſe we beſt retain what we have ſeen in our Youth, ſo that I can tell, what kind of a place it was where S.* Polycarp *lived, what Diſcourſes he held, and after what manner he lived.* And in the Third Book againſt Hereſies, Ch. 3. *Polycarpus autem conſtitutus ab Apoſtolis Smyrnis in Aſia Epiſcopus, quem & noſtra prima ætate vidimus, multum enim perſeveraverat, & valdu ſenex, Glorioſiſſime, ac Nobiliſſime Martyrium faciens exivit e vita.* Which clearly Demonſtrates that S. *Irenæus* was very young, when he uſed to go to S. *Polycarp*, and that on the other hand, S. *Polycarp* was extreamly old.

(*c*) *The Year of our Lord*, 140.] 'Tis commonly believed, that he was born towards the end of *Trajan*'s Reign, or in the beginning of *Adrian*'s. But this does not agree with what we have obſerved concerning him, by which it undeniably appears, that he only knew S. *Polycarp* in his old Age, when he himſelf was exceeding young: Beſides, S. *Irenæus* lived till the Year 202, or 203, wherein he ſuffered Martyrdom, and that he had Strength and Vigor enough ſtill left under the Pontificate of *Eleutherus*, towards the Year of our Lord 178. And this abundantly diſcovers the Error of thoſe Perſons, who have imagined, that *Irenæus* was the Angel of *Thyatira*, of whom mention is made in the *Apocalypſe*. 'Tis certain, that Book was writ before his Birth, for in his Fifth Book ſpeaking of the Revelations; *It is not very long*, ſays he, *ſince it has appeared in the World, almoſt in our own time, at the end of* Domitian's *Reign.*

[Mr. *Dodwel* has fixed the time when S. *Irenæus* lived, in his Third Diſſertation upon this Father, in this manner. *Irenæus* ſpeaking of S. *John*'s Revelation ſays (*Lib.* 5. *cap.* 30.) *Neque enim ante multum temporis viſum eſt, ſed pene ſub noſtro Seculo, ad finem Domitiani imperii.* So that the latter end of the Reign of the Emperor *Domitian*, was very near the time when S. *Irenæus* lived. Whence it muſt follow, that he was alive at leaſt under the former part of *Trajan*'s Government. But then the words, *Sub noſtro ſeculo*, are not ſo eaſie; becauſe *Seculum* at that time ſignified as often the time of the preſent Emperors Government as any thing elſe. *Irenæus* ſays alſo, that when he was ἐν πρώτῃ ἡλικίᾳ he heard S. *Polycarp* at *Smyrna*; when he was πάνυ γενναῖος. Now S. *Polycarp* was an old Man in the beginning of *Hadrian*'s Reign, to which time *Irenæus* being his Diſciple muſt be referred: For S. *Irenæus* in his Letter to *Florinus*, ſays, that he ſaw him when himſelf was very Young, making a very ſplendid Figure in the Emperor's Court. Now this can agree to none but *Hadrian*, who often went about his Empire, ſtaying long in ſeveral places, where their Antiquities and Hiſtories could afford him Entertainment. This of neceſſity muſt be about the Year CXXII. ſince no other time can be Aſſigned in *Hadrian*'s Reign for ſuch a Journey.

As for the time of his Death it muſt be carried as much higher as that of his Birth. The common Opinion is, that he ſuffered in the Perſecution which *Severus* raiſed in *Gaul*, after he had Conquered *Albinus*. But that is inconſiſtent with it ſelf; and it is no ways probable, that *Severus* ſhould raiſe Perſecution againſt thoſe Men, for favouring *Albinus*, who as *Tertullian* aſſures us, made it a great part of their Juſtification, that in all theſe Civil Wars they had never declared themſelves of any one Faction againſt the Emperor *Severus*; and this he appeals to as a thing notoriouſly known. Beſides, none of the Ancients within 300 Years of *Irenæus* ever mention his being a Martyr, a thing never omitted in thoſe Primitive times, whenever they had juſt grounds to give a Title, which of all others they thought the moſt Honourable. It is plain by the Controverſies concerning *Eaſter* and his Letter to *Florinus*, that he lived to *Commodus*'s time. And if he were 25 years old, when he ſaw *Florinus* at *Smyrna* about the Year CXXII, he muſt have been born near or in the Year XCVII. In the CLXXXII (the 3d. of *Commodus*) he wrote againſt *Blaſtus* and *Florinus*, when by this Account he himſelf was 85 years old. The laſt Controverſies concerning the time of obſerving *Eaſter* were in the Year CLXXXIX, in the 10th year of *Commodus*, when we are ſure that S. *Irenæus* was alive, becauſe his Opinion was appealed to, and he gave it ſo ſolemnly as to put an end to their Differences. Then he was by the former Account, in the XCII Year of his Age: After that we have no Memorials, either how long he lived, or what he did.]

(*d*) *S.* Jerome.] Ep. 29. ad Theodorum. *Refert Irenæus, vir Apoſtolicorum temporum, & Papiæ auditoris Johannis Evangeliſtæ diſcipulus.*

(*e*) *Who had beheld the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles.*] Lib. 4. c. 45. *Quemadmodum audivi a Presbytero, qui audierat ab his, qui Apoſtolos viderant,* c. 47. *valde inſenſatos oſtendebat Presbyter eos.* Item c. 49, 50, 52. and Lib. 5. c. 5. and cap. 17. he cites *Papias* by Name, *Lib.* 5. *c.* 33.

(*f*) *He went into* France.] *Gregory* of *Tours* writes, that he was ſent thither by S. *Polycarp*. We don't certainly know what Year, though 'tis probable he did not ſtay long in *Aſia*.

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of *Lyons* by *Pothinus*, who was Bishop of that See (*g*). And when this Holy Prelate had suffered Martyrdom in the 90th Year of his Age, being the 17th of the Reign of *Marcus Antoninus*, and the 178th Year of Jesus Christ, *Irenæus* was Elected his Successor upon his return from a Voyage that he made to *Rome* (*h*); having carried several Letters thither written to Pope *Eleutherus*, by the Martyrs of *Lyons*, concerning the new Sect of the *Montanists*. At the end of this Epistle, these Holy Men recommended S. *Irenæus* in these words: *We have desired our dear Brother and Collegue* Irenæus, *to carry this Letter unto you; we commit him unto your Care; and we entreat you to esteem him as a Person that hath very much Zeal for the Gospel of* Jesus Christ; *if we believed that his Dignity would add any thing to his worth, we would have recommended him to you in quality of a Priest; but he is much more recommendable for his Zeal and Piety.* S. *Irenæus*

S. *Irenæus* being constituted Bishop, was not only employed in governing his particular Church with singular Prudence, but he applied himself also to the preserving of all the other Churches in the World from the infection of Heresies, which were then spread abroad in great numbers. And it was on this account (*i*) that he Composed in *Greek* (*k*) under the Pontificate of *Eleutherus* (*l*) five

(*g*) *By* Pothinus.] *Halloixius* was of Opinion, that he was ordained Presbyter by S. *Polycarp*. But there is more Reason to induce us to believe, that he was ordained by *Pothinus*, and therefore S. *Jerome* calls him the Presbyter of *Pothinus*.

(*h*) *At his return from a Voyage that he made to* Rome.] 'Tis certain, that the Martyrs had resolved to send him to *Rome* to carry their Letter, but we can't certainly tell, whether he went thither or no. *Valesius* thinks, that though they intended to send him, yet *Pothinus*'s Death preventing him, he was detained there to be his Successor, and so never went to *Rome* at all. *Baronius* and *Petavius* say, That he went to *Rome*, and that he was not ordained till after his Return. They have the Authority of S. *Jerome* to support them, who says the same thing in his Book of the Ecclesiastical Writers in the following Words. *Irenæus, Pothini Episcopi qui Lugdunensem in Gallia regebat Ecclesiam Presbyter, a Martyribus ejusdem loci ob quasdam Ecclesiæ quæstiones rogatus Romam missus, honorificas super nomine suo ad Eleutherum perfert literas, postea tum Pothino prope Nonagenario Martyrio Coronato in locum ejus substituitur.* *Eusebius* also seems to be of the same Opinion, since he mentions a Letter wherein it is said, that he was sent to *Rome*, without telling us, that his Journey was stopt by the Death of *Pothinus*. The Conjecture of *Valesius* is only founded upon the Improbability of the thing, that they would send S. *Irenæus*, who was the chief and the best known Member of the Church of *Lyons*, and who besides was to succeed *Pothinus*, at a time when that Church stood so much in need of his Assistance. But besides that in a Question of Fact, as this is, a Conjecture of this Nature is of little Consequence, so it may be replied, that he was sent at the beginning of the Persecution, and that he returned before the Death of *Pothinus*. *Feuardentius* imagines, that S. *Irenæus* carried Letters also into *Asia* and *Phrygia*, which the same Martyrs wrote to their Brethren in those Churches about the same Subject; but this is very improbable, and there is nothing in *Eusebius* to induce us to believe it. All that we Read there, amounts only to this, that the Churches of *Vienna* and *Lyons*, after the Death of *Pothinus*, and the other Martyrs, wrote a long Letter (which in all probability was Composed by S. *Irenæus*) to the Churches of *Asia* and *Phrygia*, cited by *Eusebius*, towards the end of which, *They passed their Censure upon the Montanists, with a great deal of Piety and Devotion, setting before them* (ἐκθέμενοι) *the Letters which their Martyrs had written, while they were as yet in Chains, as well to the Brethren of* Asia *and* Phrygia, *as to* Eleutherus *Bishop of* Rome. But he does not say, that those first Letters to the Brethren of *Asia* and *Phrygia*, were carried by S. *Irenæus*, nor that they were sent at all, till the Letter concerning their Martyrdom was writ, and it seems to be very improbable that they would send them the second time, if they had been carried thither once before. As for what relates to the Ordination of S. *Irenæus* it is certain, that he was only a Presbyter, when he went to *Rome*, and this appears by the Letter of the Martyrs by *Eusebius*, and S. *Jerome*. It is more difficult to know, who ordained him afterwards. Father *Quesnel* in his Dissertations upon S. *Leo*, pretends that he was ordained by the Pope, and that he went purposely to *Rome* upon that account; others believe that he came back before the Death of *Pothinus*, and was ordained by him. It is more natural and more agreeable to the Testimony of the Ancients to believe that he was not Elected, and ordained Bishop of *Lyons*, till after the Death of *Pothinus*; and whereas Father *Quesnel* pretends, that at that time there was only one Bishop of *France*, and therefore it was necessary for S. *Irenæus* after the Death of *Pothinus* to go and be ordained at *Rome*, all this is precarious, and the rather, because it appears that S. *Irenæus* was sent thither while *Pothinus* was living, and upon another occasion.

(*i*) *'Twas upon this Account.*] He himself tells us in his Preface to the fifth Book, that he Composed these Books to convert the Hereticks, and to preserve the Novices in the Faith, lest they should be led aside by those, who would use their utmost Endeavours to pervert them, and seduce them from the Truth.

(*k*) *In Greek.*] *Erasmus* having found this ancient and barbarous Version, at first imagined, that these Books were Originally written in Latin, but afterwards he altered his Opinion, and no body doubts at present, but that they were written in Greek. For first S. *Jerome* places S. *Irenæus* among the Greek Authors. Secondly, *Eusebius*, S. *Epiphanius*, *Theodoret*, *Photius* and S. *John Damascene*, read and quoted him in Greek. Thirdly, This Author was less known to the Latins, than to the Greeks; and Lastly, speaking of the number of the Letters, and the Name of Anti-Christ, *Lib.* 5. he says several things that could not be said but by an Author that wrote in Greek. We dont't know who made this Version; some have attributed it to himself, but this is a foolish Chimera; it was certainly Composed by a Man that understood neither Language as he ought. It was not known in the time of *Gregory* the Great, who in his 50th Letter to *Ætherius* tells him, that he had searched a long time after the Writings of S. *Irenæus*, without being able to find them. *Gesta vel scripta B. Irenæi jamdiu est quod solicite quæsivimus, sed hactenus ex eis invenire aliquid non valui.* S. *Austin* cites a passage out of S. *Irenæus*, *Lib.* 1. *contra Jul. cap.* 3. which is of another Version.

(*l*) Eleutherus.] This appears, because in his Catalogue of the Bishops of *Rome*, from S. *Peter* down to his own time, he ends with *Eleutherus*, who, he says, was then living. *Nunc duodecimo loco Episcopatum ab Apostolis sortitur* Eleutherus, *Lib.* 3. *c.* 3.

S. *Irenæus.* Books against Heresies, bearing this Title (*m*), *The Confutation and Subversion of that which is falsly called Knowledge.* He wrote likewise at the same time two Epistles to two several Hereticks of *Rome*, one whereof was directed to *Blastus*, and the other to *Florinus*, whom he knew when he was the Disciple of S. *Polycarp*. In the first of these Letters he treated of *Schism*, and in the second concerning *Monarchy*. In the latter he proved, that there was but one God, and that he was not the Author of Evil; for this was at first the principal Error of *Florinus*, tho' he soon fell into those of the *Valentinians*, which obliged S. *Irenæus* to dedicate another Work to him, Entituled, περὶ ὀγδοάδος, because it was written against the Octonary of the Æons of the *Valentinians*.

Not long after, under the Pontificate of *Victor* the Successor of *Eleutherus*, the Controversie that arose between the *Asiatick* Bishops and this Pope, gave occasion to S. *Irenæus* to use his utmost endeavours to re-establish Peace. The Subject of this Dispute was to know on what day *Easter* ought to be observed; The Bishops of *Asia*, according to their ancient custom, always celebrated that Festival on the 14th of the Moon of *March*, on whatever Day of the Week it happened, whereas the Western Churches waited for the Lords-Day before they celebrated it. This difference in point of practice, which seems to be but of little consequence, produced some disturbance among the Churches of the first Ages; and when S. *Polycarp* came to *Rome* in the time of Pope *Anicetus*, these two Bishops earnestly endeavoured to accommodate this matter; but not being able to persuade one another to leave their former Custom, (so jealous have Churches always been of their Ceremonies and Customs) they parted very good Friends, thinking that a difference of so little moment ought not to interrupt their mutual Agreement. But under the Pontificate of *Victor*, this Contest was revived with greater heat; and had well nigh caused a division in the Catholick Church. For this Pope, incensed because the Bishops of *Asia* being very far from submitting to the Threats and Penalties which he had denounced against them, in case they refused to abolish their own Custom, and to conform to that of the Western Churches, had procured a large Epistle to be written to him by *Polycrates* Bishop of *Ephesus* in vindication thereof; took a resolution to drive *Polycrates* and the *Asiatick* Bishops out of their Churches, and *sent every where Letters* (says *Eusebius*) *in which he declared them to be Excommunicated.* Whereupon the other Bishops, and even those that celebrated the Feast of *Easter* with those of the West, disapproved the Proceedings of *Victor*, and wrote Letters to exhort him to take other Measures more conformable to Peace and Charity. But there was none that performed this with greater efficacy than S. *Irenæus*, who wrote an Epistle to him under the name of the Church of *France*, wherein he declares, that tho' he himself solemnized the Feast of *Easter* on the Lord's Day according to his manner, yet he could not approve of his undertaking to Excommunicate whole Churches for the observation of a Custom which they had received from their Ancestors. He advertiseth him, that different Customs have been used in Churches not only in the Celebration of the Festival of *Easter*, but also of Fasts, and in divers other matters of practice. Lastly, he lays before him, that his Predecessors did not contend with the *Asiatick* Bishops in this matter; and that S. *Polycarp* being arrived at *Rome*, and having holden a Conference with Pope *Anicetus* touching this affair, they decreed, that mutual Communion and Peace ought not to be broken for a matter of so small importance. It is probable that *Victor* was convinced by these Reasons; for tho' the *Asiaticks* did not lay aside their Custom, yet it doth not appear that the Union between them and the Bishops of *Rome* was thereupon discontinued. This Epistle is produced by *Eusebius*, who affirms, that this Father wrote many others of the like nature to other Bishops.

To return to the Works of S. *Irenæus*, besides those that we have already mentioned, he wrote a Treatise against the Gentiles very concise and extreamly necessary, (says *Eusebius*) Entituled, *Of Knowledge* (*n*) περὶ ὑπερῳώσεως, as also another Tract which he wrote to *Marcion*, to shew what was the Doctrin that was Preached by the Apostles; and lastly, a Book containing several Dissertations διαλέξεις on different Subjects, wherein (according to the Testimony of *Eusebius*) he quotes the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, and the Book of the Wisdom of *Solomon*. These are all the Works of S. *Irenæus* that *Eusebius* and S. *Jerome* mention (*o*), but it is not known when these last were written.

(*m*) *Bearing this Title, &c.*] Ἐλέγχου καὶ ἀνατροπῆς τῆς Ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως βιβλία πέντε. *Eusebius, Photius*, and others. This agrees with the name which he has given his Books in his Prefaces to *Lib.* 2, 3, and 4. and in the last Chapter of the 4th as well as the first of the fifth. The Hereticks of those times called their knowledge γνῶσις, and themselves *Gnosticks*, which was also the name of a particular Sect.

(*n*) *Of Knowledge.*] St. *Jerome* distinguisheth this Treatise of Knowledge from that against the Gentiles, for want of having sufficiently minded a passage in *Eusebius*, *Lib.* 5. *c.* 26.

(*o*) *That* Eusebius *and S. Jerome mentions.*] S. *Jerome* speaking of the Apocalypse of S. *John* tells us, that S. *Justin* and S. *Irenæus* have interpreted it, from whence some conclude, that S. *Irenæus* composed a Commentary upon it. But S. *Jerome*'s true meaning is, that these two Authors cited and explained some passages of it. Some Authors formerly attributed to him the Book *De universo*, which was composed by *Caius* a Presbyter of *Rome*, mentioned by *Photius*, *Cod.* 48. The Author of the Questions attributed to S. *Justin*, cites a Book about *Easter*, *Quæst.* 115. and tells us, that there was an Account, that they did not pray kneeling on Sundays. and that there was mention made of the Pentecost, all which perhaps might be found in the intire Letter of S. *Irenæus* to *Polycarp*, of which *Eusebius* has only given us a fragment. *Eusebius* in his fourth Book, *ch.* 25. speaking of the Book of *Philip* against *Marcion*, tells us, that S. *Irenæus* and *Modestus* had likewise wrote against the same Heretick. S. *Irenæus* himself, *lib.* 1. *c.* 29. promises to write particularly against that Heretick. We are not assured whether he ever did write against him or no, because neither S. *Jerome*, nor *Eusebius*, who have given us a Catalogue of all the Books of S. *Irenæus*, mention it. 'Tis probable, that the Letter of the Churches of *Vienna* and *Lyons* concerning their Martyrs was writ by S. *Irenæus*.

The Death of S. *Irenæus* was no less glorious than his Life; for after having governed the Flock which Jesus Christ had committed to his Charge for 24 Years, he was not willing to abandon it in the time of the Persecution of the Emperor *Severus*, which was much more cruel in *France* than in any other part of the World. He suffered Martyrdom at *Lyons* with all the Christians that were found in that City, and in so great numbers that their Blood ran down through all the Streets, according to the report of *Gregory* of *Tours* in the first Book of his History, *Chap.* 27. We have not any particular account of his Martyrdom, which happened in the Year, 202, or 203, after the Nativity of Jesus Christ. S. *Irenæus.*

Of all the Works of this Father, there remains only in our possession a very barbarous Version of those against the Heresies, and some few Greek Fragments of these Books given us by *Eusebius*, *Theodoret*, S. *Epiphanius*, and S. *Johannes Damascenus*, which are collected in the last Edition of *Feuardentius*, and in the Writings of *Halloixius*. There is also a Fragment of his Epistle to *Florinus* extant, and a considerable part of that to *Victor*, and an Advertisement which he had inserted at the end of his Book περὶ ὀκταδος, to oblige the Transcribers thereof, faithfully to revise and correct their Copy from his Manuscript. The Version of the five Books, concerning the Heresies, tho' Barbarous (as I have hinted already) and full of Faults, yet is a very valuable Fragment; for the Variety which is in it is admirable.

In the First Book, after having described at large the Errors of the *Valentinians*, in *Chap.* 1. He opposeth to them in the Second, the Faith of all the Churches in the World, which he comprehends in a kind of Creed; In the Third and Fourth Chapters, he proceeds to shew that all the Churches and all Christians agree in this Faith, and that the most Learned cannot add any thing to it, or make any Alterations from it, nor the most simple and ignorant, diminish any part of it. The following Chapters are spent in explaining the absurd Notions of *Valentinus* and his Disciples. In the 20th he returns to the Source and Original of the Hereticks, and beginning with *Simon Magus*, he gives an Account successively of all the Heresies that appeared since the time of the Sorcerer, even unto that wherein he wrote. This first Book indeed is extreamly tedious, being fill'd with almost nothing else but the wild Conceits, and extravagant Imaginations of the primitive Hereticks: There is a notable passage in it concerning Penance, upon the occasion of certain Women, who being defiled by a famous Impostor named *Mark*, afterwards did Penance, during the remainder of their Lives. In the Second Book, S. *Irenæus* begins to impugn the Errors which he had barely recited in the First: He chiefly makes use of the Principles of the Hereticks in opposing them, and shews that they contradict themselves, and that all their Whimsies are ridiculous and ill laid together. In the Third Book he confutes them by the Authority of Holy Scripture and Tradition: He proves that it is impossible, that all the Churches in the World should agree together, to alter the Apostolical Doctrin; that the Evangelists and Apostles knew but one only God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, and one Jesus Christ God and Man, who was born of a Virgin, who is not the Son of *Joseph*, but was really Man, and that he actually suffered, and not in appearance only, as was pretended by the Hereticks. He occasionally refutes the Error of *Tatian*, concerning the Damnation of *Adam*, and maintains as a certain Truth, that he is saved. In the Fourth Book he continues to demonstrate, that there is but one God; particularly, he shews against *Marcion*, that the same God is exhibited in the Old and New Testament; he Answers all the Objections of the Hereticks, and especially those which they took from Scripture; afterwards he alledgeth the Reasons that induce a spiritual Man, that is to say, a Christian, to condemn the Pagans, Jews, Hereticks and Schismaticks. Lastly, he rejects the Opinion of those who affirmed, that Men were naturally good or evil, and proves the Liberty of Mankind. In the last Book, he Treats of the Redemption of Jesus Christ, of the Fall of Man, of the Resurrection of the last Judgment, of Anti-Christ, and of the State of Souls after Death. This is in General the Subject of every one of the Books of S. *Irenæus*; and they that peruse them will find several other passages relating to some weighty Articles of our Religion.

There are for Example, many excellent Paragraphs concerning the Holy Scriptures, and among others, one in Book 2. *Chap.* 46, and 47. There are very considerable passages touching the Eucharist in Book 3. *Chap.* 19. Book 4. *Chap.* 32, and 34. and in Book 5. *Chap.* 4. Where he proves the Resurrection of the Body against the *Valentinians*, because it is not credible, that being nourished with the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, it should remain in Corruption: He mentions the Three Persons of the Trinity (*p*). In many places of his Works, and almost as often as he speaks of the Word he establisheth his Divinity, Eternity (*q*), and Equality with the Father (*r*).

(*p*) *Of the Trinity.*] Lib. 1. c. 2. lib. 3. c. 20. lib. 4. c. 25, 37, and 75. and lib. 5.

(*q*) *His Divinity and Eternity.*] Lib. 1. c. 19. lib. 2. c. 18, and 48. lib. 3. c. 6. In all these places, and several others, he says, That the *Word is truly God.* Lib. 2. c. 43, and 56. and lib. 3. c. 20. he says, that the Word is, and was always co-existent with the Father.

(*r*) *And his equality with the Father.*] In the fourth Book, *ch.* 8. he says, That the Son is the measure of the Father, because he comprehends him. He seems to have said something contrary to this, *lib.* 2. where he says, that the Father is greater than the Son, that he knew not of the Day of Judgment; And in another place he says, that the Father is invisible, and the Son visible. But as to the first passage, there is no more difficulty in it than in that of S. *John*, and he speaks there of Jesus Christ considered as a Man. And the second ought to be understood after the same manner, as we have explained a like passage of S. *Justin*. It is yet more favourable to us, because he says that the Son makes the Father visible, *Visibile Patris Filius.* Which shews, that the Father and the Son are of the same nature.

S. Irenæus.

In the Second Book (*s*), he Treats at large concerning the Faculties of the Soul; he conceives that it is distinguished from the Body, and that it is of a different Nature; he there refutes the *Metempsychosis*, or Transmigration of Souls out of one Body into another, and proves that those of the just shall subsist Eternally. But he seems to have believed, as well as S. *Justin*, that they are immortal only through Grace, and that those of the Wicked shall cease to be, after they have been tormented for a long time. He maintains also another particular Opinion, that the Souls assume the Figure of their Bodies, but this word Figure may be understood of some peculiar Quality of the Soul.

He Discourseth in many places of the Fall of the first Man, and of the lamentable Consequences of his Sin (*t*), he teacheth that to repair this Loss, and for the Redemption of Mankind, the Word was made Man, and that it is through Grace, that he hath merited for us by his Passion, that all Men may be saved (*u*). As for the State of Souls separated from their Bodies, he determined that they were conveyed into an invisible place, where they expected the Resurrection of the Body, and that the Just after having Reigned with Jesus Christ on Earth, during the space of a Thousand Years, and enjoyed temporal Pleasures, should enter into Heaven, to possess Eternal Happiness (*x*). He imagined also, that our Saviour descended into Hell, to preach the Faith there unto the Patriarchs, and to the ancient just Men, as well Jews as Gentiles, and that they that believed at his Preaching should be reckoned in the number of the Saints (*y*). Moreover he maintained some other particular Opinions; he believed for Example, that Jesus Christ lived above Fifty Years upon Earth (*z*), and that as Man. He was ignorant of the Day of Judgment, *&c.* He approves the Judgment of S. *Justin*, that the Devil knew not his Condemnation before the coming of Jesus Christ (*aa*). He asserts, that the Saints shall understand by little and little, those things whereof they had no knowledge in their Entrance into Happiness (*bb*). Lastly, he imagines that God sent *Enoch* to the Angels (*cc*), whom he conceives to be corporeal. The ancient Propagators of Christianity ought to be excused for these sorts of Opinions, there being scarcely one of them that had not admitted some Notions almost like these.

The Style of S. *Irenæus* (as far as we can judge by that part of his Works, which as yet remains) is succinct, clear and strong, but not very sublime: He declares himself in his Preface to the First Book; *That the Elegancy of a polite Dissertation ought not to be sought for in his Works, because residing among the* Celtæ, *it is impossible but that he should utter many barbarous Words; that he did not affect Discourse with Eloquence nor Ornament, and that he knew not how to persuade by the force of his Expressions, but that he wrote with a vulgar Simplicity.* He takes more pains to instruct his Reader, than to divert him, and he endeavours more to convince him by the Matters which he propounded, than by the manner of Expressing them. It cannot be doubted, but that he was a very profound Scholar in all sorts of Knowledge, as well Prophane as Sacred; he perfectly understood the Poets and Philosophers (*dd*); there was no Heretick of whose Doctrin and Arguments he was ignorant; he had an exquisite knowledge of the Holy Scriptures; he retained an infinite number of things, which the Disciples of the Apostles had taught by word of Mouth: Lastly, he was exceeding well versed in History and in the Discipline of the Church, so that nothing can be more litterally true, than what is attested of him by *Tertullian*, Irenæus *omnium Doctrinarum Curiosissimus explorator*. Moreover, his Learning was accompanied with a great deal of Prudence, Humility, Efficacy and Charity, and it may be justly affirmed, that he wanted nothing that was necessary for the Qualification of a good Christian, an Accomplished Bishop, and an able Ecclesiastical Writer. However, the Learned *Photius* had reason to take notice of one defect, which is common to him, with many other ancient Authors; that is, *That he weakens and obscures* (if we may so term it) *the most certain Truths of Religion, by Arguments that are not very solid (ee).* It were easie to produce some Instances of this defect, but it seems to me to be more expedient to leave them to the Judgment of the Readers of his Works.

Erasmus first published the ancient Version of the Five Books of S. *Irenæus*, which was at first Printed at *Basil*, in the Year 1526. A Second Edition was likewise set forth at the same place by *Frobenius* in 1528. afterwards in 1533, 1545, 1548, 1554, 1560, in *Folio*, and in 1571, at *Paris* in 1528, and 1563. in *Octavo* by *Petit*, in a very fair Character, and by the same Printer in 1567. again in *Octavo*. These Editions were followed by those of *Gallasius* Minister of *Geneva*, in the Year 1570.

(*s*) *In the second Book.*] Lib. 2. c. 51, *&c.* principally in the 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, and 64. where he speaks of the Immortality of the Souls of the Just. See likewise *Chap.* 37. and 73. of the fourth Book, and *Lib.* 5. *c.* 32.

(*t*) *Of the lamentable consequences of his Sin.*] Lib 3. c. 20, 33, 34, and 35. and in several places of the fifth Book.

(*u*) *That all Men may be saved.*] Lib. 3. cap. 18, 20, 22, and 23. Lib. 4. chap. 5.

(*x*) *To possess eternal happiness.*] Lib. 5. c. 31, 32, *&c.*

(*y*) *Number of the Saints.*] Lib. 4. c. 39, and 45.

(*z*) *Above fifty Years upon Earth.*] Lib. 1. c. 40. &c.

(*aa*) *Before the coming of Jesus Christ.*] Lib. 4. c. 78.

(*bb*) *Whereof they had no knowledge in their Entrance into happiness.*] Lib. 2. c. 47.

(*cc*) *To the Angels.*] Lib. 4. c. 30.

(*dd*) *The Poets and Philosophers.*] It is certain, he understood *Homer* very well, since he collects several Verses taken out of different places, to describe the carrying away of *Cerberus*, *lib.* 1. And as for the Pagan Philosophers, he knew them so very thoroughly, that in the second Book, *ch.* 11. he discovers all that the *Valentinians* had borrowed from each of them. We need only read over his first Book to be sufficiently persuaded, that he had very particularly applied himself to know all the Opinions of the Hereticks. One sees by the Histories which he cites as well in his Books, as in his Letter to *Victor*, how well he was verst in History, and in the Discipline of the Church.

(*ee*) *Arguments that are not very solid.*] Phot. Cod. 120. *Etsi in aliquibus Ecclesiasticorum dogmatum certa veritas spuriis rationibus fuscari videtur.*

Lastly,

Lastly, *Feuardentius*, a Professor of Divinity of the Faculty of *Paris*, a Learned Man in his time undertook this Work, and Printed at *Paris* by *Nivelle*, in 1575 and 1576, the Five Books of S. *Irenæus*, Revised and Corrected in many places, from an ancient Manuscript, and Augmented with Five entire Chapters, which were found in his Manuscript at the end of the Fifth Book. He has added at the end of every Chapter several Notes, which he judged to be necessary for the better understanding of this Author; they are for the most part useful and Learned, but there are some which exceed the due Limits, that a Commentator should prescribe to himself, whose Design ought not to be, to make Ostenation of his Learning, or to Treat of Matters of Controversie, but barely to explain the Sense of his Author. The Second Edition of *Feuardentius*, Printed at *Colen* in the Year 1596, and afterwards in 1630, and at *Paris* in 1639. is better than the former, because it contains the Greek passages of S. *Irenæus*, which are extant in the Works of S. *Epiphanius*, and some other ancient Writers. To these may be added, those that are Collected by *Halloixius* from the Writings of S. *Joannes Damascenus*, in a Manuscript of the Cardinal *de la Rochefoucauld*. I am of Opinion, that it would be useless to make a new Edition of the Works of S. *Irenæus*, at least until the Greek Text shall happen to be found; for to Compose one from the Version, that we now have in our Possession (as *Halloixius* proposes) would be a Business scarce of any manner of use. S. *Irenæus*.

Victor, Polycrates, Theophilus *of* Cesarea, *and* Bachillus *of* Corinth.

SAint *Jerome* places *Victor* among the Ecclesiastical Writers, because he wrote some little Pieces about the Day of the Festival of *Easter*, which he believed ought not to be celebrated upon any other Day but a *Sunday*. *Eusebius* mentions but one Roman Synod published in the Name of *Victor*. *Victor*, &c.

Polycrates Bishop of *Ephesus* wrote a Letter against the Opinion of *Victor*, wherein he pretended that we ought to celebrate this Festival upon the 14th day after the appearance of the Moon in *March*, upon what day of the Week soever it fell. *Eusebius* cites part of this Letter written in the Name of *Polycrates*, in the 24th Chapter of the Fifth Book of his History, wherein he asserts, that S. *Polycarp*, and several other Disciples of the Apostles, celebrated the Feast of *Easter* on the same Day, as was generally observed in *Asia*; that is to say, the Fourteenth Day after the appearance of the Moon in *March* upon what day soever it happened. This difference, as we have already observed, raised some Divisions among the Churches, and exercised the Pens of the most Learned Bishops. The Bishops of *Palestine*, *Narcissus* of *Jerusalem*, *Theophilus* of *Cesarea*, *Cassus* of *Tyre*, and *Clarus* of *Ptolomais*, wrote a Letter in the Name of the Council, wherein, after they had proved that they derived this Custom from the Apostles, they gave Orders to have their Letter solemnly published, and declared, That they celebrated *Easter* after the same manner as the Church of *Alexandria* did. *Bachillus* Bishop of *Corinth* wrote also a Letter in the Name of the Bishops of *Achaia* upon the same Subject, and in *Eusebius*'s time the Letters of the Bishops of *Pontus* of the Province of *Osroene* were exant. But all these Books are lost, and we have nothing that is ancient upon this Subject, except the Fragments of a Letter of S. *Irenæus*, and of that of *Polycrates* cited by *Eusebius*, *lib.* 5. *c.* 4. All these Letters were writ towards the end of the Reign of *Commodus*, or the beginning of that of *Severus*. There goes indeed under the Name of *Polycrates*, a Book Entituled, *The Passion of Blessed* Timothy, mentioned by *Sigebert*, and published by *Stapulensis*, but 'tis a supposititious Work, and never mentioned by the Ancients.

Several Writers, of whom nothing remains, and who were little known among the Ancients.

THERE lived at this time several Writers, whose Works were extant in *Eusebius*'s time, who mentions these that follow, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 27. Heraclitus *upon S.* Paul; *Some Books of* Maximus *upon that common Question among the Heretics, From whence proceeds Evil*; and *About the Creation of Matter*; *The Commentaries of* Appion, *and of* Candidus *upon the* Hexameron; Sextus's *Book concerning the Resurrection*; A Treatise of one *Arabianus*, and the Writings of several others, whose time, says *Eusebius*, we are not able to find out, there being no Traces or Signs of it; and lastly, the Discourses of several Authors, whose Names we don't so much as know, who, though they were Orthodox, and of the Church, as appears by their Explication of the Scriptures, yet they were for the most part unknown, and without reputation, because their Books carried not the Names of their respective Authors. To these we must add a certain Person named *Judas*, who Composed a Dissertation *upon the Seventy Weeks of* Daniel, wherein he has composed a Chronology that reaches down to the Tenth Year of the Emperor *Severus*, and would persuade the World, that Anti-Christ was then at hand. So much had the Persecution, raised against the Christians at that time, troubled the Church. *Several Writers* &c.

SERA-

SERAPION *of* ANTIOCH.

Serapion of Antioch.

SErapion the Eighth Bishop of *Antioch* was advanced to this Dignity in the Tenth Year of the Emperor *Commodus*, in the Year of our Lord 191. He wrote a Letter to *Caricus* and *Pontius* against the Sect of the *Montanists*, a Fragment whereof *Eusebius* had cited, wherein he opposes the Authority of *Apollinarius* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, and the *(a)* Subscriptions of two Bishops of *Thrace* to the *Montanists*. There was also in the time of *Eusebius* another Letter of his addressed to *Domninus*, who of a Christian turned Jew, to reduce him from his Apostacy, and a Book concerning the Gospel falsely attributed to S. *Peter*. *Eusebius* cites a Fragment of this Book, by which it appears, that the subject and occasion which induced *Serapion* to write it, was a Contest that arose in the Church of *Rhossus* in *Cilicia* about the truth of that Gospel, that *Serapion* happening to be there, permitted them to read it, but that afterwards being convinced, that those Persons who defended it, were secret Hereticks, and that *Marcion*, who was the principal Asserter of it, received it from some Hereticks named the *Docetæ* (who believed that Jesus Christ did not really suffer, but only in appearance) he wrote this Letter to them, till he could go to see them himself, to acquaint them with the falsity and errors of that Gospel.

S. *Jerome* takes notice, that in his time there were some short Epistles of the same Author that were conformable to his austere rigid way of living; but they are wholly lost. This Bishop governed the Church of *Antioch* till the first Year of the Emperor *Caracalla*, and the Year of our Lord 203. *Antoninus* succeeded him, and was the Ninth Bishop of *Antioch* after the Apostles.

(a) The Subscriptions of two Bishops of Thrace.] These Subscriptions occasioned *Baronius* to imagine, that a Council was held upon this Subject; but they are only the Subscriptions of the Letters of two Bishops of *Thrace*, who wrote to the Asiaticks concerning this new Sect (as the Church of *France* had done) and therefore there is no necessity of saying that there was a Council assembled upon this occasion.

RHODON.

Rhodon.

RHodon, though he was of *Asia*, studied at *Rome*, and had *Tatian* for his Master. He wrote many Books, and among the rest a Treatise against the Heresie of *Marcion*, dedicated to one *Callistion*. He likewise wrote a Piece upon the *Hexameron*. S. *Jerome* attributes to him a Book against the *Montanists*, a Fragment of which, as he supposes, *Eusebius* has cited. But since *Eusebius* says nothing of its being written by *Rhodon*, and since it is certainly of a later date, we may be sure that it cannot be his. So that we have nothing of *Rhodon*'s left, save only a passage or two cited by *Eusebius*, taken out of his Book against the Heresie of *Marcion*, wherein he observes, that this Heresie in his time was divided into several Sects; that one *Apelles* acknowledged but one Principle, but that he rejected the Prophecies; that some others, as *Potitus* and *Basilicus* acknowledged two, and others introduced three Natures. He also tells us, That he had a Conference with *Apelles*, and that he himself being convinced of several Errors in their Conference; said, That we are not obliged to examine what we believe, and that all those who place their hope in Jesus Christ crucified, would be saved; that the Question about the Nature of God was exceeding obscure; that he in truth believed there was but one Principle, but that he was not assured of it, and that the Prophecies were contrary one to another. Lastly, *Eusebius* adds, that *Rhodon* says in this Book, that he was *Tatian*'s Disciple at *Rome*; that *Tatian* had written a Book concerning the most difficult Questions of Scripture, promising to explain them, but that having never done it, he himself endeavoured to perform it. And this is all we know of this Author; he flourished under the Emperors *Commodus* and *Severus*.

PANTÆNUS.

Pantænus.

PAntænus, a Stoick Philosopher *(a)*, born in *Sicily*, about the beginning of the Reign of the Emperor *Commodus* *(b)*, presided over the celebrated School of *Alexandria*, where from the time of S. *Mark* the Founder of that Church, they had always a Divine that was eminent for his Learning and Piety, to explain the Holy Scriptures, and to instruct them in Human Learning.

(a) Born in Sicily.] Some have thought that he was an *Hebrew*, but they are mistaken, for S. *Clement* speaking of the Master he had in *Ægypt*, who was our *Pantænus*, *Lib.* 1. *Strom.* calls him the *Sicilian Muse*, which shews that he was a *Sicilian*, for otherwise he would as soon have called him the *Attick Muse*. That Master of his, whom he calls an *Hebrew*, was another Person that instructed him in *Palestine*.

(b) Presided.] Eusebius, *lib.* 5. *c.* 10. *and* S. Jerome *in Catalogo.*

He

He was obliged for a time to leave this Employment to undertake another far more excellent. For the *Indians* having sent to the Bishop of *Alexandria* to furnish them with a Divine to instruct them in the Christian Religion, *Demetrius* sent *Pantænus* thither, who undertook this Mission with Joy, and behaved himself very worthily in it. 'Tis reported, that he found that the *Indians* had already some Tincture of the Christian Religion, which had been infused by S. *Bartholomew* the Apostle, and that he met with the Gospel of S. *Matthew* among them written in *Hebrew* (*c*), which that Apostle had left there. *Pantænus.*

After *Pantænus* was returned to *Alexandria*, he re-assumed the Government of the School of that City, which in his absence he in all probability had committed to the care of his Disciple S. *Clement*, a Presbyter of *Alexandria*. He continued to explain the Holy Scripture publickly under the Reign of *Severus*, and *Antoninus Caracalla*, and as S. *Jerome* tells us, was more serviceable to the Church by his Discourses, than by his Writings. Nevertheless he published some Commentaries upon the Bible, where he has discovered, as *Eusebius* says, the Treasures of the Scripture. We may judge after what manner he explained the Sacred Text, by the like performance of S. *Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Origen*, and the rest that were brought up in that School. They abound in Allegories, they find Mysteries and Instructions in every thing, and scarce ever follow the literal sense, and fill their Annotations generally with a great deal of Learning. A Man ought to have abundance of Wit and Eloquence to keep up this way of writing Commentaries, and to render it advantageous and entertaining to the People, otherwise it will degenerate and grow flat and tedious. The Commentaries of *Pantænus* are all lost. We only know, that he was the Author of that Rule, which has been ever since followed by all the Interpreters of Prophecies; that the Prophets often express themselves in indefinite Terms, and that they make use of the present time, instead of the past and future. *Theodotus* has related this Opinion of *Pantænus*, but he speaks of it, as if he had rather said it than writ it.

(*c*) *Which that Apostle had left there.*] S. *Jerome* tells us, that *Pantænus* brought it with him, and that it was in his time preserved in the Library of *Alexandria*. I cannot easily prevail with my self to believe this Story, and indeed I should rather believe, that this was the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*, which the *Nazerines* owned, which might pass for that of S. *Matthew*; for why should S. *Bartholomew* leave an *Hebrew* Book with *Indians*?

S. CLEMENT *of* ALEXANDRIA.

SAint *Clement* (*a*), a Presbyter of *Alexandria*, and Disciple of *Pantænus* (*b*), was after him, or rather at the same time with him, Master of the School at *Alexandria*, and Catechist of the Catechumens (*c*), belonging to the Church of that City. He flourished under the Emperors *Severus* and *Antoninus Caracalla*, and it plainly appears, that he lived till the Reign of *Heliogabalus*, or *Alexander Severus*, that is, till about the Year Two hundred and twenty from the Birth of Christ (*d*). As he was endowed with extraordinary Learning, and a singular Talent in Writing, so he Composed several considerable Works, which discover great Industry and Study. This is plain by the Catalogue which is left us of them, by *Eusebius* and S. *Jerome*. 'The Eight Books 'of *Stromata*; Entituled the Commentaries, or *Stromata* of *Titus Flavius Clemens*, concerning 'true Knowledge; Eight Books of *Hypotyposes*, or Instructions, an Exhortation to the Gentiles, 'quoted in the Seventh Book of the *Stromata*; Three Books commonly called the *Pedagogue*; and a S. *Clement* of *Alexan.*

(*a*) S. *Clement.*] He was called *Titus Flavius Clemens*. S. *Epiphanius*, in the Heresie of the *Secundians*, says, that he was called *Athenienſis* by some, and *Alexandrinus* by others, which has been the occasion that it was generally believed that he was of *Athens*, and that he was called *Alexandrinus* from the name of the Church whereof he was a Priest, but his Country is not certainly known. He was of the Sect of the *Stoicks*.

(*b*) *Disciple of* Pantænus.] S. *Clement* had several Masters, as he tells us himself, *Lib.* 1. *Stromat. q.* 274. He says that he had two in *Greece*, one of *Cœlosyria*, and the other of *Egypt*. And two others in the East, whereof one was an *Assyrian*, and the other of *Palestine*, and descended from the *Hebrews*: But that at last he found out one in *Egypt*, who was more Excellent than all the rest. This last was *Pantænus*, whom he often mentions in his Book of *Institutions*. We do not know who were the other four. *Baronius* believes that the *Assyrian* was *Bardesanes*, and he of *Palestine*, *Theophilus* of *Cæsaria*; but *Bardesanes* was not properly an *Assyrian*, and *Theophilus* of *Cæsaria* was rather S. *Clement*'s Companion than his Master. *Velasius* thinks with greater probability, that *Tatian* was the *Assyrian*, and *Theodotus* the *Hebrew*, under whose Name there is a Fragment of the *Institutions* at the end of the Work of S. *Clement*.

(*c*) *Catechist of the Catechumens*, &c.] *Eusebius*, Book 5. Chap. 10. and Book 6. Chap. 6. and S. *Jerome* in his *Catalogue*. We have already said, that *Pantænus* left the School of *Alexandria* to his Care when he went to preach to the *Indians*, and it is probable, that after his return they both taught in the same School.

(*d*) *About the Year two hundred and twenty from the Birth of Christ.*] It is generally believed that he died about the Year 200 from the Birth of *Christ*, but he must needs have lived longer; for *Pantænus* who was his Master lived to this time, and the Ancients assure us that he survived him. He wrote his *Stromata* in the time of the Emperor *Severus*.

S. *Clement of Alexandria.*

'Book Entituled, *What rich Man can be saved*; a small Treatise concerning Easter; a Discourse of 'Fasting, another of Slander; an Exhortation to Patience, written to the *Catechumens*; a Book 'Entituled, *The Ecclesiastical Rule*, against the Jews, Dedicated to *Alexander* Bishop of *Jerusalem*. Besides these Books, S. *Clement* in his Second Book of the *Pedagogue*, *Chap.* 10. tells us, That he wrote a Book of *Continence*; and in his Third Book, *Chap.* 8. a Book concerning *Marriage*. Of these Works we have still Three remaining that are very considerable, *The Exhortation to the Gentiles*, the *Pedagogue*, the Eight Books of the *Stromata*, and the little Tract Entituled, *What rich can be saved*, which *Johannes Mattheus Cariophylus*, Arch-Bishop of *Iconium*, published from a Manuscript of the *Vatican* Library, whence Father *Combefis* made a new Version which he set forth, together with the Original Greek, in the last Volume of his Supplement to the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. [It was Printed also at *Oxon* in Twelves, 1683. Doctor *Cave* says, That it was published formerly under *Origen*'s Name, being Printed by *Michael Gheistlerus*, with *Origen*'s Commentaries upon *Jeremiah*.]

The *Exhortations to the Gentiles*, is a Discourse written to convert the *Pagans* from their Religion, and to persuade them to embrace that of Jesus Christ. In the beginning of it, he shews what Difference there is between the Design of Jesus Christ, and that of *Orpheus*, and those ancient Musicians, who were the first Authors of Idolatry, by telling us that these drew in Men by their Singing, and the sweetness of their Musick, to render them miserable Slaves to Idols, and to make them like the very Beasts, and Stocks and Stones which they adored; whereas Jesus Christ, who from all Eternity was the WORD of God, always had a compassionate Tenderness for Men, and at last took their Nature upon him, to free them from the Slavery of *Dæmons*; to open the Eyes of those that were blind, and the Ears of those that were deaf; to guide their Paths in the way of Justice; to deliver them from Death and Hell; and to bestow on them everlasting Life; to put them in a Capacity of leading a Heavenly Life here upon Earth; and Lastly, that God made himself Man, to teach Man to become like unto God. Having thus represented the Advantages of the Christian Religion, he exhorts them in a few words, to embrace Vertue, Justice, Temperance, and to imitate the Example of Jesus Christ, that so they may become worthy of eternal Salvation. He afterwards shews the Falshood of the Pagan Religion: First, by discovering the Infamy, and Vanity of their Mysteries, which he enumerates and describes exactly. Secondly, by shewing the Original of Idolatry, and after what manner Men first invented those false Deities. 'Some, says he, contemplating the Stars, 'and admiring their Courses, deifyed them; so the Indians adored the Sun, the *Phrygians* the Moon, 'and others gathering with Pleasure the Fruits that grow out of the Earth, made a Deity of Corn, 'which they call *Ceres*, and another of the Vine, and that they call *Bacchus*. Others dreading Pu-'nishments, Afflictions, Miseries and Calamities, invented particular Deities, who were either the In-'struments of sending them upon Mankind, or else of diverting them from Men: Some Philosophers 'following the Fancy of the Poets, made Deities of the Passions, such as Love, Hope and Joy, and 'others placed the Vertues in the Rank of Gods, representing them by external Shapes; *Hesiod* and '*Homer* in their Accounts of the Generation of the Gods, and Descriptions of their Actions have 'given Rise to a new sort of Theology. Lastly, the common People have made Gods of those, 'from whom they have received any considerable Benefit. After having thus discovered the Original of Idolatry, he shews the Folly of it, by proving that the principal Gods, as *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Vulcan*, *Æsculapius*, &c. were Men like others, and that we know their Country, their manner of Living and Employments, and that we may see their Sepulchres to this Day: That the Poets have set down their Loves, their Wounds and their Crimes: That the wisest of the Heathens have owned the Falshood of these Deities: That the several Religions of the Pagans destroy one another: That it is a strange kind of Blindness, to adore Statues as real Deities. Then he goes on to the principal Design of his Work, which is to exhort Men to adore the true God, and to embrace the Religion of Jesus Christ: He shews that the wisest of the Philosophers, as *Plato*, *Cleanthes*, *Pythagoras* and *Xenophon*, have confest that there was but One true God; and that even the most ancient Poets, as *Aratus*, *Hesiod*, *Euripides* and *Orpheus*, have been obliged to acknowledge the same; and that the Sibyls, the Prophets, and the Books of Scripture teach only the Worship of One God. Afterwards he is very earnest to persuade Men to embrace the Christian Religion, in consideration of the great Advantages that it carries along with it, towards the Attainment of eternal Salvation, which they cannot otherwise hope for, and for preserving themselves from eternal Torments, which they cannot possibly avoid, but by believing in Jesus Christ, and by living conformably to his Laws. 'If you were permitted, says he, 'to purchase eternal Salvation, what would you not give for it? And now you may obtain it by Faith 'and Charity. There is nothing can hinder you from acquiring it, neither Poverty, nor Misery, nor 'Old Age, nor any other State of Life: Believe therefore, in One God who is God and Man, and re-'ceive eternal Salvation for a Recompence. Seek God, and you shall live for ever. Thus he concludes with a long Exhortation, wherein he most earnestly presses Men to quit their Idolatry and Vices, and to live and believe as the Christians do.

The Second Book Entituled the *Pedagogue*, is a Discourse entirely of Morality. It is divided into three Books. In the first he shews, what it is to be a *Pedagogue*, that is to say, a Conductor, Pastor, or Director of Men: He proves that this Quality chiefly and properly belongs only to the WORD Incarnate. He says that it is the part of the *Pedagogue* to regulate the Manners, conduct the Actions, and cure the Passions. That he preserves Men from Sins, and heals them when they have been already Guilty. That the WORD performs these Functions by forgiving our Sins, as he is God, and instructing Us as he is Man, with great Sweetness and Charity. That he equally informs

Book I.
Chap. 1.
Chap. 2.
Chap. 3.
Chap. 4.

Men

Men and Women, the Learned and Ignorantt, becauſe all Men ſtand in need of Inſtruction, being all Children in one Senſe. Yet however, that we muſt not think that the Doctrin of the Chriſtians is Childiſh and Contemptible: But that on the contrary, the Quality of Children, which they receive in Baptiſm, renders them perfect in the knowledge of Divine Things, by delivering them from Sins by Grace, and enlightning them by the Illumination of Faith: And that ſo we are at the ſame time both Children and perfect Men, and that the Milk wherewith we are nouriſhed, being both the Word and the Will of God, is a very Solid and Subſtantial Nouriſhment. That the WORD guided the Jews in the Old teſtament by Fear; but that after it was Incarnate, it has changed this Fear into Love. The Reproaches, Afflictions and Puniſhments, which the WORD makes uſe of to chaſtiſe Men, are not Signs of his bearing any hatred towards them, but effects of his Juſtice, and of the Care which he takes to Correct them: That it is the ſame God, the Creator of the World, who is both Good and Juſt, that puniſhes and ſhews Mercy: That he is good upon his own Account, and juſt as to Men: That Reproofs and Chaſtiſements are for their Good; that there are two kinds of Fear, the Fear which Children have of their Father, or Subjects of their King; and the Fear which Slaves have of their Maſter. That both theſe Sorts of Fear are profitable to Men, but that the Firſt is by much the moſt perfect. That the WORD enclines Men to good by its Exhortations, and prevents them from Sinning, by its Threatnings: That he performed the Function of a *Pedagogue* by *Moſes* and the Prophets, and that he is at laſt come himſelf to give men ſuitable Remedies to their ſeveral Miſeries, and to Conduct them according to the Dictates of right Reaſon. That the whole Life of a Chriſtian is a continued *Series* of Actions, conformable to Reaſon, and that Sin is produced by the going out of that way.

S. *Clement of Alexan.* *Chap.* 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. *Laſt Chap.*

In the 2d and 3d Book of the *Pedagogue*, S. *Clement* deſcends to the Recapitulation of Human Actions, and gives Rules for Temperance and Chriſtian Modeſty. In the former of theſe he ſhews, that the End and Deſign of Eating, ought not to be Pleaſure but Neceſſity, and that therefore we muſt avoid Exceſs both in the Quantity, and the Quality of our Meat. That Wine is not to be Drunk but with great Moderation, and that young Perſons particularly ought wholly to abſtain from it. He finds great Fault with Luxury in Houſhold-ſtuff and Moveables. He is of Opinion, that Vocal and Inſtrumental Muſick, ought to be baniſhed from the Chriſtian Feſtivals, and that we ſhould only celebrate therein the Praiſes of God. He is againſt immoderate Laughter, and uttering ſuch Words as are unſeemly. He requires that exact Modeſty be obſerved in the Countenance, and in Diſcourſe; he reprehends thoſe who put Crowns and Garlands upon their Heads, and who perfumed themſelves with Balm. He allows but little Sleep, and that in ſuch Beds, that are neither too ſtately nor too delicate. That it is not lawful to Marry but with a Deſign of begetting Children; That we ſhould not make uſe of Cloaths, but for the ſake of Decency. He declaims againſt Luxury of Apparel, againſt precious Stones, againſt Fantaſtical Dreſſes in Men or Women, and againſt publick Baths. He deſcribes and inveighs againſt all theſe things better than ever *Juvenal*, or any of the ancient Satyriſts had done before him. He intermixes his Satyr with ſeveral Curious Inſtructions, and deſcends to particulars like a Caſuiſt.

Book II. *Chap.* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10. 11. and 12. *Book* III. *Chap.* 1, 2,3,4,5.

He paſſes in the next Place to the Precepts of Vertue oppoſite to the Vices he has been reprehending: He ſhews, that there is none but the Chriſtian, who is truly Rich. That he ought to live in an entire Frugality. That he muſt not make uſe of any Exerciſes, and Pleaſures, no farther than is abſolutely neceſſary for his Health. He adds moreover divers Inſtructions, more particularly ſuited to the Women, to perſwade them to carry themſelves always Civilly, and Modeſtly, and more eſpecially in Churches. Laſtly, he makes a Collection of ſeveral Places of Scripture, which relate to Morality, and the Conduct of our Life, and concludes by exhorting Men to harken unto, and to obey the Precepts of Jeſus Chriſt, their Supreme and Sovereign *Pedagogue*, to whom he Addreſſes a Prayer, praiſing him with the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt, and returning him Thanks for making him a Member of his Church. Theſe Books are very profitable for thoſe that ſtudy Morality, and if the Caſuiſts of our Times had peruſed and conſidered them well, they had not fallen into that damnable Remiſneſs, wherein they have ſuffered themſelves to be overtaken: They might alſo be very uſeful to all Chriſtians, and I much wonder that no Perſon has undertaken to tranſlate them in this Age, wherein ſeveral Pious and Learned Men, have employed their Time and Labour in rendring intelligible to all People the moſt excellent Writings of the Fathers, by tranſlating them into our Language with a Clearneſs of Expreſſion, and Exactneſs of Style not to be imitated. But if any would undertake the Tranſlation of the *Pedagogue*, he muſt leave out ſeveral Paſſages, that are not fitting to be read by every Body, and accommodate ſome other Places to the Manners and Cuſtoms of our Times.

Chap. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. *Laſt Chap.*

The Books Entituled *Stromata* (e) are ſo called, becauſe they contain ſeveral choice Thoughts (f) Collected from divers Places, and joyned together, ſo as to make a Variety ſomewhat like that in *Turky-work*

(e) *The Books entituled* Stromata.] This Book was called, as *Euſebius* tells us, The *Stromatic* Commentaries of *Titus Flavius Clemens* concerning the *Gnoſticks*, according to the True Philoſophy; This Title is at the end of the Firſt Book, oppoſing the Falſe *Gnoſticks* to the True ones, which are the Sober and Diſcreet Chriſtians.

(f) *Choice Particulars.*] The Word στρωμάτους properly ſignifies a Sheet of Linnen, or a Bag to incloſe Pieces of Tapeſtry; it likewiſe ſignifies a certain Fiſh with Speckles on the Back. It is here taken for that neat Mixture we ſee in Tapeſtry, and it imports as much as *Miſcellaneous Commentaries or Diſcourſes*. *Ruffinus* tranſlates it, *Opus varie contextum*; *Plutarch* wrote a Book with this Title, and *Origen* wrote another after S. *Clement*.

Carpets. Let us ſee how S. *Clement* ſpeaks of his own Work, in the Beginning of his Fourth Book.
S. *Clement of Alexan.* 'Theſe Books, ſays he, are ſtor'd with Varieties, as their Name imports; we here paſs on continually 'from one thing to another, and we often mention things that are Foreign to our Subject. He afterwards compares this Work to a Meadow, a Tract of Land, or a Garden, wherein one may find all ſorts of Herbs, Flowers and Fruits, of which we may gather what we pleaſe. 'But not, *as he 'ſays in another Place*, to thoſe beautiful Gardens, where the Trees and Plants are ranged only to 'pleaſe the Sight; but rather to a thick and ſhady Mountain, where the Cypreſſes, the Linden-'Trees, the Lawrels, the Ivy, the Apple-Trees, the Olives, the Figg-trees, and other kind of Trees 'both fruitful and barren, are mixt together. He ſays that he has obſerved this Method deſignedly, 'that ſo he might not clearly diſcover our Myſteries to thoſe who were not yet initiated, and yet 'ſo as others might comprehend them, and might thence make their Advantage; as, ſays he, the 'Fruit-Trees of this Mountain, whereof we but juſt now ſpake, are concealed from thoſe who would 'riſle them, whereas the Labourer, who underſtands them, may pluck them up, and make a Garden, 'or a pleaſant Foreſt. Do not therefore expect, ſays he, in theſe Books, either Order or Politeneſs; 'ſince our Deſign was to conceal, and, if I may ſo ſay, to embroil Things, that ſo none but the In-'telligent, and thoſe who will take the Pains to inform themſelves, may be able to comprehend 'them: So that as S. *Clement* has not obſerved any Method in theſe Books, but intermixed ſeveral Notions all-a-long of Philoſophy, and Religion, it is a difficult Matter to make ſuch an Abridgment of them, as we have given of the Books of the *Pedagogue*. However we ſhall endeavour to give an Account of the principal Matters, which he there diſcourſes of.

In the Firſt Book, after having ſhewn how advantagious it is, for Perſons of Ability to Compoſe Books, he propoſes the Subject of his, ſaying that they ſhall contain the principal Verities of Religion mixt, or rather concealed under the Maxims of Philoſophy. Thence he takes occaſion to refute thoſe who find fault with Philoſophy; to ſhew the Profit and Advantage of it; to Diſcourſe of the Uſe that may be made of it: And he concludes by ſhewing that the Philoſophy of the Hebrews is the moſt Ancient of all, juſtifying this Truth by a moſt curious and exact Chronology.

In the Second Book he treats of Faith, and its Effects, which are Repentance, Hope and Fear; he proves that Faith is neceſſary; that it is not in us by Nature, but by Will; that it is God's Gift, but ſo as to depend upon our own Free-will; that true Repentance conſiſts in doing no more that which we are troubled for having done already; that there are two kinds of it, the Firſt is that of thoſe, who turned to the true Faith, to efface the Sins they committed, whilſt they were Heathens; the Second is that of thoſe, who have fallen after their Converſion, but yet have an Opportunity of obtaining Forgiveneſs, provided they are heartily ſorry for their Sin; but that thoſe who often fall into the ſame Sin, and by that means make a Circle of Repenting and Sinning, are like to thoſe who have no Faith: And that it is only a ſeeming, and no true Repentance, in thoſe who ask Pardon for thoſe very Sins which they never intend to reform. Upon occaſion of Repentance he Diſcourſes of Sin. He ſays that Men commit it freely, and that they are purified from it by Faith and Charity. That the Fear of God is very profitable for us, that it inſtructs us, that it cauſes us to avoid Sin, and that it incites us to Love. He commends Charity, Temperance and Hoſpitality. He condemns thoſe that plunge themſelves in ſenſual Pleaſures: And propoſes to them the Example of the Martyrs who ſuffered Fire, Torments, and Death it ſelf for the Defence of Juſtice and Truth. Afterwards he Diſcourſes of Marriage, and defines it to be a lawful Conjunction between a Man and a Woman, for the Propagation of Children. He approves of it, and ſhews its Advantages, telling us that it is never lawful to leave the Woman, in order to Marry another, upon any Pretence whatever.

He continues in the Third Book, to ſpeak againſt the Incontinence of the *Nicolaitans*, *Carpocratians*, *Valentinians*, and ſeveral other Hereticks, and he defends Marriage againſt the *Marcionites*, againſt *Tatian*, and the other Hereticks that blamed it, tho' he prefers Virginity before it as a greater good; *Provided*, ſays he, *that it be kept merely for the Love of God, and for the obſerving his Commands.* He maintains that Marriage is indiſſoluble, he does not entirely condemn Second Marriages, but blames them. He occaſionally tells a Story of *Nicholas* one of the Seven firſt Deacons, who is ſuppoſed to be the Author of the *Nicolaitans*, who having a handſom Wife, and being accuſed of Jealouſie, brought her, as they ſay, before the Apoſtles, and gave her leave to Marry whom ſhe pleaſed of them. But he excuſes *Nicholas*, and ſays, that thoſe who boaſt of being his Diſciples have put a wrong Conſtruction upon this Action, as well as upon his Words: That he was informed, that he never had any Commerce with any other Woman, but his Wife: That his Daughters remained Virgins, and his Son was very Chaſt. He ſays that the Apoſtles S. *Peter*, and S. *Philip* were Married, and that they had Children: That even S. *Philip* Married his Daughters; and he adds alſo, that S. *Paul* had a Wife, wherein he is miſtaken.

[Tho' it is uncertain whether S. *Paul* was ever Married, yet it is a raſh thing to ſay poſitively he was not. S. *Clement* alledges a Tradition in this Matter, which might eaſily be conveyed entire down to his time. It is plain, that the true *Yoke-fellow*, *Philip.* 4. 3. was a Woman; which others of the Ancients underſtood of his Wife, beſides S. *Clement*. His Expoſtulating with the *Corinthians*, and aſſerting that he had a Power to lead about a Siſter, or a Wife as well as S. *Peter* or any of the Apoſtles, may as well prove, that S. *Paul* juſtified his own Practice, as that he thought the thing ſimply lawful: eſpecially ſince he is there making a Defence for himſelf. The Queſtion however is very far from being certain in the Negative, and therefore at leaſt ought to be left undetermin'd.]

In the Fourth Book he treats of Martyrdom, and Chriſtian Perfection. He ſhews the Excellency of Martyrdom, and exhorts Chriſtians to undergo it, confuting the Hereticks, who held that Martyrdom

tyrdom was no Vertuous Action: He makes the Perfection of Christianity, to consist in the Love of God and our Neighbour. He would have us love Sinners, and yet detest their Sin; that we should do good out of a Principle of Love, and not for Fear. 'For that Man, says he, that abstains from 'Evil only out of a slavish Fear, is not good voluntarily, but for Fear-sake; and he who would not 'have abstained but in Consideration of the Recompence, cannot be said to be Just with a good 'Heart. For in the one 'tis Fear, and in the other the Hope of a Reward, which renders them Just, 'or rather which makes them appear so to the Eyes of the World. He says that God inflicts Punishments upon Men for Three Reasons. First, that the Man whom he Chastises may become better. Secondly, that those who are to be saved, may take Warning by these Examples. Thirdly, lest he should be despised by Men, if he did not avenge Affronts and Injuries done to himself. S. *Clement* of *Alexan.*

In the Fifth Book, after having shewn that the way of instructing by Allegories and Symbols was very ancient, not only among the Jews, but also among the Philosophers, he proves that the Greeks took the greatest part of the Truths, which are in their Books, from the Barbarians, and principally from the Hebrews. This Book is full of Citations from the Poets, and the Heathen Philosophers.

In the Sixth Book, he speaks again advantagiously of Philosophy. Afterwards he begins to draw a Character of the *True Gnostick*, that is to say, to give the *Idea* of a Christian, that is perfectly Good and Wise. These are the principal Strokes of his Picture. The *True Gnostick* has the Command over his Passions. He is exactly Temperate, and allows his Body no more than what is necessary. He loves God above all Things, and the Creatures for God's-sake, and the Relation they bear to him, and nothing is able to separate him from this Love. He bears with Patience all unfortunate Accidents. He makes it his Business to know all things which relate to God, without neglecting human Learning. His Discourses are regular and to the purpose, full of Sweetness and Charity. He is never overcome with Anger. He prays continually by Charity, that unites him to God; First, begging of him the Remission of his Sins; and then the Grace not to sin any more, but to do Good. Afterwards S. *Clement* enlarges upon the Source or Spring, from whence this *Gnostick* derives this true Knowledge, and compleat Science. He says that it is the Holy Scripture, the Law and the Prophets, and in particular the Decalogue which he briefly explains; and Lastly the Doctrin of Jesus Christ foretold by the Prophets, preached throughout the World, and received notwithstanding all the Contradiction of Kings, and the great Men of this World, who opposed it with all their Might.

In the Seventh Book, he goes on to describe the Vertues of his *Gnostick*; he says that he employs himself entirely in honouring God, in loving him, in understanding, hearing and imitating his WORD, which was made Man for our Salvation; that he does it not only upon certain Days, but during the whole Course of his Life; that the Sacrifices by which he Honours him, are the Prayers and the Praises which he offers up at all times and in all Places; that he is Gentle, Courteous, Affable, Patient, Charitable, Sincere, Faithful and Temperate; that he despises the good things of this World, and that he is ready to suffer every thing for Jesus Christ; that he does nothing either out of Ostentation, or Fear, or the Desire of being rewarded, but out of pure Love to the Goodness and Justice of God: Lastly, that he is entirely Holy and Divine. Afterwards S. *Clement* Answers several Objections of the Greeks and Jews, who affirmed that the multiplicity of Heresies ought to hinder Men from the embracing the Religion of Jesus Christ. To which he Answers, that this multitude of Sects is likewise to be found among the Heathens, and the Jews; that it was foretold by Jesus Christ, that such a thing should happen among the Christians. That it ought not to make us forsake the Truth, but rather on the contrary to seek after it, with the greater Care and Diligence. That there is an infallible Rule to distinguish Truth from Falshood; that this Rule is the Holy Scripture, which being an inconteſtable Principle serves for a Proof of whatever we say. That it must be Confessed, that the Hereticks make use of it as well as the Catholicks. But then first they do not make use of all the Sacred Books. Secondly, those which they do use are corrupted. Thirdly, they chiefly urge ambiguous Passages, which they explain according to their own Fancy, by departing from the true Sense, and keeping only to Terms. Hence he takes occasion to condemn in general all Hereticks, who rejecting the Tradition of Jesus Christ, and his Apostles, and forsaking the Faith of the Church, have made themselves the Authors of particular Sects, by inventing new Doctrins, and corrupting the Truth. He says, that there is but only One Catholick Church, which is more ancient than all the Assemblies of the Hereticks, that it was founded by Jesus Christ, who dyed under *Tiberius*, and established it in the World by the Apostles, before the end of *Nero*'s Reign. Whereas there was hardly so much as one Heresie older than *Adrian*'s Time, and that they all bore the Name of their Author, or that of the Places and Countries where they first appeared, or from the Doctrin they taught, or the things which they honoured, which sufficiently discovers their Falshood and Novelty. He concludes by making the Description of these Books of the *Stromata*, and by promising to begin another Subject in the following Book.

The Last Book in our Editions, is a Collection of Logical Principles, which contains nothing that regards the Christian Religion, or that is worth giving an Account of. *Photius* observes, that in his Time there were some Editions, where this last Book was Entituled; *What Rich Man can be saved?* And that it began with these Words. *Those who make Pieces of Oratory.* But *Eusebius* distinguishes that Book from the *Stromata*.

S. *Clement* of *Alexandria*, does not start at all from the Doctrin of the Church in those Works of his, whereof we have already given the Abridgment. He does not only mention Three Divine

S. Clement of Alexan.

Persons, but he invokes them as One only God (g). Besides, he uses the Name of the most Holy Trinity. He says, That the WORD, which was from the beginning in God, which is God, and equal to God, by which he created the World, and instructed all Men, did at last become Man to save us by his Doctrin, by his Example, and by his Death. It is true, in another Place he says, That the Nature of the Son is the most Perfect, the most excellent, and that which approaches neareſt to Almighty God, Words which would seem to imply as if he believed, that the Nature of the WORD was different from that of the Father: But we know well enough, that the Ancients had not yet made so exact a Distinction between the Terms Nature, and Person, and that they often took one for the other. And indeed his way of discoursing of the Excellency of the WORD, in this and other Places, sufficiently declares, that he did not believe that he was of a different Nature, taking the Word Nature in the same Sense as we at present. For he says, that the WORD is God, that it is without Beginning, that he is equal to the Father, that he is in the Father, that he created all Things, &c. Expressions which clearly discover what his Opinion was concerning the Divinity of the WORD. He seems however to follow the way of speaking of some of the Ancients, in saying that the WORD is Visible, that he may be known, and that it is by him that we know the invisible Father, of whom he is the Image; but it is an easie matter to accommodate these Expressions to the Doctrins of the Church, as we have shewn in our Critical Remarks upon several Authors already. He says, that the Blessed *Mary* remained a Virgin after she brought forth. He holds that the *Dæmons* sinned through Incontinency. He acknowledges *Adam*'s Fall, and the Punishment of his Sin, which all Men have incurred. But he seems not well to have understood the Nature of Original Sin. 'Tis true, that in the Passage commonly alledged from him against Original Sin, he contradicts the Opinion of those who affirmed, that the Generation was Corrupted. But he speaks after such a manner as would make us think that he did not believe Original Sin, or at least, that he never considered it. *Let them tell us*, says he, *how an Infant that is but just born has prevaricated, and how he who has already done nothing, could fall under* Adam's *Curse*, &c. He often exhorts Men to do good by the Hopes of Eternal Happiness, and dissuades them from Evil, by the Fear of Everlasting Punishments, without speaking at all of the Opinion of the *Millenaries*. He holds, That without Faith in Jesus Christ none can be sav'd: But he says, That Jesus Christ, and the Apostles preached the Gospel in the *Limbi* to just Persons, as well Gentiles as Jews, that they might obtain this Faith, wherein they were before deficient. He ascribes much to Free-Will, he believes that our Salvation, and Faith which is the beginning thereof depends upon our selves, though not without the Assistance of Divine Grace (h). He speaks nobly of the Necessity and Efficacy of Baptism. 'Baptism, *says he*, is called Grace, Illumination, Perfection, Washing, by which Name it is called, because it cleanses us from our Sins; it is called Grace because it remits the Punishment due for our Sins; Illumination, because it enlightens us with the Illumination of Faith; Perfection because it makes us perfect. *And afterward, p.* 95. These Bonds of Sin are immediately broken by the Faith of Man, and the Grace of God; Sins are remitted by this admirable Remedy of Baptism, and we immediately cease to be Sinners; from being Blind as we were before, we become clear-sighted, for what is taught to the *Catechumens* is purely Instruction to guide them to that Faith, which is thus internally conveyed by the Holy Spirit. We have given an account of the difference that he makes between the Remission of Sins committed after Baptism, and that which is obtain'd by Baptism. We have shewed that he allowed but one Repentance after Baptism, and that he rejects the Repentances of those Persons who often relapse into the very same Sins, as things of no value; that he approves of Marriage, and believes it indissoluble; that he blames Polygamy, and even second Marriages. He speaks but little of the *Eucharist*, and what he says of it is very obscure, because he endeavours to conceal this Mystery from those who were not Baptised. But he declares expressly in the Second Book of the *Pedagogue*, Chap. 2. That the Bread and Wine are the Matter of it, and condemns the Hereticks who used any thing else besides Bread, and Wine mingled with Water. He observes that in several Churches, after the Eucharist was distributed, it was left to the liberty of each of the Faithful to take a part of it. He often cites *Apocryphal* Books, as the Gospel according to the *Egyptians*, the Book of *Hermas*; yet in the mean time he only allows the Four Gospels to be Canonical. He admits of the Authority of Tradition, and that of the Church. These are the Opi-

Book IV. *Pag.* 537. *and* 565.

Book VII. *Pag.* 756. Book V. *Of the* Stroin. *p.* 550. Book II. *p.* 2. *Chap.* 2. Book III. *Pag.* 468. *and* 449.

In Protepr. p. 54. *& sequentibus. Book* 1. *Pæd. Chap.* 8 *and* 9. *Book* 3. *Ch.* 11. *and* 12. *Lib.* 1. *Stromat. p.* 3. 11. *Lib.* 3. *p.* 444. *Lib.* 6 *p.* 661. *In Prot pr. p.* 53. *& Pæd. Lib.* 1. *c.* 9.

Lib. 3. *Stromat. p.* 452, *&* 465. *Lib.* 1. *Stromat. init. Lib.* 7. *p.* 754.

(g) *As being One only God.*] Lib. 1. Pædag. Cap. 8. *Unus est universorum Pater, unum etiam verbum universorum, & spiritus sanctus unus, qui & ipse est ubique.* And Book 3. Chap. 12. 'Let us praise the Father 'and the Son, says he, the Son because he is our Pe'dagogue and our Master, together with the Holy 'Ghost who alone is the Whole, in whom are all 'things, and by whom all things are one, to whom 'be Glory for ever and ever.

And again, Book 5. Page 544. *The Father is not without the Son, neither the Son without the Father.* And Pag. 598. after having quoted some Words of *Plato*, he understands them of the Trinity; *For*, says he, *the Holy Ghost is the Third, and the Son, by whom all things were made, is the Second.*

(h) *Though not without the Assistances of Divine Grace.*] Lib. 5. Stromat. p. 547. *Nam neque fieri potest ut sine libero animi arbitrio & instituto consequamur, neque universum est positum in nostra voluntate, quale sit id quod est venturum. Gratia servamur, sed non absque bonis operibus. Et oportet quidem cum natura apti simus ad bonum, ad id aliquod adhibere studium. Oportet mentem quoque habere bonam, & quæ nulla retardetur pœnitentia a boni consequutione. Ad quod maxime divina opus est gratia, rectaque doctrina, castaque & munda animi affectione, & patris ad ipsum attractione.* And Lib. 4. pag. 518. he says, That it is God which gives us Continence. Pag. 530. he says, That it is Grace that enables us to run our Course without any Impediment. Pag. 495. he says That it is the Power of God which makes us resist Temptations.

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nions of S. *Clement* upon the Principal Articles of our Faith, which are conformable to the Doctrin of the Church, in all the main Points, and different only in some things of lesser Consequence. S. *Clement of Alexan.*

But this cannot be said concerning his Work of *Institutions*, which according to the Testimony of *Photius* contained several Errors, even contrary to what he had taught in his other Works. Let us see what this Learned Critick says of the Matter. *The* Hypotiposes, says he, *were written upon some Passages of the Old and New Testament, which he explains and interprets briefly; but though he has in several Places very Orthodox and True Notions, yet in others he has some that are very Erroneous and Fabulous; For he says that Matter is Eternal, and he feigns Eternal* Idea's *produced by the Decrees of God; he places the Sun in the number of Created Beings; he holds the* Metempsycholis; *he pretends that there were several Worlds before* Adam; *he fancies* Eve *to be produced from* Adam *after an infamous manner, and different from that which is set down in the Scripture; he imagines, that the Angels having had to do with Women, begat Children of them; he thinks that the WORD was not really and truly Incarnate, but only in Appearance; he feigns two WORDS of GOD, the one Superior and the other Inferior, this last was that which appeared unto Men; he adds, that this WORD is not of the same Nature with the WORD of GOD, that it was not the WORD of the Father that was Incarnate but a certain Vertue and Power of GOD proceeding from the WORD, which being a Spirit entred into the Souls of Men. He endeavours to prove these Opinions by Scripture. In a word, these Eight Books are full of such sort of Errors and Blasphemies; whether it be the Author of this Book that has written them, or whether it be any other who puts them out under his Name. The Intent and Design of the whole Work appears to be an Explanation of* Genesis, Exodus, *the* Psalms, *the* Canonical Epistles, *and* Ecclesiasticus. *The Author observes that he was the Disciple of* Pantænus.

If this Work was so full of Errors, as there seems no reason at all to doubt after the Testimony of *Photius* who had seen it, it must needs have been composed by S. *Clement*, before he was throughly instructed in the Christian Religion, and had altogether quitted the Opinions of *Plato*; which seems very probable, for we cannot say that he was not the Author of these Books, which are attributed to him by all Antiquity, and there is no likelihood that they were falsified by the Hereticks in so many Places. Besids, that these are the Opinions of one who would accommodate the Platonick Philosophy to the Christian Religion, or rather of one who was half a Platonist and half a Christian. However, among the Ancients these Books have been had in sufficient Esteem and Reputation. *Eusebius* cites several Passages out of them. In the First Book, *Chap.* 12. of his History he brings one out of the Fifth Book, where it is said that *Cephas*, *Matthias*, *Barnabas*, and *Thaddæus*, were of the number of the Seventy Disciples of Jesus Christ. The same *Eusebius* in the Second Book, *Chap.* 1. produces another Passage taken out of the Sixth Book, where he says that *Peter*, *James*, and *John* (though they were preferr'd by Jesus Christ to the other Apostles) did not dispute about Precedency, but chose with one consent S. *James* the Just to be Bishop of *Jerusalem*. And another out of the Seventh Book, where he says, That these Three Apostles had the Spirit of Knowledge, which they communicated to the Seventy Disciples. In the 9th Chapter there is another Passage taken from the Seventh Book, where he says, That *James* the Brother of *John* by his Constancy converted his Accuser, and that they were both beheaded for the Faith of *Christ*. In the 15th Chapter, he says, that S. *Clement* in his Sixth Book of Institutions affirms, That S. *Mark* composed his Gospel by the Direction of S. *Peter*, and that this Apostle approved of it when it was finished. Lastly, *Eusebius* in his Sixth Book 14th Chapter tells us, That S. *Clement* in his Institutions explains all the Books of the Old and New Testament, not omitting even those of which many Persons doubted, as the Epistles of S. *Jude*, S. *Barnabas*, and the Revelation of S. *Peter*: That he says that the Epistle to the *Hebrews* was written by S. *Paul*, and translated by S. *Luke*: That S. *Paul* would not put his Name to it, because he was hated by the *Hebrews*. He sets down the Order of the Gospels; he says that the Gospels of S. *Matthew* and S. *Luke* were first written, that S. *Mark* composed his at *Rome* at the Instance of the Faithful, and by S. *Peter*'s Order, and that S. *John* writ his last at the Desire of his Friends, to explain what was most Spiritual in Jesus Christ, the others having sufficiently spoken of his Body.

The famous *Valesius* has observed, That we have still a very considerable *Greek* Fragment of this Work at the end of S. *Clement*, Entituled, *An Extract of the Oriental Doctrin of* Theodotus. For it contains those very Errors, concerning *Christ*'s Person, which *Photius* has observed in the *Hypotiposes*; and the Author says towards the end, that *Pantænus* was his Master. It is also likely that the other Fragment which follows, which is a Collection of Words and Expressions of Scripture, is likewise taken out of these Books, for besides that it is found with the Works of S. *Clement*, it is written after that manner in which *Eusebius* and *Photius* acquaints us, that the Work of S. *Clement* was composed, and it appears that it is the very same Design.

There is also another considerable Fragment of S. *Clement* taken from his Book, *What Rich Man can be saved*, in *Eusebius*, *Book* 3. *Chap.* 23. where he tells us a famous Story of S. *John*. He says that this Apostle coming to a City of *Asia*, recommended to the Bishop a young Man who seemed to have very good Parts: That this Bishop presently took care of him, and having sufficiently instructed him, he baptiz'd him; but afterwards neglecting to look after him as before, this young Man grew lewd, and became the Ring-leader of the Robbers; that S. *John* returning some years after, demanded of the Bishop the Trust which he had committed to his Charge, and let him know, that he required this young Man from him. The Bishop telling him that he was utterly lost, and that he was become the Head of the Thieves, this Holy Apostle being extreamly concern'd at this unfortunate Accident, immediately took Horse, caused himself to be taken by the Robbers, and to be brought before the Chief, who remembring him, immediately fled; but S. *John* running after him, made

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S. *Clement of Alexan.*

him acknowledge his Fault, promiſed to obtain for him *Chriſt*'s Pardon, and brought him back along with him, and having put him into a Courſe of Repentance, he did not leave him till he was reconciled to the Church. We have this Book entire in the laſt Volume of the Supplement of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, tranſlated by *Giſlenius*, and the Greek Text publiſhed by *Cariophylus*: 'Tis an excellent Diſcourſe, wherein S. *Clement* explains the Words of *Jeſus Chriſt* to the young Rich Man recorded by S. *Mark*, *Chap.* 10. And it ſhews, that in order to Salvation, 'tis not neceſſary for any one abſolutely to quit his Poſſeſſions and Riches, provided he makes a good uſe of them. Upon occaſion of this Queſtion, he diſcourſes of Love towards God, and towards our Neighbour, and of Repentance. By the way he ſays ſomething of the Advantage there is in having a Director, to reprehend us ſeverely for our Faults, and to give us ſuitable Remedies for our Amendment. And it was to ſhew the efficacy of Repentance, that he told this Story of S. *John*. We find under the Name of S. *Clement*, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, ſome Explications upon ſeveral Paſſages of the Old Teſtament, and Commentaries upon the Canonical Epiſtles. If theſe Fragments are really his, they muſt be taken from his Books of *Inſtitutions*, which is not very improbable, becauſe they have a near Relation to what *Photius* ſays of the *Inſtitutions*, and beſides they have the Genius of S. *Clement*.

There is no doubt but S. *Clement* was a Perſon of Extraordinary Qualifications. S. *Jerom* makes no Scruple of ſaying that no Man had ever more Knowledg than this Father; and it is certain, that of all the Ancients, there is none whoſe Books are ſo full of Profane Learning as his *(i)*: He even ſhews too much of it for a Chriſtian Writer, and we may ſay that he was more a Philoſopher than a Divine, though he was by no means ignorant of our Religion, and perfectly underſtood the Holy Scriptures. But he is much more Emphatical upon the Moral than upon the Doctrinal Part of Chriſtianity; and he explains almoſt all the Paſſages which he cites, after an Allegorical manner in imitation of *Philo Judæus*. He writes almoſt always without Method and Coherence. His Style is careleſs; which may be particularly obſerved in his *Stromata*. For in his Exhortation to the Gentiles and his Pedagogue, he writes more floridly, as *Photius* has obſerved, and he is all-a-long buoyed up with a certain Majeſtick Gravity, which is very delightful.

The Works of S. *Clement* have been Printed in *Greek* at *Florence* in the year 1550 for *Torrenſis*, by the Care of *Petrus Victorius*. They were tranſlated by *Gentianus Hervetus*, which Tranſlation was Printed at *Florence* by the ſame Perſon in the year 1551; at *Paris* in 1566, 1572, 1590, 1592, and in 1612; at *Baſil* in 1556, and with S. *Irenæus* in 1560, and 1566; at *Amſterdam* in 1613. *Silburgius* afterwards took Pains upon this Author, and having collected the Obſervations and Corrections of ſeveral Learned Perſons, cauſed it to be Printed in *Greek* by *Commelinus* in the year 1592, in Folio. Afterwards it was publiſhed in *Greek* and *Latin* by *Heinſius*, who reviſed the Tranſlation, and added ſome new Obſervations, and cauſed it to be Printed in *Greek* by the ſame *Commelinus* in the year 1616. This Edition was followed by thoſe of *Paris* in the year 1629, and 1621, which is the beſt of all; That of 1641 is not ſo Fair and Correct.

(*i*) *Whoſe Books are ſo full of Profane Learning as his.*] I believe the Reader will not think it tedious to read the followng Paſſage of *Gentianus Hervetus* concerning the Learning of S. *Clement*. Do you deſire, *ſays this Author*, to read Hiſtories that are very ancient and very Curious? Read S. *Clement* who underſtood all Ancient Hiſtory ſo perfectly well, that one would think him to have been ignorant of nothing that had paſſed in the World. Have you an Eſteem and Veneration for the Verſes of the ancient Poets and the Anſwers of the Oracles? You cannot put too high a Value upon S. *Clement*, who quotes Paſſages from ſeveral ancient Poets, whoſe Works we have loſt. Would you be willing to know the Rites and Ceremonies which were obſerved in the Sacrifices of the Heathen Gods? Read S. *Clement*, who diſcovers the moſt hidden Myſteries of the Pagans. Beſides, Is there any one among the Chriſtians who has any Reſpect for the Superſtitions of the Heathens, who commends their Manners and Cuſtoms (and I wiſh to God there were no ſuch Perſons left) but if there be any, they may diſabuſe themſelves by reading S. *Clement*, who clearly makes out the Falſhood of the Pagan Religion, ſo that after having read it, they cannot but be aſhamed of their Folly. Have you a mind to underſtand the Opinions and Maxims of the ancient Philoſophers? Read S. *Clement*, who diſcourſes of the Original of Philoſophy, of all the Sects of Philoſophers, and of their Doctrin, yet ſo as he always prefers the Philoſophy of the Chriſtians before all others, and proves by invincible Arguments, that This is That which is only Divine, whereof God himſelf is the Author. Would you know the Tenets of the Hereticks who infeſted the Church in its Infancy? S. *Clement* explains them conciſely, and confutes them very ſolidly and ſubſtantially. Do you ſeek for Teſtimonies againſt the Hereticks of our Times? S. *Clement* will furniſh you with ſeveral. Have you a deſign to correct that abominable corruption of Manners in this preſent Age? There is no Author that reproves Vice more ſeverely, that exhorts more powerfully to the practice of Virtue, and that gives better Rules and Inſtructions for leading a Chriſtian Life. Laſtly, have you a mind to re-eſtabliſh the ancient Diſcipline of the Church? You cannot have too high an eſteem for the Learning and Sanctity of S. *Clement*, who being a Prieſt carried himſelf, and lived after ſo holy a Manner, that it were very much to be wiſhed, that there were more Perſons in this Age like him.

Miltiades; *The Two* Apollonii; *And Two Anonymous Authors, who wrote against the Heresies of* Montanus *and* Artemo.

Miltiades, &c.

'TIS not known neither what was the Country, nor the Profession of *Miltiades*; he wrote a Book against the *Montanists*, wherein he particularly maintains, That a Prophet ought not to speak in an Ecstasie or Fury (*a*). *Eusebius* affirms, that he has left evident Proofs of his Skill, and the Pains which he took in the Study of the Holy Scripture, in those Books which he wrote against the Gentiles and the Jews, each of which was divided into two Volumes. And that besides these Discourses, he wrote an Apology for the Christian Philosophy, Dedicated to the Governours of the Provinces (*b*). This Author lived under the Emperor *Commodus*.

There were at the same time two different Authors, both of which were called *Apollonius*. The false is a *Greek* Author, who wrote against the Sect of the *Montanists*, wherein he confutes their last Prophecies step by step, and Censures the Practice and Manners of those Hereticks. *Eusebius* gives us a Fragment of it in *Book* V. *Chap.* 18. where he describes the Exorbitances of *Montanus* and his Prophetesses; he accuses them for taking Sums of Mony and Presents. He particularly reprehends two Persons of this Sect, who boasted of their being Martyrs. Besides *Eusebius* observes, that *Apollonius* says in this Book, that it was forty years since *Montanus* invented his Prophecies; that he makes mention of *Thraseas*, who was a Martyr in his time, and that he mentions a Tradition, that *Jesus Christ* had given Orders to his Apostles not to go out of *Jerusalem* for twelve Years.

The second *Apollonius* was of *Rome*, a Senator of that City, if we may believe S. *Jerom* (*c*). He was accused in the time of the Emperor *Commodus* for being a Christian, and was brought into the Judgment-Hall before *Perennis* the *Præfectus Prætorio*. His Accuser was condemned (*d*) according to the Law of the Emperor, which punished the Accusers of the Christians with Death, and *Apollonius* was sent back to justifie himself before the Senate; where he appeared, and made a very Eloquent Oration in Defence of his Religion, tho' notwithstanding that he was condemned to Death, because there was an Ancient Law which ordain'd, That those Christians, who were once judicially accused for their Religion, should not be acquitted if they did not forsake it. S. *Jerome* says, that he Composed this Oration to Present to the Senate. But *Eusebius* assures us on the contrary, that he spoke it before them. But whether he wrote it with a Design to speak it, or that the Christians had taken care to preserve it, it was extant in *Eusebius*'s time among the ancient Acts of the Sufferings of the Martyrs.

The same *Eusebius* gives us a Fragment of an Anonymous Author against the Heresie of *Montanus*. This by some is attributed to *Apollinarius*, and by S. *Jerome*, sometimes to *Rhodon*, and sometimes to *Apollonius*. Tho' it was not written by either of these Authors, but by one more modern, who lived, as we have said, after the Death of *Montanus* and his Prophetesses. It was divided into five Books. *Eusebius* relates some Passages taken from the First, Second, and Third. In that which is taken from the first Book, the Author describes the furious Transports of *Montanus* and his Prophetesses, and those who pretended to Prophecy. In the Passages taken from the second Book, he says, That *Montanus* and *Maximilla* killed themselves; that *Theodotus* likewise threw himself down headlong; and that very Holy Bishops, as *Zoticus* of *Comana*, and *Julian* of *Apamia*, being willing to Convict the Prophecies of *Maximilla* of Imposture, were hindred by some who favoured that Sect. He adds, that *Maximilla* foretold, before she died, Wars and Persecutions, and yet that after her Death both Church and State enjoyed perfect Peace and Tranquility. In the Passage taken from the

(*a*) *In an Ecstasie of Fury.*] This is taken from the Author against the Heresies of the *Montanists*, in *Eusebius*, Book 5. Chap 17. and the meaning of it is, that true Prophets ought never to deliver themselves in a Fury, nor to be out of their right Senses, as the *Montanists* were. This likewise is the Rule which S. *Chrysostom* gives for distinguishing the False Prophets from the True. *Homil.* 29 *in Epist. ad Corinth.* 8. And S. *Jerom*, in his Preface upon *Nahum*, *Non enim loquimur in Extasi, ut Montanus, & Prisca, Maximillaque delirant, sed quod Propheta liber est visionis intelligentis.* S. *Jerom* here uses the Term *Ecstasie* in the same sense with the Anonymous Author.

(*b*) *To the Governors of the Provinces.*] Πρὸς τὰς ἐπιτροπικὰς ἀρχοντας. *Eusebius* and S. *Jerom* understood these Words of *Emperors*; but since there was but one in this Author's Time, it is more natural to explain this Expression by *Governours of Provinces*.

(*c*) *If we believe* S. Jerom.] *Eusebius* does not say, that *Apollonius* was a Senator, but S. *Jerom* affirms it in his Catalogue to *Magnus*. We cannot tell whether he knew it certainly, or whether it be only by Conjecture that he says so. But it is likely, that it was upon the account of his being a Senator, that the *Præfectus Prætorio* sent him back to the Senate to be Tryed there.

(*d*) *His Accuser was condemned.*] It was his Slave, if we may believe S. *Jerom*, and 'tis very probable, for he was condemned to have his Bones broken, the ordinary Punishment of Slaves.

third

Miltiades, &c.

third Book, he ſays, That the Martyrs, of which they boaſt, cannot juſtifie themſelves, ſince even the *Marcionites* likewiſe have made the ſame Pretences: But that the Martyrs of the Church do carefully avoid Communicating with thoſe of this Sect, as has been practiſed in the City of *Apamia* by the Martyrs named *Alexander*, and *Caius*, who were of *Eumenia*. Moreover in the following Chapter *Euſebius* relates a Paſſage taken from the ſame Book, where he ſays, That all the Prophets which have been ſince the time of the New Teſtament, ſuch as *Agabus*, *Judas*, *Silas*, the Daughter of *Philip*, *Quadratus*, were not agitated by the ſame Spirit of Prophecy as *Montanus* and *Maximilla*, whoſe Falſe and Lying Prophecies were made in a ſudden Heat, accompanied with Lewdneſs and Impudence, which took its Riſe from Ignorance, and ended in Involuntary Folly: But that in the ancient Prophecies, nothing like this was to be found. That ſince the time of *Maximilla* and *Montanus*, there has not been any Perſon of this Sect, who could boaſt of being a Prophet, whereas the true Gift of Prophecy ought to be always in the Church.

The other Author, whereof *Euſebius* gives us a Fragment without naming him, in the fifth Book of his Hiſtory, Chap. 28. had written a Diſcourſe againſt the Hereſie of *Artemo*, who believed, that *Jeſus Chriſt* was only a meer Man. It is related in this Fragment, that thoſe of this Sect affirmed, that till *Victor*'s Days the true Apoſtolical Doctrin was preſerved. but that it was corrupted from the time of *Zephirinus*. 'Which poſſibly may be ſomewhat probable, *(ſays this Author)* if what they 'aſſert had not been firſt confuted by the Holy Scripture; and ſecondly by the Writings of thoſe 'Chriſtians who were more ancient than *Victor*, ſuch as *Juſtin Martyr*, *Miltiades*, *Tatianus*, *Clemens*, 'and ſeveral others that maintain in their Diſcourſes the Divinity of *Jeſus Chriſt*. For who can be 'ignorant of the Writings of *Irenæus* and *Melito*, who have taught, that *Jeſus Chriſt* was God and 'Man at the ſame time? And even thoſe Hymns and Pſalms written by the Faithful ſince the begin-'ning of Chriſtianity, extol the Word of God, attributing Divinity thereto. So that ſince the Do-'ctrin of the Church has been Preached for ſo many Years, how can they ſay, that till *Victor*'s time 'the whole Church was of their Opinion? Are they not aſhamed to invent this Calumny againſt '*Victor*, who knew very well that *Theodotus* the Currier, who was the firſt Author of the Sect of 'thoſe that deny the Divinity of *Jeſus Chriſt*, was turned out of the Church by *Victor* himſelf? For 'if this Biſhop had been of the ſame Mind with *Theodotus*, how comes it to paſs that he Excommu-'nicated him upon the account of his Doctrin? And what probability is there, that *Zephirinus*, 'who ſucceeded *Victor*, and continued in the See of *Rome* for ten Years, ſhould make an alteration in 'the Doctrin of the Church? And thus it is that this Author confutes the General Principle of all Hereticks that ever were, or ever ſhall be, giving us an infallible Rule to convince them, which has been, and ſhall always be, the Cuſtom in the Church of God. For there was never any Age, wherein the Hereticks did not ſay, that the Church had changed its Doctrin nor was there ever any time wherein they were not confuted firſt by Scripture, and ſecondly by Tradition, that is to ſay, by the Teſtimony of Authors, who lived before the Riſe of theſe Hereſies. *Euſebius* adds another Fragment from the ſame Author, where he ſpeaks of the Penance of a Confeſſor called *Natalis*, who ſuffering himſelf to be abuſed by *Aſclepiodotus*, and *Theodotus* the Goldſmith, the Diſciple of *Theodotus* the Currier, was tormented for ſeveral Nights as a Puniſhment for his Fault, and afterwards did publick Penance for the ſame in the Pontificate of *Zephirinus*, and ſo was Reconciled to the Church. To conclude, in this laſt Paſſage he deſcribes the Character of theſe Heretics, and he ſays, that they have corrupted the Scriptures, and overthrown the Rule of Faith; that when we object to them any Paſſages of Scripture, they try whether they can make thereof any Compound or Disjunctive Syllogiſms; that they ſtudy Geometry and Logick, and that they pervert the Simplicity of the Faith taught in the Holy Scriptures, by their falſe Subtilties, which is the Common Character of all Hereticks. We do not know who this Author is, nor what was the Title of his Book *(e)*: But this Fragment ſet down by *Euſebius* plainly diſcovers, that he was a Learned Man, and well skilled in the Controverſie, and underſtood how to Reaſon cloſely againſt the Hereticks, and to give admirable Rules for their Conviction.

(e) We do not know who this Author is, nor what was the Title of his Book.] *Nicephorus* calls it the *Labyrinth*, and *Theodoret*, Lib. 2. *Hæret. Fabul.* confirms this Title. *Photius*, Cod. 48. attributes the Book of the *Labyrinth* to *Caius*, and others aſcribed it to *Origen*.

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TERTULLIAN.

Tertullian.

TErtullian (*a*) was a Native of *Africa*, of the City of *Carthage* (*b*). His Father was a Centurion in the Troops which ſerved under the Proconſul of *Africa* (*c*). And there is no doubt to be made, but that he was firſt a Heathen (*d*), but it is not known when, nor upon what occaſion he was entred into the Church (*e*). He flouriſhed chiefly under the Reigns of the Emperors *Severus*, and *Antoninus Caracalla* (*f*), from about the year of our Lord 194, till towards the year 216. And it is very probable that he lived ſeveral years after, ſince S. *Jerom* relates, that it was reported in his time, that he lived to an extream old Age (*g*). But we do not exactly know the time of his Death.

The Books that he wrote to his Wife ſufficiently ſhew, that he was a Married Man, but we cannot gather from thence when he was Married. The Learned are divided as to this Matter, ſome pretending that he Married his Wife before he was a Chriſtian, and that he left her after he embraced Chriſtianity; others believing, that he was not Married till after he was Baptized. Which has been the occaſion that ſome have found a difficulty in clearing this Point, which at firſt ſight ſeems to be of no great moment, whether, as it is commonly believed, that *Tertullian* was ordained a Prieſt within a little time after his Converſion; if he married his Wife after he was Baptized, and afterwards remained with her, it would ſeem that it might be concluded from thence, that in his time it was lawful for Prieſts to Marry. And this is that which has made *Pamelius* ſay, that *Tertullian*, before he was ordained Prieſt, made a Vow of Continence to his Wife. But becauſe it appears in the Books which he directed to her, that he ſtill lived with her when he wrote them, the Author of the Life of *Tertullian* and *Origen* has been obliged to ſay, that he might maintain *Pamelius*'s Opinion, that theſe Books were written by *Tertullian* immediately after his Converſion: Though it is more probable, that *Tertullian* was not Married till after he was Baptized (*h*), and that he did not write theſe Books to his Wife till he was old (*i*), a little before he fell into the Errors of the *Montaniſts*.

(*a*) *Tertullian.*] He was called *Q. Septimius Florens Tertullianus*, which diſtinguiſhes him from the Conſul *Tertullus* and *Tertullian* the Martyr.

(*b*) *And of the City of* Carthage.] He teſtifies as much himſelf in his Book *De Pallio*, *c.* 2. and in his Apology, *c.* 9. *Witneſs*, ſays he, *the Troops of our Country*, ſpeaking of the Troops under the Proconſul of *Carthage*. S. *Jerom* confirms the ſame in his *Chronicon*, and in his Book of *Eccleſiaſtical Writers*.

(*c*) *And ſays, that his Father was a Centurion of theſe Troops, which was no very conſiderable Employment.*] *Euſebius* ſeems to ſay, that *Tertullian* was a *Roman*, and a Perſon of Quality, *Hiſt. l.* 2. *c* 2. Τοῦτο Τερτυλλιανὸς τὸς Ρωμαίους νόμους ἠπιστωκὼς αἴτε τἄλλα ἔνδοξος ἦν, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι Ρωμαῖος λαμπρῶν. What he ſays of *Tertullian*'s being well skilled in the Roman Laws, has made ſome believe, that he was a Lawyer, and indeed there is a Lawyer of the ſame Name: But it is certain, that he is a different Perſon from our *Tertullian*; and *Euſebius* does not ſay, that he was a Lawyer, but that he was well verſed in the Roman Laws. What *Euſebius* adds of his Country and his Extraction, is by no means to be maintained, if we do not underſtand it of the Roman Writers; and that the Senſe muſt be, that *Tertullian* was one of the moſt Excellent of all the Latin Authors. *Ruffinus* has given this Senſe to this Paſſage of *Euſebius* by tranſlating it, *Inter noſtros Scriptores admodum clarus*. *Pamelius* ſays, that *Tertullian* was a Lawyer, but he brings no good Argument for it, relying only upon the Authority of *Trithemius*, who is a modern Author.

(*d*) *But that at firſt he was a Heathen.*] He himſelf ſays, ſpeaking to the Heathens in his Apology, *We have been like-wiſe of your Party; Men are not born Chriſtians, but they become ſo.* And in his Book *De Spectaculis*, and in that concerning *the Reſurrection of the Fleſh*, chap. 19. and 59. he ſays, That he had aſſiſted at thoſe Sights and Spectacles, and that he had ſpent part of his Life in Lewdneſs.

(*e*) *But it is not known when, nor upon what occaſion he was converted to the Church.*] *Pamelius* ſays, that he was converted by the Anſwer of an Oracle, and Father *George* of *Amiens* affirms, that it was by a Viſion, but neither of theſe are to be credited.

(*f*) *And* Antoninus Caracalla.] S. *Jerom* affirms, that he flouriſhed under theſe Emperours, and this appears by his Writings; ſome have ſaid, that he flouriſhed about the year 160, but they are miſtaken.

(*g*) *To an extream old Age.*] S *Jerom*, in his Book of *Eccleſiaſtical Writers*, ſays, *Uſque ad Decrepitam ætatem vixiſſe fertur.*

(*h*) *That he was not Married till after he was Baptized.*] His Wife was a Chriſtian; and he does not ſay in any place of his Works, that ſhe was converted with him, or that ſhe had converted him; it is therefore more probable, that he Married her after he was a Chriſtian. For there is no likelihood, that while he was a Heathen, he ſhould Marry a Chriſtian Woman; and if ſhe had been converted with him, or that ſhe had converted him, he would without doubt have taken ſome notice of it in the Books which he wrote to her.

[His urging S. *Paul*'s Authority and Command in his ſecond Book to his Wife, when he adviſes her to marry a Chriſtian if ever ſhe married again, is a ſtrong preſumption, that if he married after his Converſion, his Wife was a Chriſtian at that time.]

(*i*) *Till he was pretty well advanced in Years.* Theſe Books are compoſed in the form of a Laſt Will or Teſtament; In the firſt, he exhorts his Wife to preſerve her Continency after his Death; a ſign that ſhe had but little regard of it in his Life time. In the ſecond he tells her plainly, that it is a Duty to endeavour to maintain that Continency in their Widowhood, which they could not preſerve in their Married Eſtate: Which ſhews, that *Pamelius*'s Opinion is nothing but a groundleſs Suppoſition. Theſe Books were written by *Tertullian* towards the end of his Life, as may be proved. Firſt by the Manner of the Compoſition, which is in form of a Laſt Will or Teſtament. Secondly, becauſe a Man ſeldom troubles himſelf to write to his Wife, what he would have her to do after his Death, but till he is in years. Thirdly, becauſe though *Tertullian* was not a thorough-paced *Montaniſt* when he wrote thoſe two Books, yet he ſeems to be leaning very much that way.

[*This is not a neceſſary Conſequence.*]

Tertullian. There is no Paſſage in his Writings from whence it can be concluded, that he was a Prieſt of the Catholick Church (*k*); but S. *Jerom* affirms it ſo poſitively (*l*), that there is no reaſon to queſtion it. It is commonly believed, that he was a Prieſt of the Church of *Rome* (*m*): But being of *Carthage*, and having almoſt always remained there, he ought rather to be called a Prieſt of the Church of *Carthage*, than of *Rome*. He was not ſo happy as to preſerve this Dignity to the end of his days, for after having continued in the Church for about 40 or 45 years, he ſeparated from it in the beginning of the Third Century (*n*), to follow the Sect of *Montanus* and his Diſciples.

As to the Reaſons of his Separation ſome have ſaid, that it was Jealouſie that carried him to this Exceſs, becauſe *Victor* was Preferred before him to the See of *Rome*; Others ſay, that he was angry becauſe he could not get the Biſhoprick of *Carthage*, which he put in for, and that this made him take up ſuch a Reſolution; And laſtly, others have aſſigned different Reaſons (*o*), which are yet leſs probable: But this is rather to divine, than to give the Reaſons of *Tertullian*'s Change; which are no where grounded upon the Teſtimony of any ancient Writer. That which has the moſt likelihood, is what is related by S. *Jerom*, that the Envy which the *Roman* Clergy bore him, and the Outrageous manner wherewith they treated him, exaſperated him againſt the Church, and induced him to ſeparate from it. And beſides, the extraordinary Auſterity which appeared in the Sect of the *Montaniſts*, ſuited very well with his violent and ſevere Temper, which cauſed him to carry every thing to Extremities. And it was for this reaſon that he was ſo enraged againſt the Catholicks, and that he treated the Church with ſuch Fury, after his Separation from it. It does not appear by his Books, that he ever afterwards returned from his Error, and none of the Ancients have affirmed it; but on the contrary, they have all ſpoken of him, as of a dead Man out of the Communion of the Church. It would therefore be a thing altogether againſt common Senſe to imagine, as ſome have done, that he at laſt returned into the Boſom of the Church.

And this is an exact Abridgment of *Tertullian*'s Life; let us now proceed to his Writings, and begin by examining the Order, according to which they were Compoſed, that ſo we may afterwards make a more exact Judgment of them. And by conſidering them in this manner with relation to the order of Time; they may be divided into two *Claſſes*: The firſt, comprifing thoſe which he compoſed whilſt he was ſtill a *Catholick*; And the ſecond, thoſe which he wrote after he was a *Montaniſt*. They are eaſily diſtinguiſhed, becauſe he never fails in his latter Books, of ſpeaking of the Holy-Ghoſt of *Montanus*, of the Prophecies of the *Montaniſts*, and of their Extraordinary Faſts, of declaiming againſt Second Marriages, and againſt the Abſolution which is granted by the *Catholicks* to thoſe who fall into Sin after Baptiſm; or laſtly, of Railing againſt the Catholicks whom he calls *Pſychici*, that is to ſay, *Carnal* and *Senſual*. But we muſt conſider them more particularly, and examine in what Years the ſeveral Books were written.

It is evident, that *Tertullian* wrote his Book *Of Pennance*, whilſt he was yet a Catholick; for therein he expreſly confutes one of the Principal Errors of the *Montaniſts*, by proving, that thoſe who have committed Sins after their Baptiſm, may obtain Abſolution from the Church, provided they do Penance. *Eraſmus* queſtions, whether this Book be *Tertullian*'s or no, becauſe it is written more politely than his other Books; and the Authority of *Eraſmus* has made *Rhenanus* reject this Diſcourſe, though ſince 'tis quoted under *Tertullian*'s Name by S. *Pacianus* an Author of the Fourth Century,

(*k*) *There is no Paſſage in his Writings from whence it can be concluded, that he was a Prieſt of the Catholick Church.*] There is a Place in his Book *de Animâ*, *c.* 9. whence it may be concluded, that he preached in the Church of the *Montaniſts*, and that they related to him ſtrange Viſions. But as all the *Montaniſts* talked after this rate in their Aſſemblies, it cannot certainly be concluded from hence, that he was a Prieſt; and we have only the Authority of S. *Jerome* for it.

(*l*) *But S. Jerome affirms it ſo poſitively.*] In his Treatiſe of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, *Cum uſque ad mediam ætatem Presbyter Eccleſiæ permanſiſſet, ad Montani Dogma delapſus eſt.*

(*m*) *It is commonly believed, that he was a Prieſt of the Church of* Rome.] That which makes it believed that he was a *Roman* Prieſt, is what S. *Jerome* ſays of his falling into the Error of the *Montaniſts*, becauſe he was provoked by Envy, and the Injuries which he received from the Clergy of that Church. But there is no neceſſity for all this that he ſhould be at *Rome*, ſince there was a ſufficient Intimacy and Correſpondence between theſe two Churches, ſo that it might be eaſily known at Rome, what was ſaid and done at *Carthage*, and though he had been then at Rome, yet it would not have followed, that he was Prieſt of that Church: None of the Ancients affirm it, but on the contrary, *Optatus* calls him a *Carthaginian*, as he calls *Zephirinus Urbicus*, that is, the Biſhop of *Rome*: And alſo *Victorinus Patavionenſis*. The *Prædeſtinatus* of *Sirmondus* calls him plainly a Presbyter of *Carthage*.

(*n*) *In the beginning of the Third Century.*] The *Epocha* of his Change is certain, for we may eaſily fix it, becauſe he ſays in his Book againſt *Praxeas*, that this Heretick being come to *Rome*, hindred the Biſhop of that Church from acknowledging the Prophecies of *Montanus*, that he wrote againſt him at that time, and had obliged him to revoke his Opinion; that afterwards he acknowledged the *Paraclet*, or Comforter. Now it is very likely, that *Victor* was this Biſhop that rejected the Prophecies of *Montanus*; For *Tertullian* ſays, that *Praxeas* hindered him from conſenting to theſe new Propheſies, by urging the Authority of his Predeceſſors, who could be no other than the Popes *Anicetus* and *Eleutherus*, in whoſe time theſe new Prophecies of *Montanus* firſt began to appear: So that *Tertullian* could not be turned till after the Pontificate of *Victor*, who was Pope from the Year 193, to the Year 201. He was a *Montaniſt* when he compoſed the Books againſt *Marcion*, which were written in the Year 207. So that *Pamelius*, who fixes his Change in the Rear 210, is miſtaken.

(*o*) *Have given different Cauſes thereof.*] *Baronius* is the Author of the firſt Opinion, *ad An.* 201. *n.* 9. *Pamelius*, in his Life of *Tertullian*, of the ſecond. And there are others beſides, who have aſſigned other Cauſes for his Change, which are all groundleſs.

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there seems no reason to question its being *Tertullian*'s: Besides, the difference of the Style is not very considerable, and it is no wonder that *Tertullian*, when he was a young Man, and newly Converted, should write a Book, upon wh ch he bestowed so great pains, more politely than usual. *Tertullian.*

His Book of *Baptism* was written about the same time: For it is not only free from all the Errors of the *Montanists*, but even what he says, That Baptism is reserved to the Bishops, and that it is never permitted to Women to Teach or to Baptize, is expressly contrary to their Discipline.

Besides, we have no reason to doubt, but that he composed the Discourse of *Prayer* whilst he was yet a Catholick: For speaking therein concerning Fasts, he says, that there is no Solemn Fast among the Christians, but that which is before *Easter*; which is contrary to the Discipline of the *Montanists*, who observe several *Lents*. Besides, he cites in this Treatise the Book of the *Pastor*, which he rejected after he was a *Montanist*. We cannot exactly tell in what Year these Books were written, nor which of the three were Composed first.

His *Apology for the Christian Religion* was wrote about the year 200 (*p*), in the beginning of the persecution under the Emperor *Severus*. It is commonly believed, that he wrote it at *Rome* and Address'd it to the Senate: But it is more probable, that it was Composed in *Africa* (*q*), and indeed he does not address himself to the Senate, but to the Proconsul of *Africa*, and the Governors of the Provinces.

The Books concerning *Patience*, and the *Exhortation to the Martyrs*, may have been written about the same time: But that to *Scapula* was not composed till some years after as well as the *Two Books to the Nations.*

Afterwards, as he began to incline towards the *Montanists*, he wrote about the year 202, or 203, the Discourses concerning *Publick Sights and Spectacles*, and of *Idolatry* (*r*). This is the last of the two, the other being quoted Chap. 13. He was not yet a thorough-paced *Montanist*, but he began to imbrace their Opinions, though he had not yet openly left the Church. He still kept the same Opinions when he composed his Books *Of the Ornament, and Dresses of Women* (*s*): And two Books Dedicated *to his Wife.* His Book of *The Testimony of the Soul* has no certain *Epocha* (*t*); but as we do not find therein any Foot-steps of the Errors of the *Montanists*, we may believe that it was written by *Tertullian* before he separated from the Church.

And these are all the Works that can be attributed to *Tertullian* whilst he remained Orthodox, all the others being certainly written after his returning *Montanist*. His Books against *Marcion* are the

(*p*) *His Book of the Apology for the Christian Religion was written about the Year* 200, *from the Birth of Christ.*] It is very likely that it was Composed about this time. M. *Allix* pretends, that it was not written till the Year 211, but his Reasons are but weak. He says, that he alludes in the 47th Chapter to the Book of *Præscriptions*; but though he here makes use of the term *Præscribe*, it does not thence follow, that this Book was Composed after that of the *Præscriptions*. The second Reason is taken from an Eclipse seen at *Utica*, in the Year 210, to which, says he, *Tertullian* alludes in the 20th Chapter; but he does not speak at all in this place of any particular Eclipse. The last and principal Reason of M. *Allix*, is that in the 4th Chapter of the *Apology*, he speaks of *Severus*, as if he were dead. *Severus*, says he, *A Prince of great Constancy, has he not lately abolish'd by his Authority the* Papian *Law, which ordains, that one should have Children before the Age in which the* Julian *Law gives permission to Marry.* But this might be said of *Severus* whilst he was yet living, and it is likely that he abolished this Law (if yet he did abolish it at all, for it was rather *Constantine* that did it,) in the beginning of his Reign. But what we read in the 5th Chapter, *Who are those that have made Laws against the Christians, 'tis neither* Adrian, *nor* Vespasian, *nor* Antoninus, *nor* Severus, might prove that he wrote after the Death of *Severus*, but we must read *Verus*, as it is in the latter Editions, and not *Severus*.

(*q*) *It is more probable that it was composed in* Africa.] *Pamelius* and several Authors are of Opinion, that he wrote his Apology at *Rome*, and that he addressed it to the Senate. But there is not one Passage in this Book, that gives any ground for this Conjecture. On the contrary, this Book is Addressed to the Chief Governours of the Cities. *Tertullian* speaks of *Rome* and the *Romans*, as not being in their City, nor with them. In *Chap.* 21, 24, 35, and 45. he speaks of the Proconsul, and there was not any at *Rome*. As to what we say, that it was not Addressed to the Senate, but to the Governors of the Provinces, the beginning of the Apology does evidently shew: Which is this, *Si non licet vobis Romani Imperii Antistites, in aperto & in ipso vertice civitatis Præsidentibus ad judicandum palam despicere, & coram Examinare quid sit liquidum causa Christianorum, si ad hanc solam speciem Auctoritas vestra de Justitiæ Diligentia in publico aut timet, aut erubescit inquirere. Si denique domestici indiciis nimis onerata sectæ hujus infestatio obruit viam defensioni, &c.* Those which he calls *Imperii Antistites* are the Governors and Proconsuls, and that which follows plainly shews it, for he says, that they preside *in vertice civitatis*, which does not signifie the City of *Rome*, which is always called *Urbs*; and what he adds, that it belongs to them to examine the Cause of the Christians, to try them, and to receive Informations against them, does evidently prove that he speaks of the Governours of Places. Secondly, he does not mention so much as one word of the Senate in the whole Book. Thirdly he speaks of the Proconsul, as of the Supream Magistrate, *Chap.* 45. Lastly, he always calls those to whom he Addresses this Work *Præsides*, a Title which properly agrees to the Governours of the Provinces.

(*r*) *The Discourses concerning publick Sights and Spectacles and of Idolatry.*] In the 5th Chapter of the Book concerning *Idolatry*, he alludes to the Joy at the Birth of *Geta*; He speaks in his Book concerning Publick Sights and Spectacles, *Chap.* 7. of the City of *Rome*, like a Person who was not there, so that this Book could not be made at *Rome* as has been believed.

(*s*) *His Books of the Ornament and Dresses of Women.*] The Latin Titles are, *De cultu Muliebri, & de habitu Muliebri.*

(*t*) *His Book of the Testimony of the Soul has no certain Epocha.*] It is was written after his Apology, as may be concluded from the 5th Chapter.

Tertullian. firſt of theſe laſt kind of Books (*v*); The *Epocha* of them is certain, for in the firſt Book, *chap.* 15. he ſays, That he writ it in the 15th Year of the Emperor *Severus*, that was the 207th after Chriſt. In the firſt of theſe Books he promiſes his Book of *Præſcriptions* (*x*): So that although this be a very excellent Diſcourſe, and that it contains nothing but what is *Catholick*, yet it muſt be confeſſed that he compoſed it when he was a *Montaniſt*, unleſs we ſhould ſay, that he kept it by him for ſome time unpubliſhed: However it be, it was compoſed when he wrote his Book concerning the *Fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt*, wherein he refers to the Book of *Præſcriptions* in the ſecond Chapter.

The Book concerning the *Soul* was written after the Books againſt *Marcion*, which are cited in the ſecond Chapter; but before the Book concerning the *Reſurrection of the Fleſh*, where he quotes his Book concerning the *Soul*, and alſo that concerning the *Fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt*. So that this is the Order of the Books compoſed by *Tertullian* after thoſe againſt *Marcion*. The Book of *Præſcriptions*, of the *Soul*, of the *Fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt*, of the *Reſurrection of the Fleſh*; theſe were all compoſed from the year 207 to the year 210.

His *Scorpiacus* (*y*), his Book *De Corona* (*z*), and that *De Pallio* (*aa*), were written about the ſame time, but we do not know the year. In his Book *De Corona*, he ſays that he had compoſed a Treatiſe concerning the *Confeſſions, and Sufferings of the Martyrs*. *Baronius* believes, that it is the *Scorpiacus* which he means: But I believe it is rather that Book concerning *Flight in time of Perſecution*. For his *Scorpiacus* was written againſt Hereticks, whereas that which he intended, when he wrote the Book *De Corona*, ought to have been againſt the Paſtors, who withdrew themſelves in time of Perſecution.

The Book againſt the *Jews* was written towards the end of the Reign of *Severus*, in the year 209. as appears by what he ſays of the State of the *Roman* Empire in the ſeventh Chapter (*bb*). We do not certainly know the time when thoſe Books were written againſt *Praxeas*, againſt *Hermogenes*, and againſt the *Valentinians*, but only that they were written by *Tertullian* when he was a *Montaniſt* (*cc*). Neither can we give any account of the time of his writing the following Treatiſes in Defence of the *Montaniſts* againſt the Church; His Diſcourſe of *Chaſtity*, of *Faſts*, of *Monogamy*, his *Exhortation to Chaſtity*, of *Flight in time of Perſecution*, and that wherein he proves, *That Virgins ought to be veil'd*. S. *Jerom* adds to theſe, Six Books of *Extaſie*, and a Treatiſe againſt *Apollonius*, which are loſt.

I have now nothing to conſider, but the ſmall Treatiſe addreſſed to *Scapula*, which we certainly know when it was written, for it was after the Death of *Severus* under *Antoninus Caracalla*, about

(*v*) *His Books againſt* Marcion *are the firſt of this laſt ſort.*] It is evident that he was a *Montaniſt*, when he Compoſed the Books againſt *Marcion*; this appears by the 28th Chapter of his Firſt Book, by the 24th of the Third Book, by the 22d of the Fourth Book, and by the 15th of the Fifth Book. In the Fourth Book, *Ch.* 22. he calls the Catholicks *Pſychici*.

(*x*) *He promiſes his Book of Præſcriptions.*] Lib. 1. cap. 1. *Alius libellus hunc gradum ſuſtinebit adverſus Hæreticos, etiam ſine tractatu Doctrinarum revincendos, quod hoc ſit de Præſcriptione novitatis*; We may affirm, that it was written before, and that he only publiſh'd it then, that he might confirm ſome Arguments in his Books againſt *Marcion*. Which has given occaſion to ſome, to think that this Book was written by *Tertullian*, whilſt he yet was Orthodox, becauſe he ſpeaks ſo Advantageouſly for the Church againſt Novelties. But he makes uſe of the very ſame Principles in his Book againſt *Marcion*, and againſt *Praxeas*. The Catalogue of the Hereticks, where he puts the *Montaniſts* in the Number of Hereticks, is not *Tertullian's*; ſo that reaſon which might contribute to make it believed, that he wrote his *Præſcriptions* whilſt he was a Catholick, is of no conſequence.

(*y*) *The Book entituled* Scorpiacus.] This Book of *Scorpiacus* was written after the Books againſt *Marcion*, as may be ſeen by the 5th Chapter.

(*z*) *The Book* de Coronâ.] It was written upon occaſion of a Donative granted by the Emperors *Antoninus Caracalla*, and *Severus*, to the Soldiers, about the Year, 209.

(*aa*) *The Book* De Pallio.] *Scaliger* pretends that this was his firſt Work; and *Salmaſius* on the contrary ſays, that it was written when he was made Prieſt. The firſt believes, that the *Cloak* was a Habit for all Chriſtians. And the ſecond maintains, that it was only a Habit for the Prieſts; but both of them are miſtaken, for the Chriſtians and Prieſts wore both long and ſhort Garments indifferently, according to the Cuſtoms of the Places where they were. The *Cloak* was a Habit for Philoſophers, and ſuch as made Profeſſion of a more auſtere Life than ordinary. What is ſaid in the ſecond Chapter of his Book *De Pallio*, that the triple Virtue of the Emperor had intirely routed the Barbarians, and procured Peace and Tranquility to the People, can no otherwiſe be underſtood, but of the latter end of the Reign of *Severus*, who enjoyed a moſt profound Peace after he had defeated all his Enemies, and taken in as Partners in the Governments, his two Sons *Caracalla* and *Geta*, and this is what *Tertullian* calls *Triplex Imperii Virtus*, as when he ſays, *Barbari excluſi*, he alludes to the Wall which *Severus* cauſed to be built in *Britain*, to put a ſtop to the Incurſions of the Barbarians.

(*bb*) *What is ſaid concerning the State of the* Roman Empire, *in the Seventh Chapter.*] He aſcribes in this place the flouriſhing Condition of the Empire, the *Germans* beaten back, the *Britains* hemmed in and ſecured, the *Moors* beſieged by the Roman Legions, *&c.* Which agrees to the time of the Emperor *Severus*, though this cannot be underſtood, but of the latter end of his Reign, when after he had Conquered all the *Barbarians*, he cauſed that Wall to be built, which we juſt now mentioned, and diſperſed the Roman Legions about the Frontiers of the Empire, as *Dion Caſſius* obſerves.

(*cc*) *We do not certainly know the time when theſe Books were written againſt* Praxeas, *&c.*] It is evident, that the Book againſt *Praxeas* was Compoſed after he was a Montaniſt, *ſupra*. In his Book againſt *Hermogenes*, he accuſes this Heretick of Pretending to be Married, *&c.* which is a Reproach exactly agreeable to the temper of the *Montaniſts*; And in the Book againſt the *Valentinians*, he commends *Proclus* or *Proculus*, a famous Montaniſt. This Book was written after his Book againſt *Hermogenes*, for he obſerves there, that he had already written againſt this Heretick.

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the year 213 *(dd)*. And the two Books to the *Gentiles* were compoſed about the ſame time *(ee)*. And this is the Chronology of all the Works of *Tertullian*. *Tertullian.*

There are ſome others which are falſly attributed to him: And amongſt theſe we are to reckon the ſmall Catalogue of *Hereſies*, which is at the end of the Book of *Præſcriptions*. For firſt of all, it is of a different Style. Secondly, it was not to be found in the old Manuſcript of *Agobardus*, which is the moſt ancient Manuſcript of *Tertullian*'s Works, nor in another old Manuſcript, which *Rhenanus* made uſe of for the firſt Edition of *Tertullian*. Thirdly, in thoſe Manuſcripts where it is to be found, it is ſeparated from the *Præſcriptions*, and ſometimes in ſtead of being at the end, it is placed in the beginning, and ſo *Trithemius* both ſaw, and quoted it. Fourthly, the *Præſcriptions* have a Concluſion before this Catalogue, wherein *Tertullian* does not promiſe to make ſuch an Abridgment of the Hereſies, but to write againſt them all ſeparately. Fifthly, 'tis the Work of ſome Author that lived after S. *Epiphanius*, from whom he borrows the Hiſtory of *Marcion*, and perhaps he may have taken from S. *Jerom* what he ſays concerning the *Jews*.

There goes likewiſe under *Tertullian*'s name a Letter concerning *Jewiſh Meats*, but it is of a quite different Style, and the places of Scripture are there quoted after another manner than they are in *Tertullian*'s Works, which plainly ſhews that it is none of his: 'Tis a Letter of a Paſtor to his Church, written in the time of Perſecution. S. *Jerom* attributes to *Novatian* a Letter concerning *Jewiſh Meats*, which in all probability is this very Treatiſe that bears the ſame Title.

There is likewiſe attributed to *Tertullian*, a Book concerning the *Trinity*, which is none of his: For beſides the difference of the Style, that Author mentions the Hereſie of *Sabellius*, which was after *Tertullian*'s time. S. *Jerom* obſerves, that *Novatian* writ a Book of the *Trinity*, wherein he had made an Abridgment of *Tertullian*'s Book; and he adds, that ſeveral Perſons attributed *Novatian*'s Book to S. *Cyprian*. The Book of the *Trinity*, whereof we ſpeak, might poſſibly be this Abridgment of *Novatian*, eſpecially ſince *Ruffinus* obſerves, that *Novatian*'s Book was corrupted by the *Macedonians*, which agrees with this Treatiſe whereof we ſpeak, in which there are Errors concerning the Divinity of the Holy-Ghoſt.

There paſs alſo under *Tertullian*'s Name ſeveral Poems, which are no more his, than they are *Virgil*'s or *Homer*'s. The Poem called *Geneſis*, ſeems to be that which *Gennadius* attributes to *Salvian* Biſhop of *Marſeilles (ff)*, that concerning the *Judgment of God* was, perhaps, compoſed by *Verecundus (gg)* an *African* Biſhop, mentioned by *Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis*, in the ſeventh Chapter of his firſt Book of *Illuſtrious Men*. In the Poem againſt *Marcion (hh)*, there are ſome Opinions different from thoſe of *Tertullian*. There is likewiſe a Poem to a *Senator* in *Pamelius*'s Edition, one of *Sodom*, and one of *Jonas* and *Ninive* in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, of which we do not know the Authors; the firſt is ancient, and the other two ſeem to be written by the ſame Author. Beſides, S. *Jerom* affirms, that *Tertullian* writ ſeveral other Treatiſes, which were loſt in his time, and amongſt others, a Book *Of the Habits of Aaron*, whereof this Father ſpeaks in his Letter to *Fabiola*. He quotes likewiſe a Book *Of the Circumciſion*, another *Of thoſe Creatures that are Clean, and of ſuch as are Unclean*, a Book concerning *Extaſie*, and another againſt *Apollonius*; *Tertullian* himſelf cites ſeveral other Treatiſes of his own compoſing, as in his Book *Of the Soul*, a Diſcourſe concerning *Paradiſe*, and in his Book *Of the Teſtimony of the Soul*, chap. 2. a Diſcourſe *Of Deſtiny*; and in another place, a Book concerning *The Hope of the Faithful*, and another againſt *Apelles*. He had alſo compoſed a former Work againſt *Marcion*, which being loſt in his own time, he was obliged to write a new one. Laſtly, he wrote the Diſcourſes *Of Baptiſm, Of Publick Sights and Spectacles*, and that wherein he proves, *That Virgins ought to be veil'd*, in Greek.

But we have ſaid enough of *Tertullian*'s Works as to what relates to Criticiſm and Chronology, we will now look upon them with relation to what they contain. And conſidering them thus, we may

(dd) About the Year 213.] *Severus*, ſays he, the Father of *Antoninus*, had ſome regard for the Chriſtians.

(ee) The two Books to the Nations compoſed about the ſame time.] In the Firſt Book, *Chap.* 17. he alludes to the Titles of *Antoninus Caracalla*, who cauſed himſelf to be called *Parthicus* and *Germanicus*; and in the ſame place, *Chap.* 9. he ſays, That there was not yet elapſed 300 Years from the Death of Jeſus Chriſt to his own time, which ſhews, that the Third Age was then already advanced. Beſides, that theſe Books were written ſince his *Apology*, which is the Subject of this, and which he here enlarges, and poliſhes, and puts into order in theſe two Books, wherein we may find ſeveral Phraſes and Expreſſions taken from the Books which he wrote after he was a *Montaniſt*.

(ff) Which Gennadius *Biſhop of* Marſeilles *attributes to* Salvian.] In Catalog. cap. 67. *In morem Græcorum de principio Geneſis uſque ad conditionem hominis compoſuit verſu Hexametro.* This is true of that Poem aſcribed to *Tertullian*.

(gg) Perhaps that which was compoſed by Verecundus.] *Iſidore de Viris illuſtribus*, cap. 7. *Verecundus Africanus Epiſcopus ſtudiis librealium Literarum diſertus edidit carmine dactylo, duos modicos, breveſque libellos, quorum primum de Reſurrectione, & Judicio ſcripſit, alterum de Poenitentia.* The Poem concerning *Judgment* is alſo concerning the *Reſurrection*. *Garcias* ſays, that he had ſeen the Poem concerning *Penance*, and he repeats the firſt Verſe of it, which is written after the ſame manner as the beginning of this Poem concerning *Judgment*; but yet there are ſome Paſſages, which ſeem to come from a later Author than *Verecundus*, who, as it is believed, lived in the Fifth Century.

(hh) In the Poem againſt Marcion.] *Tertullian*, in his Book *De Anima*, *cap.* 57. ſays, that it was not the Soul of *Samuel*, but only a Phantaſm, which the Witch raiſed up; and the Author of the Poem in his third Book ſuppoſes, that it was *Samuel* himſelf that was raiſed, to acquaint *Saul* what was to befall him. *Tertullian*, in his Book of *Præſcriptions*, makes S *Clemens* to ſucceed S. *Peter*; but this Author places him the Fourth, making two Popes of *Cletus* and *Anacletus*.

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diſtinguiſh them into three Claſſes: The firſt, comprizing thoſe which were written againſt the *Gentiles*. The Second, thoſe which were made againſt *Hereticks*. And the Third, thoſe which relate to *Diſcipline* and *Manners*. The firſt Book of this firſt Claſſis is his *Apology againſt the Gentiles*, wherein he ſhews the Injuſtice of thoſe Perſecutions and Sufferings which they inflicted on the Chriſtians, and the Falſhood of thoſe Accuſations which were laid to their Charge; and at the ſame time proves the Excellency of their Religion, and the Folly of that of the Heathens. He begins, by ſhewing that there is nothing more unjuſt or oppoſite to the very intent and deſign of Laws, than to Condemn without Underſtanding, and to Puniſh without conſidering whether there be any juſt Ground for ſuch a Condemnation. And yet that this is put in practice every day againſt the Chriſtians, that they are Hated, Condemned, and Puniſhed meerly upon the account of their being Chriſtians, without ever conſidering or giving themſelves the trouble to be informed what it is to be a Chriſtian. That there are indeed ſome Laws made by the Emperors, which forbid Men to be Chriſtians, but that theſe Laws are Unjuſt, ſubject to Alteration, made by Evil Emperors, and contrary to the Opinions of the Juſteſt and Wiſeſt amongſt them. He afterwards confutes the Calumnies which were ſpread abroad againſt the Chriſtians, as that they uſed in their Night-Meetings to cut a Child's Throat, and to devour it; and that after they had put out the Candles, they had filthy and abominable Converſations among themſelves. He ſhews, that there is not only ſo much as the leaſt Proof of theſe Crimes alledged againſt them, but that their Life, their Manners, and the Principles of their Religion, were directly oppoſite to theſe Abominations. 'We are, *ſays he*, beſet daily, we are continually betrayed, 'we are very often ſurprized and oppreſſed, even in the very time of our Meetings; But did they 'ever find this Child dead, or a dying? Was there ever any one that could be a Witneſs of theſe 'Crimes? Has ever any one of thoſe who have betrayed us diſcovered theſe things? Beſides, he preſſes the Heathens further, by ſhewing that theſe Crimes were frequently committed amongſt themſelves, that they have ſlain Children in *Africa* in Honour of *Saturn*, and that they have ſacrificed Men in other places, that their Gods have been guilty of a thouſand ſhameful and abominable Practices; whereas the Chriſtians are ſo far from killing a Child, and drinking its Blood, that they do not ſo much as eat the Fleſh of thoſe Beaſts that have been ſtrangled, that they are ſuch inveterate Enemies to all kind of Inceſts, that there are ſeveral amongſt them who preſerve their Virginity all their Lives. After having thus confuted thoſe Calumnies which were ſet on foot, on purpoſe to render the Chriſtians odious; he gives an Anſwer to that Objection which was made to them, That they did not own the *Pagan* Deities, and that they did not offer up Sacrifices to them for the Proſperity of their Emperors; from whence they concluded, that they were guilty of Sacriledge and Treaſon. He anſwers in a word, that the Chriſtians did not pay any Honour to the Gods of the Heathens, becauſe they were not true Gods, and he appeals, for a Teſtimony of this, to the Conſciences of the wiſeſt of the Heathens themſelves. He evidently demonſtrates that their pretended Gods were Men, and for the moſt part Criminals, that were dead, and that their Images cannot be Adored without the greateſt Folly and Madneſs in the World, that even the Wiſeſt of the Heathens deſpiſed them. He occaſionally confutes what has been objected by ſome to the Chriſtians, that they worſhipped an Aſſes Head, and adored Croſſes. And from thence he takes occaſion to explain the Doctrin of the Chriſtians. 'We Adore, *ſays he*, One only God, the Creator of the World, who 'is Inviſible and Incomprehenſible, who will Recompence Good Men with Everlaſting Life, and 'Puniſh Wicked Men with Eternal Torments, after he has raiſed them from the Dead. He proves this Truth by the whole Creation, which ſo evidently demonſtrates that there is a God: 'That it is, '*ſays he*, the greateſt Wickedneſs that can poſſibly be conceived, not to acknowledge him, of whom 'tis impoſſible that we can be ignorant, even by the very Dictates which Nature inſpires into all 'Men, which oftentimes cauſe them to Invoke the True God, as when we ſay, *If God thinks good*, '*if God pleaſes, God ſees us*, and the like. *And this he calls*, The Teſtimony of a Soul that is natu-'rally Chriſtian: *Teſtimonium Animæ naturaliter Chriſtianæ*. Laſtly by the Antiquity of the Books of *Moſes*, which are more ancient than all the Writings of the *Greeks*, and by the Authority of the Prophets, who foretold thoſe things that were to come to paſs. Then after having proved the Unity of God, which the Jews acknowledge as well as the Chriſtians, he goes on to that Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, which is peculiar to the Chriſtians: He ſays that the Chriſtians do not look upon him as a mere Man, but as God, who is the WORD of God begotten of the ſame Subſtance, that he is thus God and the Son of God, and that his Father and He are One; that the WORD coming down into the Womb of a Virgin, (as was formerly foretold) took Fleſh upon him, and was born God-Man: He only deſires them to conſider it as a Fable like theirs till he has proved it by Invincible Arguments: Which he preſently does by the Authority of the Prophets, who have plainly foretold Jeſus Chriſt by the Miracles which he wrought by that extraordinary Eclipſe which happened at his Death, that is taken notice of in the very Records of the Heathens; and laſtly, by his Miraculous Reſurrection. 'And all theſe Things, *ſays he*, are Authorized by the Teſtimony of *Pi-'late*, who being already a Chriſtian in his Heart, wrote them to *Tiberius Cæſar*, and the *Cæſars* had 'then been Chriſtians, if it had been poſſible either that the World could ſubſiſt without Emperors, 'or that the Emperors could be Chriſtians. He adds to theſe Proofs, that of the Eſtabliſhment of the Church notwithſtanding Perſecutions; and that which may be drawn from the Confeſſion of the Heathen Gods, that is to ſay, the *Dæmons* who ſubmitted themſelves to *Jeſus Chriſt*, and were againſt their wills driven out of the Bodies of thoſe that were Poſſeſſed only by the name of *Jeſus Chriſt*. And here he makes a Digreſſion, to prove, that the *Romans* owed not their Greatneſs and Proſperity to their Gods; from whence he concludes, that the Chriſtians are not guilty of Treaſon,

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since the Gods, whom they will not own, have not any Power to Succour and Preserve the Emperors. 'But, *says he*, we Invoke for their Prosperity the Eternal, the True, and the Living God, *Tertullian.* 'who gave them their Life and their Empire, who alone has power over them, and who alone is 'above them; and after whom they are the Chiefest. They are Great, only because they acknowledge themselves Inferior to him, *Ideo magnus est, quia Cœlo minor est.* 'Tis this God to whom the 'Christians pray with their whole Hearts, for all the Emperors, that he would grant them a long 'Life, a peaceable Reign, a faithful Council, valiant Soldiers, an obedient People, and in a word, all 'that a Man and an Emperor can possibly desire. He adds, that the Christians have greater Obligations upon them for the Performance of this, than other Men. First, because the Holy Scripture enjoyns them to it; and Secondly, because being perswaded that the World should end together with the *Roman* Empire, they desired to retard those Calamities which were to happen at the end of all Things, by praying for the Preservation of the Empire. That it is true, that the Christians do not swear by the *Genii* of the *Cæsars*, nor by their *Health*, which is more precious than those *Genii* who are only *Dæmons*, and that they do not Solemnize the Festivals of the Emperors, but that this is only for fear of falling into Idolatry. That in other things they are more Obedient, and better Subjects than other Men, though they have the Power in their hands, if they had a mind to defend themselves. 'We have been, *says he*, but a little time in the World, yet we are to be met with in all 'places; you may find us in the Cities, in the Villages, in the Armies, in the Courts of Justice, in 'the Senate, and in the Markets. We have left you your Temples alone to your selves. What Wars 'might not we be capable of Undertaking? And with what Resolution might not we carry them on, 'though we had not near so many Troops as you; we, who die daily with so much Joy, were it 'not a Law amongst us to suffer our selves, rather to be killed, than to kill others. *Si non apud istam 'Disciplinam magis liceret occidi quam occidere.* But how could the Heathens object, That the difference of Religion could cause any disturbance in the Commonwealth, or make Parties and Factions? He says, that the Christians have no Ambition, nor Pretentions in this World, as they are Christians; are so far from forming any Parties against the Government, that they think upon nothing less than State-Affairs. And that he might perswade the whole World of this Truth, see the Description which he makes of the Christians of his time, and of their Assemblies. 'We make up, *says he*, a 'Body that is united by the Bond of the same Religion, the same Discipline, and the same Hope. 'We assemble our selves, and compose, if I may so say, a Body of an Army, to force Heaven by 'our Prayers, and this Violence is very acceptable to God. We pray not only for our selves, but 'also for the Emperors; for their Ministers, for the Magistrates, for the good of the State; for 'the Peace and Quietness of the Empire; and lastly, for the retarding the end of the World. Be'sides, we assemble our selves to Read the Holy Scriptures according to our different Wants and 'Necessities, for our Instruction, and Information in our Duty. These Sacred Oracles are of signal 'Use for the preserving our Faith, the confirming our Hope, and the regulating our Manners, by 'the Meditation upon its Precepts. And 'tis in these Assemblies that the necessary Exhortations 'and Reproofs are to be expected. The Judgments which are there delivered, are given with all 'the Equity and Circumspection imaginable; because those who pass Judgment are verily perswaded, 'that Almighty God takes notice of them. Their Censures are all Divine, and 'tis a great Presumption of God's future Judgment against any One, when he has committed any Sin, for which he 'deserves to be separated from the Communion of Bread, and from Prayer, and the Assembly of 'the Faithful; and in a word, to be deprived of all manner of Communion of holy Things. 'Those who preside among us, are the most Ancient, and such whose Probity is very well known; 'and this Honour is not to be purchased for Money, but it is bestowed upon pure Virtue; for all 'those Concerns which relate to God, are not to be valued at a Price. If we have any kind of 'Treasure, it is not to be look'd upon as a Blessing that is any ways dishonourable to our Religion, as if it was to be purchased upon any account. Every one contributes according to his 'Ability what Alms he pleases, and when he pleases, which yet is commonly done Monthly. None 'are compelled; every one gives freely what he will. These Contributions are the Contributions 'of Piety, for we do not employ them in making merry Meetings, or in other unnecessary Expences: But to maintain and bury Orphans, and poor People, to relieve old Men and infirm Persons, 'to assist the Faithful who were exiled into the Islands, or condemned to work in the Mines, or confined in Prison, for having embraced the Faith of Jesus Christ. We all call our selves Brethren, 'not only because we are all Brethren by the Right of Nature, but because we all acknowledge 'One and the same God for our Father, because we have all one and the same Spirit which sanctifies us: And lastly, because all things are common among us, but our Women. Our Feasts are 'called *Agapæ*, that is to say, Entertainments of Love and Charity. They were not Instituted for 'debauched Parasites, but for the Entertainment of the Poor, being assured that God has a more 'especial Regard for them. And if the Reason of the Institution of these Feasts is wholly Sacred, 'the Consequences of them are equally so. There is nothing here to be seen, that is any ways contrary to Civility and Modesty. They do not sit down at Table, till they have refreshed and nourished the Soul by Prayer; they eat no more than what is necessary to suffice Nature, and they 'drink no more than what is fitting and convenient for chaste and regular Persons; they take care 'not to glut themselves, so as to hinder their rising in the night to worship God. They discourse of 'such things as are profitable, because they look upon themselves, as in the Presence of God, who is 'a Witness of every thing that we say. The Supper is concluded with Prayer, and they do not break 'up in a Tumult or Disorder; but they retire regularly and with great modesty, as it is not hard for

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Tertullian. ‘ ſuch Perſons to do, who take greater care to nouriſh their Souls, with that holy Diſcipline, in which ‘ they are inſtructed, than their Bodies with the Victuals which they eat. After having thus deſcribed the Aſſemblies of the Chriſtians, he ſhews, that thoſe Calamities and Misfortunes which happen in the World, are unjuſtly attributed to them, as if they were the cauſe of them. He maintains, that 'tis theſe are the Men who divert and prevent them, and that they are very far from being any ways the occaſion of attracting them. He concludes, by proving that we admire thoſe Virtues in the Philoſophers, which are diſcernible in a much more excellent and higher Degree in the *Chriſtians*.

The *Two Books to the Nations* are almoſt of the very ſame Subject with the Apology. And *Tertullian* repeats therein the greateſt part of the things which he had ſaid before in his Apology, but he puts them in another Order, explaining and enlarging upon them: So that the difference between theſe two Books is this, that the firſt is written with Heat, and without much Study; and the ſecond is a Methodical Treatiſe, and compoſed with great Conſideration. The *Second Book to the Nations* was written againſt the falſe Gods of the Heathens, wherein he gave an exact Account of the Deities of the ſeveral prophane Religions, and ſhewed how exceedingly fooliſh a thing it is to own them; but this Book is ſo imperfect, and there is ſo little Coherence in all that we have extant of it, that it cannot be of any great advantage to us.

In the Book of *The Teſtimony of the Soul*, he enlarges upon one Proof for Religion, which he had advanced before in his Apology, that the Soul does naturally, and even againſt its will, acknowledge, that there is but one God, and that there is another Life after this. He proves it by thoſe Notions which Nature hath inſpired into us, and which are ſo deeply engraven in our Minds, that nothing is able to efface them: So that they often come from a Man, when he thinks of them the leaſt. As when one ſays without any reflection, *God grant it*, *what pleaſes God*, *God help me*, *good God*, &c. Expreſſions that manifeſtly ſuppoſe, that the Soul is penetrated with the knowledge of a God, as the Fear which we naturally have of Death, the deſire of leaving behind us a Name to Poſterity, and that Compaſſion which we have for the Dead do evidently ſuppoſe, that there is another Life after this. Now theſe Notions being natural to the Soul, and to be found in every Body, it muſt neceſſarily follow, that they come from God. And this is the Subject which *Tertullian* enlarges upon very ingeniouſly in this little Treatiſe.

The Book to *Scapula*, was compoſed to diſſwade the Governour of *Africa* from the Perſecution which he had raiſed againſt the Chriſtians. He begins, by repreſenting to him, that the Chriſtians rather wiſhed for Martyrdom, than feared it; and that therefore it was not out of any Apprehenſion he had of them, that induced him to direct this Diſcourſe to him, but the earneſt Deſire which he had for the Salvation of the Heathens, becauſe the Religion of the Chriſtians obliges them to love their Enemies, and to endeavour to convert them from the Error wherein they are at preſent, He afterwards tells him, that the Chriſtians adore that God whom Mankind knows by Nature; he repreſents to him, that it ought to be left to the free Direction of Men to embrace that Religion, which ſeems to them to be moſt agreeable to Truth: That another Man's Religion does neither hurt nor good to any body: That it is not an Act of Religion to conſtrain Men to embrace a Religion, which they ought to chuſe voluntarily. *Non eſt Religionis cogere Religionem, quæ ſponte ſuſcipi debet, non vi.* He adds, that the Life of Chriſtians is unblameable; that they pay an entire Obedience to the Emperors; that they were never found engaged in a Party with the Rebels. ‘They are, *ſays he*, Enemies to no Man, and ‘ leaſt of all to the Emperor, very well knowing that it is their God who has eſtabliſhed him, they ‘ love, honour, and reſpect him, moſt heartily wiſhing his Preſervation, and that of the Empire, as ‘ long as the World ſhall continue; We therefore honour the Emperor after that manner, which is ‘ lawful for us, and which only can be of advantage to him; that is to ſay, as a Man who is next ‘ under God, and who has received from God every thing that he has, We likewiſe offer Sacrifices ‘ for his ſafety, but they are Sacrifices of Prayer: For God does not ſtand in need of Incenſe, ‘ nor of the Blood of Victims. After having thus vindicated the Chriſtians from the Crime of High-Treaſon, he diſſuades *Scapula* from the Perſecution againſt Chriſtians, by the Examples of thoſe who have been puniſhed for perſecuting of them, and likewiſe by the Examples of thoſe who have had ſo much moderation, as to permit them to enjoy their Liberty and Tranquility. And theſe are the Books written by *Tertullian*, in defence of the Chriſtian Religion againſt the Gentiles.

This muſt be owned to have been a great piece of Ingenuity in a Doctor of Sorbon, when the Perſecution of the Hugonots was at the height in France.

There is but one Book of his againſt the *Jews*, wherein, Firſt, he proves, that the Law of *Moſes*, and its Ceremonies, were eſtabliſhed but for a time, and that they were to ceaſe at the coming of *Jeſus Chriſt*. And Secondly, that the Meſſiah expected by the Jews, and foretold by the Prophets is already come, and that this is *Jeſus Chriſt*. Which he evidently makes out from the Prophets, who foretold the time of his Coming, and the circumſtances of his Life and Death. He obſerves, that the Original of the Jews miſtake aroſe from their confounding his laſt Coming, wherein he will appear in great Power and Glory, with his firſt Coming, wherein he was ſeen in great Humility, and took upon him the mean Condition of other Men.

Although the Book of *Præſcriptions* againſt the Hereticks is not, in the order of Time, the firſt that *Tertullian* has written againſt them, yet it is ſo, as to the Order of the Matters which it contains; becauſe it is deſigned againſt all Hereſies in general, whereas the others are only againſt ſome particular Hereſie. This Book is entituled, *Of Præſcriptions*, or rather, *Of Præſcription againſt the Hereticks*; becauſe herein he ſhews, that their Doctrin is not to be admitted by reaſon of its Novelty. Before he enters upon the Matter, he endeavours to obviate the Scandal of thoſe, who admire.

admire, how there could be any Hereſies in the World, how they could have been ſo great and ſo powerful, and how it comes to paſs that ſo many conſiderable Perſons in the Church, have been ſeduced to embrace them, by ſhewing that Hereſies have been foretold, that they are neceſſary Evils for the Tryal of our Faith, and that we muſt not judge of Faith by Perſons, but of Perſons by their Faith; *Ex perſonis probamus fidem, an ex fide perſonas?* After having given this neceſſary Caution, he lays down the firſt Principle of Preſcription. "We are not allowed, ſays he, to introduce any thing "that is new in Religion, nor to chuſe by our ſelves, what another has invented. We have the Apo- "ſtles of our Lord for Founders, who were not themſelves the Inventors, and Authors of what they "have left us; but they have faithfully taught the World the Doctrine which they received from "Jeſus Chriſt. Hereſies have riſen from Philoſophy and humane Wiſdom which is quite different "from the Spirit of Chriſtianity, We are not allowed to entertain our Curioſity, nor to enquire af- "ter any thing that is beyond what we have been taught by Jeſus Chriſt and his Goſpel, *Nobis curioſi-* "*tate opus non eſt poſt Chriſtum Jeſum, nec inquiſitione poſt Evangelium.* And when we have once be- "lieved, we are to give credit to nothing any farther than as we have already believed. And here it is, that he Anſwers the Objection of the Hereticks, who urged this Paſſage of Scripture, *Seek, and you ſhall find*; by telling us, that it is not permitted to ſeek when we have once found; that it would be a Labour to no purpoſe, to ſeek for Truth among all the Hereſies; and laſtly, that if it be permitted to ſeek, it is after having admitted the Rule, that is to ſay, the principal Articles of Faith, which are contained in the Creed. But as the Hereticks did often alledge the Holy Scripture, in Defence of themſelves; he proves that the Church was not obliged to enter into a Diſcuſſion of thoſe Paſſages which they quoted; that this way of confuting them is very tedious and difficult, becauſe they do not acknowledge all the Books of the Scriptures, or elſe they corrupt them, or put a falſe Interpretation upon them; which renders the Victory that is to be obtained over them uncertain and difficult. He ſays then, that it is to better purpoſe to underſtand perfectly, who it is, that is in Poſſeſſion of the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt; who thoſe Perſons are, to whom the Scriptures were committed in Truſt; and who are the firſt Authors who have given an Account of our Religion. He goes back even to Jeſus Chriſt, who is the Source and Original of this Religion, and to the Apoſtles who received it from him. He ſhews that it is impoſſible, that the Apoſtles ſhould preach any other Doctrin, than that of Jeſus Chriſt, and that all the Apoſtolical Churches ſhould embrace any other Faith, than that which the Apoſtles had delivered to them; from whence he concludes, that it muſt of neceſſity follow, that that Doctrin, which is Conformable to that, which is found to be the Faith of all the Churches, muſt be that which was taught by Jeſus Chriſt: And that on the contrary, that that which is oppoſite thereto, muſt be a Novel Doctrin. He farther confounds the Hereticks by the Novelty of their Opinions. It is evident, ſays he, that the moſt ancient Doctrin is that of Jeſus Chriſt, and by conſequence that alone is true, and that, that on the contrary, which had not any Date till after his Aſcenſion, muſt be falſe and ſuppoſititious. Having laid down this infallible Rule, he proves the Doctrin of the Hereticks to be of a later Date than that of the Church, becauſe the Authors of the Hereſies were after the Eſtabliſhment of the Church, from which they have ſeparated themſelves. That the ſeveral Sects of the Hereticks cannot reckon their Original from the time of the Apoſtles, nor ſhew a Succeſſion of Biſhops, from their Times, as the Apoſtolical Churches can, with whom they do communicate. That though they could pretend to ſuch a Succeſſion, yet the Novelty of their Doctrin condemned by the Apoſtles, and the Apoſtolical Churches would convince them of being Cheats and Impoſtors, and that what they have added, taken away, or changed in the Books of the Holy Scripture, does farther diſcover, that they invented their Doctrin after theſe Books were compoſed. That laſtly, their Diſcipline and Conduct, which is abſolutely Humane, and Earthly, without Order, and without Rule, renders them every way contemptible. I have exactly ſet down the Reaſonings of *Tertullian* in this Work; becauſe, as himſelf obſerves, they are not only proper to confute the Hereſies that were in his Time, but alſo to diſprove all thoſe that ſprang up afterwards, or that ſhould ariſe hereafter, even to the end of the Church. *Tertullian.*

I ſhall not enlarge ſo much upon the Works which were written againſt thoſe Hereſies which are now extinct. The moſt conſiderable, is, that which he compoſed againſt *Marcion*, which is divided into *Five Books*. This Heretick maintained that there were two Principles, or two Gods; the one Good, and the other Evil; The one Perfect, and the other Imperfect; that this laſt is the God whom the Jews worſhip, who created the World, and delivered the Law to *Moſes*; whereas the firſt is the Father of Jeſus Chriſt, whom he ſent to deſtroy the Works of the Evil One; that is to ſay, the Law and the Prophets, which *Marcion* rejected. He affirmed likewiſe, that Jeſus Chriſt was not Cloathed with true Fleſh: And by conſequence, that he did not ſuffer really, but only in appearance. Theſe are the Errors which *Tertullian* confutes in this Work. In the Firſt Book, he ſhews that the unknown God of *Marcion*, is only a Fantaſtical and Imaginary Being. In the Second he proves, that that God, the Creator of the World, whom the Jews worſhipped, is the Only true God, and the Author of all Good. After having demonſtrated this Truth by invincible Arguments, he reſolves thoſe Difficulties which are raiſed by the *Marcionites* againſt God's Conduct in the Old Teſtament. He explains for Example, Why he has permitted Sin? Why he ſuffers Sinners? Why he puniſhes Men ſo ſeverely? Why he ſeems ſometimes to alter his Conduct and Deſign, *&c.* In the Third Book he ſhews, that Jeſus Chriſt is the Son of God, who is the Creator of the World, and the Author of the Law, that he has been foretold by the Prophets, and that he took upon him true Fleſh, by taking upon him our Nature. In the Fourth Book he ſhews, that it is the ſame God, both in the Old and in the New Teſtament. He reconciles the pretended Contradictions alledged by *Marcion*, and ſhews

Tertullian. that the whole Life of Jeſus Chriſt was foretold, and figured in the Old Teſtament. That Jeſus Chriſt has explained and confirmed the Prophets, and perfected the Precepts of the Law. In a word, he proves at the end of this Book, that Jeſus Chriſt is the Son of God, the Creator of the World, by the Doctrin of the Prophets, by his own Doctrin, by his Inclinations, by his Vertues, by his Opinions; and laſtly, by his Reſurrection. In the Laſt Book, he ſhews from the Epiſtles of S. *Paul*, that it is the ſame God, that is preached both in the Old and in the New Teſtament, and that Jeſus Chriſt is the Son of the Creator of the World. There are in this Book two difficult Paſſages concerning the Euchariſt, which have given Subject to very great Diſputes; of which I ſhall not ſpeak in this Place, contenting my ſelf to refer the Reader to thoſe, who have diſcourſed of them at large, that ſo I may paſs on to the other Works of *Tertullian*.

After having maintained the Unity of God againſt *Marcion*, he defends the Trinity of Perſons againſt *Praxeas*. This Heretick came from *Aſia*, to diffuſe the Poiſon of his Error in *Rome*, he was naturally of a very unquiet and uneaſie Temper, and beſides was vainly puft up with the falſe Opinion of being a Martyr, which Quality he took upon him, becauſe he was for a ſhort time impriſoned for the Faith. Being come to *Rome*, under the Pontificate of *Victor*, he prevented this Pope from acknowledging the New Prophecies of *Montanus*; beſides he made him, if we believe *Tertullian*, revoke the Communicatory Letters which he had granted to the Montaniſts. He begun to divulge his Hereſie in the City of *Rome*, and afterwards went into *Africa*, where he made ſome Proſelytes; but he was convinced by a Catholick (which without doubt muſt be *Tertullian*) and obliged to put down in Writing a Recantation of his Error. So after he had concealed his Doctrin for ſome time, he publiſhed it anew, and *Tertullian*, who had confuted him before, whilſt he was yet a Catholick, wrote againſt him, after he fell into the Error of the Montaniſts. He eſtabliſhes in this Book, the Diſtinction of the WORD, and the Trinity of Perſons againſt the Hereſie of *Praxeas*, who acknowledged but One Perſon in God, making no Diſtinction between the Father and the Son, and by conſequence maintained, that the Father made himſelf Man, and ſuffered for Us. *Tertullian* oppoſes to him the Rule of Faith, which obliges us to acknowledge only One God in Three Perſons, which are all Three of the ſame Subſtance, and have all one and the ſame Power, and that it was the Perſon of the Son, who was incarnate, and died for Us. He ſhews that this Trinity of Perſons, does no ways prejudice the Unity of the Godhead, as the Unity of the Godhead does no ways hinder the Trinity of Perſons. That the Son is of the Subſtance of the Father, and that the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father by the Son. That the WORD which was from all Eternity in God, and who did, as it were, come out of him to create and govern the World, as a Perſon ſubſiſting, who nevertheleſs has not a different Subſtance from that of the Father, ſo that it does not follow from hence, that we believe Two Gods, and Two Lords; that it is the Son, and not the Father, who made himſelf Man, without ceaſing to be God, and that the Properties of humane Nature, are only to be found in Jeſus Chriſt. In a Word, he explains very handſomly in this Treatiſe, the Faith of the Church, concerning the Myſteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation. It muſt be owned, that in ſome Places he expreſſes himſelf after a manner, not very agreeable to that which has been uſed in the following Ages (*i*). But we muſt pardon theſe kind of Expreſſions in the Ancients, who wrote before thoſe Terms, which they made uſe of, were fixt and limited to a certain Senſe.

But it is a difficult matter to excuſe him, where he ſeems to aſſert, as well in this Book, as in other Places of his Works, that God had a Body, or rather that he was Corporeal. Yet there are ſome Authors that vindicate him from this Error, and this has occaſioned a Queſtion, which is ſo common, and if I may ſay it, ſo trivial, that I do not think it neceſſary to ſay any thing of it in this Place.

Hermogenes was another *African* Heretick, who maintained that Matter was Eternal, and that God did not create it when he made the World, but that he only made uſe thereof, to form Things as we ſee. He ſuckt this Error from the Philoſophy of the Stoicks, and defended it by Syllogiſms, connected according to their Methods of Reaſoning, which made *Tertullian* ſay in the Treatiſe which

(*i*) *He expreſſes himſelf after ſuch a manner as is not very agreeable to that which has been made uſe of in the following Ages.*] He ſays firſt, that the WORD was begotten of the Father, when God created the World; but he acknowledges at the ſame time, that he was in God, and a Perſon diſtinct from the Father from all Eternity. And ſo the whole Ambiguity lies in the Term *Generation*, which he does not underſtand of the Eternal Proceſſion of the Son, but of a certain Prolation or Emiſſion without, which he ſuppoſes was done at the Inſtant of the Creation of the World, becauſe it is by the WORD that God Created it, and doth ſtill govern it. And this appears evidently in *Tertullian*'s Book, and we ought not to wonder, if in his Book againſt *Hermogenes*, he ſays, that there was a certain time, when the Father was not the Father, and when he began to be the Son, becauſe he believed that he had not the Quality and Name of Son, 'till this World was Created, though he was in God before, and diſtinguiſhed from the Father from all Eternity. Secondly, he ſays, that the Father is inviſible, and the Son viſible; but in that Senſe which we have explained, that is to ſay, that the Son, who has always rendred himſelf viſible to Men, by taking ſeveral Forms, under which he has appeared to them; and Laſtly, by making himſelf Man. Thirdly, He ſeems in ſome Places to inſinuate, that even the WORD, as it is the WORD, is inferior to the Father; but this muſt be underſtood of an Inferiority, which the Divines call *of Original*, that is to ſay, (as he explains it himſelf) becauſe he has received all from the Father; for he ſays expreſly in ſeveral places, that the Father and the Son are of one and the ſame Subſtance. Fourthly, He ſometimes makes uſe of the Word *Subſtance*, to ſignifie the *Perſon Subſiſting*, which is an uſual thing among the Ancients before the Council of *Nice*, and even among ſome of them after it.

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he composed against him, that the Philosophers were the Patriarchs of the Hereticks. He there discovers the Fallacies of the Sophisms of this Heretick, and shews that our Religion teaches us, that God created even that Matter, whereof he made the World. *Tertullian.*

The Book against the *Valentinians*, is rather a Satyr and Raillery, than a serious Confutation of the Extravagant Sentiments of these Hereticks. *Valentinus*, the first Author of this Sect, separated from the Church out of spight, because hoping to be Elected a Bishop, by reason of his Wit and Eloquence, he was put by to prefer another Person, who had suffered for the Faith of Jesus Christ in times of Persecution. After he had separated from the Church, he invented, or rather revived an old Opinion, according to the Principles of which, he feigned a Succession, and imaginary Generation of a kind of Deities. His Disciples refined upon his Notion, and formed quite different Systems. But as all these Fancies were impertinent and ridiculous, so they took great Care to conceal them, lest if they should discover them, all the World should be presently sensible of their Extravagancy: 'Tis this which *Tertullian* upbraids them with. If you teach the Truth, *says he to them*, why don't you discover "it? It persuades by teaching, and it teaches by persuading; it is not ashamed of shewing it self; on "the contrary, 'tis ashamed of nothing, but of being concealed. You reproach us for our Simplicity; "it is true, we love it, because it is by this means, that we know, and make known the Will of "God. But 'tis no wonder that the Hereticks should blame this Simplicity, and should so carefully conceal their Principles; for they were so extravagant, that the bare Discovering of them would be sufficient to render them ridiculous: 'Tis this which *Tertullian* does in this Work. "I undertake, "*says he in this Book*, to discover to the Eyes of all Men, the hidden Mystery; but though I profess "to relate the Opinions of these Hereticks, without making a particular Confutation, yet I hope I "shall be pardoned, if I cannot forbear censuring them in some Places. What I do is nothing but a "Sport before a real Combat; I shall rather shew them where I could strike them, than lay them on. "But if there are found some Passages that may excite Laughter, 'tis because the very Subject causes "it. There are many things which deserve to be jeered and ridiculed at this rate, lest if we should "confute them seriously, we should seem to lay too great Stress upon them. Nothing is more due to "Vanity than Laughter; and to Laugh, does properly belong to the Truth, because it is pleasant, "and to Sport with its Enemies, because it is certain of the Victory.

And these are all the Books which are particularly against the Hereticks; there are others, in which *Tertullian* likewise confutes some Errors, and defends some Catholick Truths, though they were not written against any Hereticks in particular. Such are the following Books.

The Book of the *Flesh of Jesus Christ*, wherein he proves against the Hereticks *Marcion*, *Apelles* and *Valentinus*, that Jesus Christ took upon him true *Flesh*, like to ours, in the Womb of the Virgin.

The Title alone of the Book of the *Resurrection of the Flesh*, is enough to discover, that it was written against the *Sadducees*, and against the Hereticks who denied the Resurrection.

The *Scorpiacus*, so called, because it is a Remedy against the Poison of Hereticks, like Scorpions; defends the Necessity and Excellency of Martyrdom against the *Gnosticks*.

The Book *of the Soul*, written against the Opinions of the Philosophers, and the Hereticks, treats at large of the Nature of the Soul, and its Qualities. But it is full of false Principles and Errors. He pretends that the Soul is Corporeal, and that it takes a certain Form of Body, though it be invisible; He confutes the Opinion of *Plato*, concerning Reminiscency, or the Faculty of Remembring, and *Pythagoras*'s Transmigration; he affirms, that the Soul does not come from Heaven, but that it is formed with the Body, and that as the Body of the Parents produces a Body, so their Soul produces a Soul. That all Souls, and even those of the Martyrs, which some have excepted, are disposed of after Death, in a certain Subterraneous Place, where they receive Refreshment and Torment, according to the Good or Evil which they have done: And that they expect the Resurrection, and the Day of Judgment, which will render them entirely Happy, or entirely Miserable to all Eternity. There are likewise in this Treatise, some other particular Opinions; as for Instance, that the Soul and Breath are the same thing; that that which is unreasonable in the Soul, comes from the Devil; that every Soul has its *Dæmon*; that all Dreams are not vain.

The Book *of Baptism* is divided into two Parts; the First relating to *Doctrin*, and the Second to *Discipline*. In the First he defends the Necessity and Efficacy of the Sacrament of Baptism against the Hereticks called *Caiannites*; he proves that the Waters of Baptism do procure to us Forgiveness of our Sins, and of the Punishment which they deserve. "What can there be, *says he*, more miracu-"lous, than to see that by washing the Body by an external Baptism, we efface at the same time, the "Mortal Stain of the Soul, and when that Stain is once taken away, the Punishment is likewise re-"mitted to us? He afterwards discourses of the Imposition of Hands, and of the Unction which followed after Baptism, to make the Holy Ghost descend upon the Faithful, and to draw down upon them the Blessings of Heaven. "We do not receive, *says he*, the Fulness of the Holy Ghost by Wa-"ter; but it prepares us for receiving it by washing us from our Sins. And as S. *John* prepared the "Way of the Lord, so the Angel which is present in Baptism, prepares the Way for the Holy Ghost, "by the Absolution of our Sins, which we obtain by Faith, which is confirmed and sealed by the "Invocation of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. When we come out of the Font we are anointed; "and this Unction, which is performed on our Flesh, is profitable to our Soul, as external Baptism has "a spiritual Effect, which is to deliver us from our Sins. Afterwards, there is the Laying on of "Hands, to draw upon us the Holy Ghost, and this most Holy Spirit descends voluntarily from "Heaven, into purified and blessed Bodies. In the Second Part, he discourses of several Questions

Tertullian. concerning Baptiſm, which relate to Diſcipline. The firſt is concerning the Baptiſm of S. *John*, whether it were from Heaven, or from Earth? He ſays, that it was from Heaven, becauſe it was ordained by Heaven: However, That it did not beſtow any thing that was Heavenly, but that it made way for Heavenly Things, by bringing us to Repentance; and that it neither conferred the Holy Ghoſt, nor Remiſſion of Sins. The Second, is concerning the Neceſſity of Baptiſm, upon which he ſtarts a conſiderable Objection, taken from what there might ſeem that the Apoſtles, of whoſe Salvation no doubt can be made, were never Baptized. To this he Anſwers, That poſſibly they might have been Baptized, though we find no mention of it; and in the Second place, that that Familiarity which they had with Jeſus Chriſt, the Greatneſs of their Faith, and the Ardency of their Charity, might ſupply in them the Defect of Baptiſm, ſince Jeſus Chriſt has promiſed the Remiſſion of Sins, and Salvation to thoſe Perſons who had Faith, though they were not Baptized. That nevertheleſs, there is no doubt to be made, but that at preſent, Baptiſm is neceſſary to Salvation; and that though formerly a Man might be ſaved only by Faith in one God, yet that now we muſt believe in Jeſus Chriſt, and that it was neceſſary, that this Faith ſhould be ſealed by Baptiſm, that Jeſus Chriſt had made a Law for it, and preſcribed the Manner, ſaying, *Go and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.* And that this Sentence of the Goſpel: *If a Man be not born again of Water, and the Holy Ghoſt, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*, does invincibly eſtabliſh the Neceſſity of Baptiſm.

The Third Queſtion is, Whether one may Baptize more than once? He ſays expreſly, that there is but one Baptiſm, that it never ought to be reiterated. He excepts however the Baptiſm of Hereticks; *Who*, ſays he, *are not able to give it, becauſe they have it not. And therefore it is that we have a Rule among us to Re-baptize them.* He adds, that Martyrdom is a kind of Second Baptiſm, which is inſtead of the Baptiſm of Water, when any Perſon has not received it, and which repairs it, when that Grace is loſt, which it conferred.

The Fourth Queſtion is, concerning the Miniſter of Baptiſm: He ſays, the Biſhop has Power of Adminiſtring it, and after him the Prieſts and Deacons; nevertheleſs, with his Permiſſion, to ſet a higher Value on the Prieſthood. That in Caſe of Neceſſity, any Man may adminiſter it, and that we ſhould be Guilty of the Loſs of a Soul, if we did not afford it that Grace, whereby it may be ſaved; there are none but Women, to whom he ſeems abſolutely to prohibit the Adminiſtring of Baptiſm, in any Circumſtance whatſoever.

This is alſo ingenuouſly taken notice of, becauſe the Church of Rome allows Women to Baptize in Caſe of Neceſſity.

The Fifth Reflection, is concerning the Condition of thoſe who are to receive Baptiſm. He ſays, that it is not to be Adminiſtred raſhly, and that it is good ſometimes to put ſome Stop to it, that thoſe who receive it may be the better diſpoſed. He would chiefly have this Diſcipline obſerved in reſpect to Infants, and though he ſuppoſes that they are capable of receiving Baptiſm, yet he will not allow them to be Baptized without Neceſſity. "What Neceſſity is there, *ſays he*, to expoſe God-fathers to the "Hazard of Anſwering for thoſe whom they hold at the Fonts; ſince they may be prevented by "Death, from being able to perform thoſe Promiſes which they have made for the Children, or elſe "may be diſappointed by their evil Inclinations? Jeſus Chriſt ſays, indeed, *Hinder not little Children from "coming to me*; but that they ſhould come to him as ſoon as they are advanced in Years, as ſoon as they "have learnt their Religion, when they may be taught whither they are going, when they are become Chriſtians, when they begin to be able to know Jeſus Chriſt. What is there that ſhould compel this innocent Age to receive Baptiſm? And ſince they are not yet allowed the Diſpoſal of Temporal Goods, is it reaſonable that they ſhould be entruſted with the Concerns of Heaven? For the "ſame Reaſon, *he farther ſays*, it is proper to make thoſe, who are not Married, wait for ſome time, "by reaſon of the Temptations which they have to undergo till they are Married, or have attained "to the Gift of Continency. Laſtly, *he ſays*, Thoſe who ſhall duly conſider the great weight and "Moment of this Divine Sacrament, will rather be afraid of making too much haſte to receive "it, than to defer it for ſome time, that ſo they may be the better capable of receiving it more "worthily.

The Sixth, Is concerning the proper time for Adminiſtring of Baptiſm. He ſays, That it may be done at any time; but that the ſolemn Days for performing it, are the Times of *Eaſter* and *Penticoſt*.

Laſtly, he ſays, That thoſe who are deſirous to dip themſelves Holily in this Water, muſt prepare themſelves for it by Faſtings, by Watchings, by Prayers, and by ſincere Repentance.

And this is what the Second Part contains, wherein there are but two Errors, the Firſt whereof concerning the Baptiſm of Hereticks, is common to him, with ſeveral others; and the Second, which relates to the Baptiſm of Infants, is particular to him alone, and we ſhall not find any of the Ancients ſpeaking after the ſame manner.

The Book *of Penance* is the Firſt of thoſe which relate meerly to the Diſcipline of the Church, therein he diſtinguiſhes two ſorts of Penance; the firſt is that which is performed before Baptiſm; and the ſecond is that of thoſe, who being ſo unhappy, as to fall into Enormous Sins after Baptiſm; do recover themſelves by a laborious Penance. In the Firſt Part, he ſhews the Neceſſity there is of proving and preparing Ones ſelf, for a long time, for the Reception of this Grace of Baptiſm, by a true Repentance. He fears not to ſay, That Baptiſm is to no purpoſe, if we have not repented of our Sins, and amended them, and that it is great Preſumption to imagine, that having led a diſorderly Courſe of Life till the very Day of Baptiſm, we ſhould be made Holy all of a ſudden, and that we

ſhould

should cease from Sinning immediately after we have received this Sacrament. 'Can it be believed, *Tertullian.*
'*says he*, that the Reformation is made just at the time when we are absolved? No certainly, it is
'made at the time when the Pardon is yet in suspence, and that we are afraid still of the Punishment,
'though we had not as yet deserved to be delivered from our Sins, that we might be in a Capacity
'of deserving it. When God still threatens us, and not when he has pardoned us------I confess that
'God grants Remission of Sins, to those who receive Baptism, but they must take Pains to be made
'worthy of it; for who would be so bold, as to confer this Sacrament on a Person, of whose Repen-
'tance he has any reason to make a Doubt? You may impose upon the Minister, and so procure Bap-
'tism, by false Pretences; but God, who knows the Hearts, keeps his own Treasures himself, and
'does not grant his Grace, but only to those that are worthy of it; so that none can imagine that he
'may sin more freely, because being yet but a Catechumen, he shall receive the Remission of his
'Sins in Baptism; for this Sacrament is the Seal of Faith, and Repentance is the Beginning and Stamp
'of Faith. Lastly, We are not washt from our Pollutions by Baptism, only that we might sin no
'more, but because we have our Heart already purified: *Quia jam corde loti sumus.* The Second Part of this Treatise, is of Penance after Baptism, called *Exomologesis.* He declares at first, that he finds it difficult to discourse of this Second Repentance, which is the last Hope that remains to those who have committed any Crimes, that is to say, Enormous Sins after Baptism: 'Lest, *says he*, by
'treating of this new Means of recovering our selves from Sin, which God offers to us; it might
'seem as if we would open a Way for Sinning afresh. However, *he says*, that God foreseeing Man's
'Infirmities, and the Devil's Temptations, was willing, that though the Gate of Remission was shut,
'and the Grace of Baptism refused for ever to those who had forfeited their Baptismal Innocence;
'they should yet have one Remedy left, which is a second Repentance, but that it is granted to them
'but once. He afterwards describes the laborious Exercises of this publick Penance, called *Exomo-*
'*logesis.* 'Tis, says he, an Exercise instituted to humble and abase the Sinner. It makes him lead a
'Life that is proper to prevail with God for Mercy; it makes him lie in Sackcloth and upon Ashes,
'entirely to neglect his own Body; it overwhelms his Mind with Grief and Sorrow; it reduces him
'to drink nothing but Water, and to eat nothing but Bread, and to take no more than what is neces-
'ry for his Sustenance; it obliges him to prolong his Prayers, and to feed them, if I may so say, by
'Fastings: It causes him to break out into Sighs, Groans and Tears, to cry Day and Night to the
'Lord, to cast himself at the Priest's Feet, and to prostrate himself before God's Favourites. Lastly,
'To conjure all his Brethren to pray to God for him, and to appease his Wrath by their Prayers.
After having thus described the Fatigues of this *Exomologesis*, he shews the Necessity of it, and reproves those who were ashamed to embrace it, when they had committed Sins after Baptism.

His *Book of Prayer*, is a Discourse partly Moral, partly Ecclesiastical; for in the First Part, he explains the *Lord's Prayer*; and in the Second, he discourses of some particular Ceremonies, used in the *Prayers* of the Christians. First, he advises the Christians to be reconciled to their Brethren, to free their Minds from all sort of Trouble and Passion, to purifie their Hearts from all Sin, before they betake themselves to Prayer; Secondly, He says that the Christians do not use to wash their Hands before Prayer, but that in Praying, they commonly lift them up towards Heaven. Thirdly, That it is not necessary to take off our Cloaks when we Pray, nor to sit always after Prayer. Fourthly, That we ought to Pray with a modest Countenance, lifting our Hands towards Heaven. Fifthly, That our Voices must be low, that we must not speak louder than is necessary, to be heard. *For*, says he, *it is not the Sound of our Words that God gives Ear unto; but he regards the Intention of our Heart.* Sixthly, That when we fast in private, and for the sake of Devotion, we must not abstain from the *Kiss of Peace*, as when it is a solemn Fast against the time of *Easter*. Seventhly, That the Stationary Days, that is to say, those Days when several of the Faithful continued in Prayer and Fasting till Three a Clock in the Afternoon; we must not abstain from assisting at the ordinary Prayers, as if it was necessary to break our Fast, as soon as we have received the Body of Jesus Christ. 'Your Sta-
'tion, *says he*, will be more solemn. Receive the Lord's Body, and keep it, and so you shall be
'Partakers of the Sacrifice, and you will perform your Devotion the better.

In his Book concerning *Idolatry*, he shews, that the Crime of Idolatry is not only committed by Sacrificing to Idols, but also several other ways, of which he gives us a very pretty Account. He pretends, that all those Workmen who make Pictures, representing the False Gods; that the Astrologers, who have given to the Planets the Names of the Heathen Gods, and who attribute to them any Power and Efficacy; Professors of Rhetorick, who commend the Gods of the Heathens; the Merchants, that furnish Commodities for the Adorning the Temples and offering Sacrifices to the Gods, are all guilty of Idolatry. He maintains, that it is not lawful for the Christians to Feast on those Days which the Pagans Solemnize in Honour of their Gods, nor to adorn their Houses with Torches and Laurels, in Honour of their Princes and Magistrates; that they may be allowed to go to the Weddings of their Kinsfolks, though Sacrifices be offered there; but that this is only to satisfie that Duty to which we were obliged, upon the Account of our Relation. That it is likewise lawful for Servants to follow their Masters to the Sacrifices, and for Christians to render to Heathen Emperors that which is their Due. But that they ought not to accept of Offices, nor bear Arms, at least, that they cannot do it without countenancing of Idolatry. Lastly, he does not acquit those of Idolatry, who attribute the Name of God to the pretended Deities of the Heathens, or who swear by their Name, whether it be through Custom or otherwise. And all this is grounded upon this most certain Principle, That all those who any ways favour the Wicked in their Vice, or contribute to Wickedness in any manner whatsoever, are themselves guilty; but *Tertullian* seems to stretch it a little too

far

far in ſome Particulars, and to lay too great a Streſs upon the Rigour of Things which might be excuſed: As for Example, To bear Arms for the Defence of the Empire, to Adorn their Houſes with Torches and Laurels, in Honour of their Princes, and to make uſe of ſome ways of Speaking that are Cuſtomary, though they may have ſome Affinity to Idolatry. *Tertullian.*

And to the ſame purpoſe, defending in his Book *De Corona Militis*, the Action of a Soldier, who had refuſed to put a Crown upon his Head; he maintains that it is abſolutely prohibited to the Chriſtians to Crown themſelves, and even to bear Arms. He ſpeaks in this Diſcourſe very advantageouſly of Cuſtom and Tradition, and relates ſeveral remarkable Examples of Ceremonies, which he pretends to be derived from Tradition. 'To begin, *ſays he*, with Baptiſm, when we are ready to enter into the Water, and even 'before we make our Proteſtations before the Biſhop, and in the Church, That we renounce the Devil, all 'his Pomps and Miniſters; afterwards we are plunged in the Water three times, and they make us anſwer 'to ſome Things which are not preciſely ſet down in the Goſpel; after that they make us taſte Milk 'and Hony, and we bath our ſelves every Day, during that whole Week. We receive the Sacra-'ment of the Euchariſt, inſtituted by Jeſus Chriſt, when we Eat, and in the Morning-Aſſemblies, and 'we do not Receive it, but from the Hands of thoſe that preſide there. We offer Yearly Oblations 'for the Dead, in Honour of the Martyrs. We believe that it is not lawful to Faſt on a *Sunday*, and 'to pray to God kneeling. From *Eaſter* to *Whitſontide* we enjoy the ſame Priviledge. We take 'great Care not to ſuffer any Part of the Wine and Conſecrated Bread to fall to the Ground. We 'often Sign our ſelves with the Sign of the Croſs; if you demand a Law for theſe Practiſes, taken 'from the Scripture, we cannot find one there; but we muſt anſwer, That 'tis Tradition that has 'eſtabliſhed them, Cuſtom that has authorized them, and Faith that has made them to be obſerved.

The Book concerning *Flight in time of Perſecution*, is a further Mark of the extream Rigour of *Tertullian*, for there he maintains, That it is abſolutely Prohibited to Fly in time of Perſecution, or to give Mony not to be Perſecuted.

The Book *De Pallio*, is a ſmall Treatiſe, wherein he endeavours to prove, that he had reaſon to quit the *Toga*, or the long *Roman* Gown, and to wear a Cloak; he ſhews therein a great deal of Wit and Learning, and it ſeems as if he Compoſed it, rather to ſhew what he was capable of ſaying upon ſo trivial a Subject as this is, than ſeriouſly to defend the Action.

In his Book concerning *Publick Sights and Spectacles*, he diſſuades the Chriſtians from thoſe Sights and Spectacles, ſhewing how theſe Pleaſures are both ſhameful and dangerous to thoſe who have Renounced the Pomps and Pleaſures of the World, and Idolatry.

There is no need of giving the Reaſons why he wrote thoſe Books concerning the *Ornaments* and *Dreſſes of Women*, ſince the Titles themſelves do ſufficiently ſhew againſt what Abuſe they were written: So likewiſe the Title of the Book, that *Virgins ought to be Veiled*, does diſcover the Subject; but we are not to underſtand it only of Virgins Conſecrated to God; for *Tertullian*'s Deſign is to prove, that young Women ſhould be Veiled, that is to ſay, that they ſhould have their Face covered in the Church: Which he undertakes to prove, contrary to the Cuſtom of his Country, where only married Women were Veiled. And upon this Account he ſpeaks againſt this Cuſtom, and maintains, that it cannot preſcribe againſt Truth; which is true, when it relates to *Doctrin*, but not when it concerns only a Matter of *Diſcipline*, which is but of little Conſequence.

In the Firſt Book written to *his Wife*, he Exhorts her not to Marry again; and in the Second, he adviſes her, that in caſe ſhe will Marry again, to take a Chriſtian for her Husband.

The Treatiſe of *Patience* is an excellent Exhortation to the Practice of this Vertue: In which Diſcourſe, *Tertullian* ſets forth, with a great deal of Eloquence, all the Motives and Arguments which might induce Chriſtians to Patience, and diſſuade them from Impatience.

The Diſcourſe directed to the *Confeſſors*, whom he calls Martyrs, according to the ancient way of ſpeaking, is likewiſe a very powerful Exhortation to thoſe who were in Priſon upon the Account of the Religion of Jeſus Chriſt, to encourage them to bear with Patience their Chains and Torments, and to perſevere with Conſtancy to the End; nothing can be more Pathetical and Moving than this little Diſcourſe.

I have now nothing more to do, but to ſpeak of thoſe Books which *Tertullian* Compoſed againſt the Church, in Defence of the *Montaniſts*, and they are Four: His Book of *Modeſty*, of *Monogamy*, an *Exhortation to Chaſtity*, and *A Treatiſe of Faſts*. In his Book of *Modeſty*, he endeavours to prove againſt the Church, that it has no Power to Remit the Sins of Fornicators and Adulterers, and that when Men are once fallen into theſe Crimes after Baptiſm, they cannot be any more admitted into the Communion of the Church, how Penitent ſoever they may be. In his Book of *Monogamy*, and the *Exhortations to Chaſtity*, he abſolutely condemns ſecond Marriages, as being Adultery. Laſtly, In his Diſcourſe of *Faſts*, he commends the Exceſſive Faſts of the *Montaniſts*, who made ſeveral *Lents*, obſerving the Stationary Faſts, as if they had been expreſly enjoyned, making them to continue till Night, and not eating upon thoſe Days any thing but Bread and Fruits, nor drinking any thing but Water. In all theſe Books, excepting his Book of *Exhortation to Chaſtity*, he formally attacks the Church, and the Catholicks, whom he calls *Pſychici*, and ſpeaks every where very advantageouſly of *Montanus* and his Propheteſſes, believing that the Holy Ghoſt had inſpired them to ſet up and eſtabliſh a more perfect Diſcipline. For as to what relates to the Rule of Faith, that is to ſay, to the principal Doctrins of Religion, *Tertullian* and the firſt *Montaniſts* were of the ſame Opinion with the Church: And therefore it is, that in this Book againſt *Praxeas*, he ſays, that he always believed in One only God, in three Perſons, and that he ſtill believes it more firmly, ſince he has been inſtructed by the *Paraclete* or Comforter: And in his Book which he wrote, to prove that *Virgins ought to be Veiled*, he ſays, that excepting the Rule of Faith, which is immoveable, and can no ways be changed, Manners and Cuſtoms that relate to Matter of Diſcipline may be reformed and altered

altered. That it is this which the *Paraclet* has done by the Ministry of *Montanus*, who has instructed Men in a much more perfect Discipline than that which the Apostles had taught them, that Justice was with him in the Cradle while he was an Infant: That the Law and the Prophets were as it were the Infancy, that the Gospel was as it were the Youth, but that there was no compleat Perfection to be found, but in the Instructions of the Holy Ghost, who spake by *Montanus*; for *Tertullian* and the first *Montanists* do not believe that *Montanus* was the Holy Ghost, but only that the Holy Ghost had inspired him, and sent him to Reform and Perfect the Discipline of the Church; and they did not attribute this Priviledge only to *Montanus*, but also to several of his Disciples, and principally to Women; and they would have it believed, that there were among them several Persons who had Revelations, and prophesied Things to come. These Persons were sometimes strangely agitated, sometimes they fell into an Extasie. This Sect gave a respectful Attention to all that they said, either while they were thus agitated, or after they came to themselves, as it was believed that these were so many Revelations, of which it was not lawful to make any doubt; they allowed them to speak in their Assemblies when they would, and they believed that they had more Power and Authority than Priests and Bishops. And this was the Reason that there was but very little Order and Rule observed in their Assemblies. But as to other things, they practised a very severe and austere Discipline; they for ever condemned not only those, who after their Baptism had committed Murder or Idolatry, but also those who had fallen into Fornication and Adultery, to lie under a perpetual Excommunication; They imposed new Fasts, and observed them very strictly, eating nothing but Bread and Fruits. They condemned second Marriages; and they believed that it was not lawful to flee in Times of Persecution. As soon as ever this Sect appeared in the World, it deluded a great many Christians by that outward Shew of Perfection and Sanctity which it carried along with it. For on the one hand, the Austerity of their Lives added Weight and Credit to their Revelations; and on the other hand, the Revelations caused their Discipline to be embraced. Several good Men were immediately brought into the Snare, and in a short time we find the Churches of *Phrygia*, and afterwards other Churches divided upon the Account of these new Prophesies. Even the Bishop of *Rome* himself was imposed upon by them, and granted them Communicatory Letters, which he presently Revoked, being sensible of his Error. The Christians of the Church of *France* were more circumspect as to this matter, and wrote to Pope *Victor* and the Churches of *Asia* concerning these new Prophesies, giving such a Judgment of them as was very discreet and agreeable to the Faith; as *Eusebius* tells us: But we do not certainly know what it was that they wrote, though it is very likely that they disapproved of these new Revelations, wishing nevertheless, that they would treat with Gentleness and Moderation, those who had suffered themselves to be surprized by Error, that so they might be induced to return into the Bosom of the Church. At length the Bishops of *Asia* having met together several times, to examine these new Prophesies, considering of what Consequence it was to put a Stop to their farther Progress, condemned them, and Excommunicated as well those who were the Authors of them, as those that followed them. And this is all that I thought necessary to say concerning the Sect of the *Montanists*, and the Condition in which it was in *Tertullian*'s time. We will now return to our Author, and speak of his Genius, his Style, and the Judgment that ought to be passed upon his Writings. *Tertullian.*

He was of a very quick, sprightly and sharp Temper, but he had not all that Exactness and Clearness that might have been wished. There is very often more Glittering than Solidity in his Reasonings: He rather strikes and dazles by his bold Expressions, than convinces by the Force of his Arguments. His Thoughts are far fetch'd, and sometimes lofty enough; the Turn which he gives them is high, but not very natural. He oftentimes stretches things too far. He is warm, and transported almost upon every thing. He is full of Figures and Hyperboles. He was very well furnished with Knowledge and Learning, which he sufficiently knew how to make use of to good purpose. His Excellency consisted in Satyr, his Jests are very ingenious and biting. He attack'd his Adversaries very cunningly, and overthrew them by a multitude of Reasons; which are interwoven, and, as it were, linked one within another. Lastly, if he does not persuade by his Reasonings, he at least forces Consent by that pompous way of Expression whereby he sets them out. His Style is Concise, his Expressions Emphatical, and there are in his Writings almost as many Sentences as Words. Yet *Lactantius* had reason to take notice of three considerable Defects in him. 'Tertullian, *says he*, was very well vers'd 'in the fine Learning, but his Style is neither fluent nor polite, but very obscure. *In loquendo parum facilis, parum comtus, & multum obscurus.* These three Faults in Style are common to him, with the greatest part of the *African* Writers *(k)*, but we may say, that they are in a very high Degree in *Tertullian*, and that there is not any Writer, whose Style is more harsh, less polite, and more obscure than his. All his Works are subject to these Defects, some more, and some less. He is more clear and concise in his Polemical Discourses, more obscure and harder in his common Places; as in the Book *De Pallio*, which is one of the obscurest Pieces of Antiquity. His Book of *Penance* is the most Polite of all. The most excellent, and the usefullest of his Works, are, his *Apology*, the *Præscriptions*, his Books of *Penance*, of *Baptism*, of *Prayer*, and his *Exhortations to Patience, and to Martyrdom.*

After what we have said already, it is an easie matter to judge the true Character of *Tertullian*; But it is not so easie to determine, whether he be more to be Commended, or Blamed: For first of all, if we were to make a Judgment, in relation to the Service which he did the Church, it would be difficult to say, whether he has done more Hurt or Good. For on the one hand, he vigorously defended its Doctrin against several Hereticks, he maintained in some of his Works very considerable Points relating

(k) These three Faults in Style are indeed to be found in the greatest part of the African Writers. We must except *Minutius*, S. *Cyprian* and *Lactantius*, they had quite worn off that way of Writing, tho' S. *Cyprian* still retains some relish of it.

Tertullian. relating to Discipline; and lastly, he all along Established an excellent Morality: But on the other hand, besides that he always had several Errors, he formerly opposed the Discipline of the Church after he separated from it. And if we judge in the second Place by the Temper of the Man, there is so much of Good and Ill in it, that we cannot tell which of the two ought to carry it. Lastly, If we make a Judgment of him by his Style, we cannot tell whether he is to be Commended for what he has that is Great and Surprizing, or to be Blamed, because of its other Defects and Imperfections. And thus Learned Men have always been, and are still extreamly divided (*l*) in the Judgments which

(*l*) *And thus Learned Men have always been, and are still extreamly divided.*] We shall here set down some Judgments made by the Ancients and Moderns concerning *Tertullian*: S. *Cyprian*, by the Relation of S. *Jerome*, who was told it by a Priest that had heard it from a Secretary of S. *Cyprian*'s, used every Day to read something of his Works; and when he called for his Book, he said, *Give me my Master.* And in truth S. *Cyprian* has imitated him, and has borrowed a great many things from him. He has likewise composed the greatest parts of his Works with the same design as *Tertullian*, as his Book of Idolatry, in imitation of *Tertullian*'s Apology. His Books *De Disciplina & habitu mulierbri, de zelo & livore, de Oratione Dominica, de opere & eleemosynis*, were written in imitation of those of *Tertullian* upon the same Subject. *Eusebius* says of *Tertullian*, That he was one of the ablest of the Latin Writers, and that he has obtained a great Reputation in all the Churches.

Lactantius passes the Judgment which we have already related, which is not very advantageous to him. S. *Hilary* says in his Commentary upon S. *Matthew*, That the Error into which he fell, has taken away the Authority of his Books, which deserved Approbation. *Consequens error hominis detraxit scriptis probabilibus Authoritatem.*

S. *Jerome* speaks sometimes very advantageously of him, as in *his Catalogue*, where he calls him a Man of a quick and sharp Wit; and in his Epistle to *Magnus*, he says, That there was not any Author, who had more Learning and Subtilty; but in other places he reprehends his Errors and Defects. In his Apology against *Ruffinus*, he says, *I commend his Wit, but condemn his Heresies*; and in his Book against *Helvidius*, who opposed to him *Tertullian*'s Authority, he makes this Answer, *What I have to say to you concerning* Tertullian, *is, that he is not of the Church. Ecclesiæ hominem non esse.*

S. *Austin* commends *Tertullian*'s Style, and always condemns his Error; in his Book *De Genesi ad Literam*, he says, That *Tertullian* having an excellent Apprehension, did sometime discover the Truth, and that he could not forbear sometimes to establish it even against his own Opinion.

Vincentius Lirinensis gives a Character of *Tertullian* in these words; 'Tertullian, *says he*, was among the *Latins* what *Origen* was among the *Greeks*, that is to say, 'the first and the most considerable Man they had. In 'word, Is there any Author more knowing and better 'versed, both in Ecclesiastical and Prophane Learning? 'Has he not compriz'd in his vast and prodigious Memory 'all the *Philosophy* of the Sages, the *Maxims* of the different 'Sects, with their Histories, and what else appertained 'to them? Did he ever undertake to attack any thing 'which he has not almost always, either pierced by the 'Vivacity of his Wit, or overthrown by the Force and 'Weight of his Reasonings? And who can sufficiently 'extol the Beauties of his Discourse, which is so well 'guarded and linked together by a continual Chain of 'Arguments, that he even forces the Consent of those 'whom he cannot persuade? His Words are as so many 'Sentences. His Answers are almost so many Victories, 'as has been sufficiently experienced by the *Marcions*, 'the *Apelles*'s, the *Praxeas*'s, the *Hermogenes*'s, the *Jews*, 'the *Gentiles*, the *Gnosticks*, and a great many others, 'whose Blasphemies he has silenced by great numbers 'of Books that have been as so many Thunderbolts 'which have reduced them to Ashes. And yet tho' 'he has had all these Advantages, he did not continue 'in the ancient and universal Faith of the Church, and 'he has proved himself less Faithful than Eloquent. 'At last he altered his Judgment and his Error, as has 'been observed by that blessed Confessor S. *Hilary*, by 'which means he has taken away that Authority from 'his Writings, which otherwise they would have deserv'd.

I shall take no notice of the Judgment of *Trithemius*, *Rhenanus*, *Politian*, *Pamelius*, *Rigaltius*, and some other Moderns, which every Body may consult upon occasion, and I shall conclude with the Judgments given by two of our French Authors, who have both given us Characters of *Tertullian*, but in a different way.

The first is the famous M. *Balsac*, in a Letter written to *Rigaltius*, which is the Second of the Fifth Book. 'I expect (*says he*) the *Tertullian* which you are publishing, that he may learn me that Patience, for 'which he gives such admirable Instructions; He is 'an Author to whom your Preface would have reconciled me, if I had had an Aversion for him, and if 'the Harshness of his Expressions, and the Vices of 'his Age had dissuaded me from reading him; but I 'have had an Esteem for him for a long time, and as 'hard and crabbed as he is, yet he is not at all unpleasant to me. I have found in his Writings, 'that Black Light which is mentioned in one of the 'ancient Poets, and I look upon his Obscurity with the 'same Pleasure, as that of Ebony which is very bright 'and neatly wrought. This has always been my Opinion; for as the Beauties of *Africa* are not less amiable, though they are not like ours; and as *Sophonisba* 'has eclipsed several *Italian* Ladies, so the Wits of 'that Country are not less pleasing with this foreign 'sort of Eloquence, and I shall prefer him before a 'great many affected Imitators of *Cicero*: And 'though we should grant to the nicest Criticks, that 'his Style is of Iron, yet they must likewise own to 'us, that out of this Iron he has forged most excellent 'Weapons; and that he has defended the Honour and 'Innocence of Christianity; that he has quite 'routed the *Valentinians*, and struck *Marcion* to the 'very Heart.

The second Character of *Tertullian*, *Recherche de la Verite.* is that which Father *Mallebranche* gives us in his *Search after Truth*, in his Second Book. Chap. 3. 'Tertullian, *says he*, was without doubt a Man of extraordinary Learning, but he 'had more Memory than Judgment. He excelled more 'in his Fancy and Imagination, than in Judgment and 'true extent of Thought. There is no doubt to be 'made, but that at last he was an *Enthusiast*, in that 'sense which I have explained it, and that he had almost all the Qualities which I have attributed to 'these Fanaticks. That Respect which he had for the 'Visions of *Montanus*, and for his Prophetesses, is an 'unquestionable Proof of the Weakness of his Judgment. That Fire, those Heats, those Enthusiasms 'upon little Subjects, do evidently discover the Extravagancy of his Fancy: How many Irregular Transports are there in his Hyperboles and Figures? How 'many Pompous and Magnificent Reasons, which 'prove only by their glittering, and which persuade 'only by stunning and dazling of the Understanding! He afterwards endeavours to shew that this is a true Picture, by making some Excerptions out of his Book *De Pallio*, which he thinks to be the most proper Book to justifie what he affirms.

they

they have given, and which they ſtill give of this Author; which makes me believe that it is better to commend the Good, and to blame what is amiſs, than to pretend to make an abſolute Judgment, which would be always ſubject to a thouſand Diſputes. *Tertullian.*

In the laſt place, to ſpeak briefly of the Editions of *Tertullian*, there has hardly been any Author oftner Printed, and upon whom more Perſons have beſtowed their Pains. For which, two Reaſons may be given, the Corruption of the Manuſcripts, and his Obſcurity, and theſe two Reaſons are likewiſe the cauſe one of the other; for his Obſcurity induced the Tranſcribers, who did not underſtand him, to alter ſome Words, that they might make ſuch a Senſe as they themſelves underſtood: And the Corruptions of theſe Tranſcribers have been ſo far from clearing his Meaning, that they have rendred it ſtill more obſcure; which has been the occaſion that this Author has given ſo much Trouble to all thoſe that have hitherto ſet out any Editions of any part of his Works.

Rhenanus was the firſt who publiſhed *Tertullian*'s Works, which were firſt Printed at *Baſil* in the year 1521. from two Manuſcripts which he had got out of two Abbeys in *Germany*; and the ſecond time in the year 1528. I have a great Eſteem for the Arguments and Notes, which this excellent Perſon, who was very well vers'd in all parts of Learning, and in Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity, has put at the beginning of the greateſt part of *Tertullian*'s Works: And I think that no Man has laboured more ſucceſsfully than he in the Explication of this Author; and that *Rigaltius* has very well obſerved, that *Rhenanus* wanted nothing to have made his Work compleat, but more Manuſcripts. Yet his Notes have been Cenſured by the Spaniſh Inquiſition, and they have been put at *Rome* in the *Index Expurgatorius*, becauſe of ſome Remarks which were a little too free upon the Abuſes that were common in his time: But this ought not to diminiſh the Eſteem we ought to have for him. We likewiſe find Editions of *Tertullian*, printed at *Baſil* in the years 1525, 1536, 1539. But they are plainly Copies of the firſt Edition, wherein nothing is altered but the year. The third Edition of *Rhenanus* is the beſt, it was Printed at *Baſil* in Folio in the year 1550. In this Edition, there are ſome Books corrected by *Gelenius* out of a Manuſcript from *England*. The fourth was likewiſe Printed at *Baſil* in 1562. The fifth is of *Paris*, Printed by *Guillard* in 1545. The ſixth was Printed upon a very curious Letter in the year 1566, Printed at *Paris* in two Volumes in Octavo, for *Volchelus*, and *Audoenus Parvus*. *Laurentius de la Barre* ſet forth a new Edition of *Tertullian*, Printed at *Paris* in 1580. Then *Pamelius* Publiſhed *Tertullian* with new Commentaries: His firſt Edition was in the year 1579, Printed at *Antwerp*. It was followed afterwards by that of 1583, Printed at *Paris* for *Sonnius*; and it was afterwards Printed at *Antwerp* by *Plantin*, in 1584; at *Heydelberg* for *Commelin* in 1596, and 1599; at *Cologne* in 1617; at *Geneva* in 1597, 1601, 1607; at *Zurich* by *Belley* in 1657; at *Paris* in 1608, in 1616, in 1634, in 1658, in 1664; and at *Roan* in 1662. The Commentaries of this Author are both Learned and Uſeful, but he digreſſes too much from his Subject, and he often brings in things which are of no uſe for the underſtanding of his Author. *Tertullian*'s Works have been likewiſe Printed according to *Pamelius*'s Edition with *Junius*'s Notes, at *Franeker* in 1597. In the year 1627, *Rigaltius* Printed nine Treatiſes of *Tertullian* at *Paris* in Octavo, more Correct, from a Manuſcript preſented by *Agobardus*, who lived in the Ninth Century, to the Church of *Lions*, whereof he was Biſhop, and he collated it with the various Readings of a Manuſcript of Monſieur *Montchal*. In 1584, *Latinus* publiſhed his Conjectures to reſtore ſome Places of *Tertullian*, which he pretended were corrupted. *Pancirollus* alſo had taken Pains upon *Tertullian*, but he publiſhed nothing. *Fulvius Urſinus* Collected ſeveral various Readings from Manuſcripts, and put them in the Margin of one of *Pamelius*'s Editions of *Tertullian* which *Rigaltius* uſed. *Johannes Woerus* has likewiſe made ſome Notes upon *Tertullian*, as well as *Albaſpinæus*, who wrote ſeveral upon ſome Paſſages relating to Diſcipline and Penance. *Pithœus*, *Mercerus*, *Junius*, *Salmaſius*, *Richerius*, *Theodorus Marſilius* and ſome others, have made Remarks upon his Book *De Pallio*, Printed ſeparately at *Paris* in 1576, and 1594, with *Junius*'s Notes; In 1600, with thoſe of *Salmaſius*; in 1625, *Jacobus Gothofredus* publiſhed from the Manuſcript of *Agobardus* the two Books to the Nations, which were never Printed before. They were Printed at *Geneva* for *Chouet*, together with the Commentaries of that Learned Lawyer.

' *La Cerda* the Jeſuit undertook to make a *Continued Commentary* upon *Tertullian*'s Works, more ample than thoſe which had been hitherto made: He began this Work, and cauſed two Volumes of it to be Printed at *Paris* in 1624, in 1630, and in 1641; but he never finiſhed it, and his Commentaries are only upon part of *Tertullian*'s Book; and beſides they are long and tedious, becauſe he explains ſeveral things which need no Explication, and he very often leaves his Subject.

After all theſe, the Learned *Rigaltius* having Reviſed *Tertullian*'s Works from the Manuſcript of *Agobardus*, and making uſe of the various Readings Collected by *Urſinus*, *Pithœus*, and *Junius*, publiſhed the Text of *Tertullian* more Correct in very many Places, and added ſome ſhort Notes, to examine which of the two Readings is the trueſt, to reject or confirm ſome Conjectures, and to explain the moſt Difficult and Uncommon Words; and he has annexed at the end longer Obſervations, to explain the difficult Paſſages, or to clear ſome ancient Practices; or laſtly, to diſcover ſome Point of Learning which was more difficult to be cleared. ' Where, if, *ſays he*, you find any Opinions that are ' a little too free, as about the Confeſſion of Secret Sins, about the Face of *Jeſus* (which he believes ' was not at all Comely, grounding it upon the Teſtimony of *Tertullian*, and ſome others of the An- ' cients) and upon the Wax-Tapers which are lighted up in the Churches in the Day-time, you muſt ' not think that I have taken notice of them any otherwiſe, than as they were neceſſary to explain ' *Tertullian*'s Notions, and not any ways to reprehend the Doctrin of the Catholick Church, or to ' diſapprove of the Opinions of thoſe Fathers, who lived after his time. Words by which *Rigaltius* endeavours to excuſe thoſe Opinions, which were too freely inſerted ſometimes by him in his Notes,

Tertullian. as well upon S. *Cyprian* as *Tertullian*; but I do not know whether this Excuſe will ſatisfie every Body, for it muſt be confeſſed, that there are ſome Places, wherein he ſufficiently ſhews, that he ſpeaks according to his own Opinion, rather than according to that of his Author, and in which he even digreſſes from his Subject, to make Obſervations which are ſometimes not very agreeable to the preſent Practice of the Church: But though we might have ſome reaſon to tax ſome of his Notes as to what relates to Divinity; yet we muſt confeſs on the other ſide, that the Notes and Remarks which he has made relating to Criticiſm, Grammar, and the Explication of ſome difficult Paſſages of *Tertullian*, are very excellent. However he is generally blamed for being too bold in his Conjectures, and that he has not been exact enough in Reviſing his Author from ancient Manuſcripts; and laſtly, that he has inſerted his Conjectures, and other Men's into the Text, without the Authority of any Manuſcripts.

The Bookſeller, who printed the *Tertullian* of *Rigaltius* in 1634, being willing to make the Work as Compleat as he could, Printed in 1635, in a Volume by it ſelf, the Notes and Commentaries of thoſe who had taken Pains upon *Tertullian* before him, that ſo we might have all that had been done upon this Author, excepting the Commentaries of *La Cerda*. This Volume joyned to the Edition of *Rigaltius*'s *Tertullian* of 1634, which was afterwards Reprinted in 1641, is the perfecteſt Edition of this Author.

It has been ſince Printed in 1664, which is not ſo large, but more Commodious, wherein they have put in the Margin the entire Notes and Obſervations of *Rigaltius*, together with others ſelected from thoſe of *Rhenanus*, *Pamelius*, *Albaſpinæus*, *La Cerda*, and *Salmaſius*, &c. together with the Corrections of *Mercerus*. *Priorius*, who had the Care of this Edition, has put at the beginning a Preface, which he calls, *A Diſcourſe concerning the Life and Errors of* Tertullian, that is not exactly done, any more than this Author's Notes; which have not found a general Eſteem among the Learned.

I do not ſpeak of the Edition of *Tertullian* publiſhed by Father *George*, which he cauſed to be Printed at *Paris* in 1648, and 1650, in three great Volumes, which he has Entituled *Tertullianus Redivivus*, becauſe there is nothing in this Edition worth taking notice of; and thoſe long and tedious Commentaries which this Capuchin has made, can be of no Advantage to the Ignorant, nor of any Uſe to the Learned.

It would be a deſirable thing to have a new Edition of *Tertullian* Printed, the Text whereof ſhould be exactly agreeable to the beſt Manuſcripts, without inſerting the Conjectures of particular Perſons. And they ought likewiſe to add a Choice Collection of thoſe Notes which are the moſt uſeful, taken from all the Commentators; And laſtly, they ſhould not range the Books according to the Order of Time, but according to the Order of the Matters, as we have done in giving an Abridgment of the Books, and to prefix at the beginning, the Life of *Tertullian*, and a Criticiſm upon his Writings; like that which we have done here in *French*, but larger, and more exact.

C A I U S.

Caius. CAIUS a Prieſt of the Church of *Rome* (*a*), lived in the time of the Popes *Zephirin* and *Victor*, that is to ſay under the Emperors *Severus* and *Antoninus*. He wrote a Treatiſe by way of Dialogue (*b*) againſt a famous Montaniſt called *Proclus* or *Proculus* (*c*), wherein he reprehended, and accuſed this Heretick for giving Credit too raſhly to thoſe new Prophecies, and at the ſame time confuted his Reaſons. *Euſebius* ſpeaks of this Treatiſe in three Places: The firſt is in Chap. 25. of the Second Book of his Hiſtory, where he quotes a Fragment of it relating to the Sepulchers of S. *Peter* and S. *Paul*, which were to be ſeen at *Rome* in this Author's Time. The ſecond is in Chap. 28. of the third Book, where he ſpeaks of the Heretick *Cerinthus* in theſe Terms. 'Cerinthus 'tells us in ſome Revelations which he had written, as if he had been a great Apoſtle, prodigious 'Things, which, as he ſaid, he had learnt from the Angels, aſſuring us, That after the Reſurrection, 'Chriſt ſhould have an Earthly Kingdom, and that Men ſhould live in *Jeruſalem*, where they ſhould 'enjoy Carnal and Senſual Pleaſures, and ſpend a Thouſand Years in continual Marriages and Jollity. The third place wherein *Euſebius* ſpeaks of *Caius* is in his Sixth Book, Chap. 20. where he ſays, that *Caius* condemning the Boldneſs by which the Enemies of the Church do counterfeit ſome Books of Scripture, reckons but 13 Epiſtles of S. *Paul*, not counting that which was written to the *Hebrews* among the number of this Apoſtle's Writings. Laſtly the ſame *Euſebius* in his Third Book, Chap. 21. recites ſome Words relating to the Daughters of *Philip* the Deacon, taken from this Author's Dialogue.

(*a*) *A Prieſt of the Church of* Rome.] *Euſebius* and S. *Jerom* tell us plainly, that he was a Prieſt, and that he lived in *Zephyrin*'s time; but they do not ſay that he was a Roman. His Treatiſe was Compoſed in Greek; *Photius* is the Firſt, who affirms expreſly, that he was a Prieſt of the Church of *Rome*; and he adds, that he was ordained Biſhop of the *Gentiles*.

(*b*) *By way of Dialogue.*] *Euſebius* calls it, βιβλίον διαλέξεως, that is to ſay, *a Book of Dialogues*; and *Caius* and *Proclus*, ſeem to have been the Perſons who ſpake therein, for *Euſebius* in his Third Book, relates the Words of *Proclus* taken from this Dialogue.

(*c*) Proclus *or* Proculus.] The Sect of the Montaniſts was divided into two Parties, the one were καθ' ἑαυτὸν, and the others καθ' Ἀσιανὸν, as it is obſerved in that ſmall Abridgment of Hereſies, at the end of *Tertullian*'s Præſcriptions. It is thought that this *Proclus* was the ſame with *Proculus* the *African*, who was likewiſe a Montaniſt, and of whom *Tertullian* ſpeaks; but this is not likely; for he, againſt whom *Caius* writes was a Greek, and was called *Proclus*, and not *Proculus*.

Euſebius

Eusebius and S. *Jerome* make no mention of the other Works of *Caius*, but the Learned *Photius* tells us, That he had likewise composed a Treatise against the Heresie of *Artemon*, who believed that Jesus Christ was only a meer Man, and that he was the Author of a Book Entituled, *The little Labyrinth* (*d*), from whence *Eusebius* has taken the Passage concerning the Penance of *Natalis*. *Photius* likewise attributes to him a Treatise *Of the Universe*, or *Of the Nature of the Universe*, or of the Causes thereof, which went in his Time under the Name of *Josephus*; Let us see what he says of it. 'This Work con-'tains two little Books, wherein he shews that *Plato* contradicts himself; he convinces the Philosopher 'Alcinous (*e*) of several Falsities and Absurdities concerning Matter and the Resurrection; he opposes 'his own Opinions to those of this Philosopher, and shews that the *Jews* are a much more ancient Peo-'ple than the *Greeks*; he believes that Man was compounded of Fire, Earth, and Water, and of a 'Spirit which is called the Soul, of which he speaks in these Terms: God has formed this Spirit to-'gether with the Body, and taking the principal part from thence, he has caused it to penetrate and 'fill up all it's Members; so that extending it self throughout the whole Body, he has taken the form 'from thence; but it is of a colder Nature than Matter, of which the Body is compounded. This 'Opinion which supposes that the Soul is Corporeal, (if nevertheless he acknowledges no other Soul 'in a Man than his Spirit) this Opinion, *I say*, is quite different from the Doctrin of the *Hebrews*, 'and does not agree with the Greatness of his other Notions. To conclude, as the same *Photius* adds, '(from whom we have only translated his Words) he speaks of Jesus after a very Orthodox Manner. For he calls him Christ, and speaks of his ineffable Generation from the Father, after such a manner as is no ways to be reprehended; which gives us occasion to doubt whether this be the Work of *Josephus* or not; though the Style very much resembles that of this Historian. He adds also afterwards, that he has found and observed that this Book was written by *Caius* Author of the *Labyrinth*; but that not bearing the Name of it's Author, some have attributed it to *Justin Martyr*, others to *Irenæus*; though in reality it was composed by *Caius*. The Proof he brings for it, is, That the Author of the *Labyrinth*, whom he believes to be *Caius*, says, towards the End, that he was the Author of the Book *concerning the Nature of the Universe*; but this Argument is not absolutely convincing. For it is not certain, that *Caius* was the Author of the Book *of the Labyrinth*, which some have attributed to *Origen*, and 'tis likely enough, that there might be two several Books of different Authors, which might have very near the same Title.

Caius.

(*d*) *The little* Labyrinth.] We have observed, that *Eusebius* does not Name the Author of this Fragment, but that *Theodoret* ascribes it to the Author of the *Labyrinth*, and on the other hand, *Photius* informs us, that *Caius* was the Author of that Book, and proves it, because the Author of the *Labyrinth* says, That he wrote a Treatise *concerning the Universe*, whence it would follow, that it was *Caius* who was the Author of this Fragment; but I should rather believe it to be taken out of the Book, which he Composed against *Artemon*. *Eusebius* says, That the Book from whence he produces this Fragment, was written against his Heresie, and the Passages which he brings from thence do clearly shew it.

(*e*) *The Philosopher* Alcinous.] He wrote a Treatise, wherein he makes a Comparison between *Aristotle* and *Plato*.

HIPPOLITUS.

Hippolitus.

HIPPOLITUS, who was according to the Relation of some, Bishop of *Ostia* in *Italy* (*a*), and according to others Metropolitan of *Arabia*, suffered Martyrdom (*b*), under the Reign of the Emperor *Alexander*. He made himself considerable by the Commentaries which he Composed upon the Holy Scripture (*c*). *Eusebius* and S. *Jerom* assure us, that he had written upon the Six days Work, upon *Genesis*, *Exodus*, the *Canticles*, the *Psalms*, the Prophet *Zachary*, the Prophet *Isaiah*, upon some Places of *Ezekiel*, upon *Daniel*, the *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and *Apocalypse*; and that he Composed Two Treatises, the One *concerning* Saul, and the other *concerning the Witch of* Endor. Besides these Works upon the Scripture, he likewise wrote a Treatise *con-*

(*a*) *Bishop of* Ostia *in* Italy.] S. *Jerom*, in his Catalogue, says, that he does not know of what City he was Bishop. *Gelasius*, in his Book *De duabus Naturis*, citing *Hippolitus*, says, That he was Metropolitan of *Arabia*. *Nicephorus* makes him Bishop of *Pontus*: It is more likely that he was a Bishop of *Arabia*, than of *Italy*: For it is certain that he was of the *East*, and S. *Jerom* observes in one of his Homilies, that *Origen* was his Scholar; some have said, that he was the Disciple of S. *Clemens*, and this is very probable.

[Monsieur *le Moyne*'s Conjecture, that *Hippolitus* was Bishop of *Portus Romanus*, now called *Aden* in *Arabia*, is most probable; for it was an easie Mistake for those who knew nothing of this *Arabian Portus*, to imagine, that he was called *Portuensis* from the *Portus Romanus*, by *Ostia* in *Italy*, especially since there has been so current a Tradition of his suffering Martyrdom in *Italy*.]

(*b*) *Suffered Martyrdom.*] S. *Jerom*, in the Preface to his Commentaries upon S. *Matthew*, calls him a Martyr, and in the Martyrologies, he is rank'd in the Number of Martyrs. It is certain, that he suffered Martyrdom in *Italy*, and perhaps at *Ostia*: His Acts are forged and counterfeit. It is affirmed herein, that he suffered Mertyrdom under *Claudius*, it should have been under *Alexander*; and *Ulpianus*, who is mentioned in these Acts, perhaps may be *Ulpius*, who was Governour of *Rome* in the Time of this last Emperor.

(*c*) *Which he composed upon the Holy Scripture.*] S. *Jerom* says, that *Origen* being excited by his Friend *Ambrosius*, undertook to write Commentaries upon the Sacred Scripture, in imitation of *Hippolitus*.

Hippolitus.

cerning *Antichriſt*, a Diſcourſe *concerning the Reſurrection*, a Work *againſt all the Hereſies*, and one in particular *againſt that of* Marcion; a Diſcourſe *concerning* Eaſter, wherein he has given a kind of Chronicle, to the Firſt Year of the Emperor *Alexander*; and a Paſchal Cycle for Sixteen Years. He likewiſe made one or two more Homilies in the Praiſe of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, which he recited in the Preſence of *Origen*, who followed and imitated him in the Works, which he compoſed upon the Holy Scripture. There is a Catalogue of his Works upon the Side of a Statue found near *Rome*, where his Paſchal Cycle was affixt; ſeveral Books are here omitted, mentioned by *Euſebius* and S. *Jerom*; but there are others (*d*) of which they have not ſpoken: The Catalogue is this. The Works of *Hippolitus, upon the Penitential Pſalms, concerning the Witch of* Endor, *upon the Goſpel of S.* John, *and the* Apocalypſe, *concerning the Gifts of God, Apoſtolical Tradition, a Chronicle, a Book written to the Greeks, another upon* Plato, *or concerning the World, an Exhortation to* Severina, *a Demonſtration of the Time of* Eaſter *in a Table, Odes upon the whole Scripture, a Diſcourſe of God, of the Reſurrection of the Fleſh, of Good, and from whence Evil proceeds.* This Catalogue does not appear to me, to be ſo faithful and exact, as that of *Euſebius* and S. *Jerom*, who own beſides, as well as *Honorius Auguſtodunenſis* after them, that *Hippolitus* writ ſeveral other Treatiſes, whereof they had not any Knowledge. And we have now almoſt entirely loſt, even thoſe of which *Euſebius* and S. *Jerom* have given the Catalogue.

There goes indeed under his Name, a ſmall Diſcourſe, Printed at *Paris* in Greek, with the Verſion of *Picus Mirandala*, in the Year 1557, and afterward in 1660, and inſerted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, with this Title; *Of the end of the World, Antichriſt, and the Second Coming of Jeſus Chriſt.* But it is very uncertain, whether this be the Treatiſe of Antichriſt (*e*) attributed to *Hippolitus*, and mentioned by *Euſebius*; The Title being different from that related by *Euſebius*; the Style mean and Childiſh: And Laſtly, The Fables and Falſhoods which it contains, give us ſufficient Ground to doubt it. There is another Treatiſe of Chriſt and Antichriſt, which bears the Name of *Hippolitus*, publiſh'd in Greek by *Gudius*, which Father *Combefis* has cauſed to be Printed in Greek and Latin, in the laſt Volume of the Supplement to the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. Though this Treatiſe be more ancient than that which was publiſhed before under *Hippolitus*'s Name, yet does it not appear to me worthy of this Author. Thoſe that read the Commentary upon the Hiſtory of *Suſanna*, and the Greek Fragment upon *Daniel*, which are Printed in the ſame Place, will paſs the ſame Judgment upon them.

The Demonſtration againſt the Jews, publiſht in Latin by *Turrianus*, and inſerted by *Poſſevinus* into his *Apparatus*, is a Fragment of ſome Homily, or of ſome other Book of that Nature. It is not certain, whether it be written by *Hippolitus*. There was found at *Baſil*, a Treatiſe *upon the Apocalypſe*, attributed to *Hippolitus*; but it is doubted whether it be his, becauſe of the meanneſs of the Style, and the little Learning there is in it, as *Sixtus Senenſis* has obſerved. The Collections, or rather the Extracts taken by *Anaſtaſius* the Library-Keeper, out of the Sermons of *Hippolitus*, upon ſome Points of Divinity, and upon the Incarnation, againſt *Bero* and *Helix*, Hereticks of the Sect of the *Valentinians*, publiſhed by *Turrianus* and *Caniſius*, and related in Greek by *Anaſtaſius*, in his Collections ſet forth by *Sirmondus*, ſeem to be very ancient; but it is not certain whether they belong to *Hippolitus*. We muſt make the ſame Judgment of the Homily, Entituled, *Of One Only God in Three Perſons, and of the Incarnation, againſt the Hereſie of* Noetus, which is publiſhed by *Voſſius*, with the Works of *Gregorius Thaumaturgus*; but though it was not really written by *Hippolitus*, yet it contains the Principles of the Ancients concerning the Trinity (*f*).

That little Work, *Of the Lives of the Twelve Apoſtles*, which Father *Combefis* cauſed to be printed from a Manuſcript in the King's Library, in his Supplement to the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, is not *Hippolitus*'s, and contains ſeveral Fictions of the Modern Greeks (*g*), relating to the Deaths of the Apoſtles.

(*d*) *But there are other Works.*] 'Tis very like that it is a Collection of Homilies, which was extant in *Theodoret*'s time, who cites ſeveral of them, which, perhaps might make a part of his Commentaries upon the Scripture.

(*e*) *It is very uncertain whether this be the Treatiſe of Antichriſt*] The Books of *Hippolitus* were Entituled, *Of the Reſurrection*, and *of Antichriſt*, according to the Relation of *Euſebius*, and S. *Jerom*: This is Entituled, *Of the End of the World*, &c. This Style is mean and Childiſh, whereas that of *Hippolitus* was grave and lofty. This Treatiſe begins with ἐπειδὴ γάρ. There are a great many triffling Conjectures concerning the Birth, and the Life of Antichriſt; he believes that he is to be a Devil; he ſays that S. *John* is not dead, which is contrary to the ancient Tradition: He cites the *Apocalypſe* inſtead of *Daniel*; he holds that the Souls of Men have been from all Eternity, which agrees with *Origen*'s Opinion: In a Word, this Treatiſe is worth very little.

(*f*) *The Principles of the Ancients concerning the Trinity*] Theſe Principles are, that the WORD was from all Eternity in the Father, as being his Wiſdom, his Power, and his Counſel; that when he deſigned to create the World, he did, if I may ſo ſay, put him without him; and this is that which they call Generation: That it is by him that he created the World; and that he governs it; that it is he who made himſelf viſible to Men; who ſpake to the Patriarchs and the Prophets; who gave the Law; and who at laſt became Incarnate; that conformable to this Oeconomy, we acknowledge Three Perſons in God, which nevertheleſs make but one only God; that the WORD before he took Fleſh had not perfectly the Quality of the WORD, and that we may ſay, that he was begotten of the Father; That we ought to believe that the WORD deſcending from Heaven into the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*, took therein a Reaſonable Soul, and every thing belonging to human Nature, Sin only excepted, and all this in order to ſave Man, who fell by the Sin of *Adam*, and to render him Immortal, &c.

(*g*) *Several Fictions of the modern Greeks.*] Such as theſe following, that S. *Andrew* was Crucified upon an Olive-Tree: That the Relicks of S. *John* were not found in his Sepulchre; that S. *Bartholomew* was Crucified with his Head downwards; that S. *Thomas* Preached among the *Magi*; that he was run through in four places with a Lance made of Deal in the City of *Salamis*, that *Thaddeus* preached the Goſpel in *Meſopotamia*; Things which are taken from the Fictions of the Modern Greeks, as from *Sophronius* and others.

We

We must say the same of a Book written much upon the like Subject, concerning the Seventy two Disciples *(b)* of Jesus Christ, which was in the Library of Cardinal *Sirletus*, which *Baronius* mentions in his Notes upon the Martyrology upon the Ninth Day of *April*. *Hippolitus.*

Photius had read *Hippolitus*'s Book against the Hereticks, and gives us this Account of it. 'I have 'read the little Book of *Hippolitus*, who was Disciple of S. *Irenæus*, against Two and Thirty Here-'sies: He begins with the *Dositheans*, and he goes on as far as *Noetus* and the *Noetians*. He says that 'all these Heresies have been confuted by S. *Irenæus*, and that he has Collected in this little Book, the 'Reasonings and Arguments of this Father. His Discourse is clear and serious, and he says nothing but 'what is to the purpose, though he has not all the Beauties of the *Attick* Style. He affirms some things 'which are not true, and among others, that the Epistle to the *Hebrews* was not written by S. *Paul*. 'It is said, that he made several Homilies to the People, as well as *Origen*, who was his Friend, and 'that he wrote several other Books. The same Author, in another Place, mentions the Commentary of *Hippolitus* upon *Daniel*. 'He says, That though he does not literally explain this Prophet, 'yet he does not let slip any part of his Sense, that is considerable, that he interprets things according to 'the manner of the Ancients, and not with that Exactness which has been since observed; but that he 'is not to be censured for that, because it is not reasonable to expect from those who lay the Foun-'dation of any Science, that they should omit nothing that might be said upon it; but on the contra-'ry, we ought to commend them, because they were the first Discoverers, for those things which 'they first found out: That as for the rest, *Hippolitus* was mistaken, in pretending to fix the time of 'the End of the World, and of the coming of Antichrist, which Christ would not discover to his 'Disciples, even then when they desired it of him very earnestly. He pretended, *says he*, to fix it five 'hundred years after the Death of Christ, as if the World was to last but Six thousand Years; which 'is too nice a Subtilty. His way of Writing is clear and plain, and very proper for a Commentary, 'though he departs from the Rules, and the Purity of the *Attick* Dialect. We have likewise a Ho-'mily which he made concerning Jesus Christ and Antichrist, wherein, though he follows the same 'way of Writing, yet he is more plain, and favours more of Antiquity. And these Passages of *Pho-tius*, do not only discover the Subject of those Works of *Hippolitus* which he had read, but also the Style and Character of the Author.

The Paschal Cycle for Sixteen Years, composed by *Hippolitus*, whereof *Anatolius*, *Eusebius*, S. *Jerom* and *Victorius* have made mention, was found round about a Marble Statue that was dug out of the Ground in the Year 1551, near *Rome (i)*, and carried into the *Vatican* Library; and afterwards it there are two Cycles, for Eight Years each; on the Right side is that of the 14 Days of the Moons, and on the Left, that for the Sundays. On the side of this Cycle, there is a Catalogue of *Hippolitus*'s Works, which we have already set down. This Canon is the most ancient Paschal Cycle that we have.

(*b*) *Concerning the Seventy two Disciples.*] This is manifestly the same with the false *Dorotheus*.

(*i*) *Near* Rome.] Near the Church of S. *Laurence*, in a Place where there was in all probability a Chappel to *Hippolitus*. The Statue is of Marble, representing *Hippolitus* sitting in a Chair, on the Sides of which,

[The Catalogue of *Hippolitus*'s Works, taken from the Roman Marble, is so very uncorrect in Monsieur *Du Pin*, that I shall translate it anew from the Greek Copy, with some few Notes upon it to explain it.]

Commentaries upon the Psalms.
Of the Witch of Endor.
Commentaries upon the Gospel according to S. John, *and the Revelations.*
Of Spiritual Gifts.
Apostolical Tradition.
Chronicles; *or Chronological Accounts of Time* (a).
Against the Greeks, *and against* Plato, *or concerning the Universe.*
An Exhortation to Severina (b).
A Demonstration of the Time of Easter, *as it is in the Table.*
Odes upon all the Scriptures (c).
Of God and the Resurrection of the Flesh.
Of Good, and whence cometh Evil.

(a) *Accounts of Time.*] This Dr. *Cave* joyns with the next Line, and so makes but one Title thus, *Chronicles to the Greeks*: But as the Marble lies in *Grater*, (from whom Dr. *Cave* transcribed it) Χρονικῶν, makes one Line, and πρὸς Ἕλληνας another; now for the most part one Line makes a whole Title, where the Conjugation καὶ does not connect more together, especially where a compleat Sense can be made by such a Division: But here the καὶ πρὸς Πλά-τωνα must be joyned with πρὸς Ἕλληνας, and a Dis-course upon a Philosophical Subject, concerning the Universe against *Plato* and other Greek Philosophers, has no great Coherence with a Chronology.

(b) Severina.] This according to Monsieur *le Moyne* is faulty, and should be read πρὸς Σεβῆρον Αὐ, *to* Severa Augusta; and his Reason is, because *Theodo-ret* speaks of a Letter written by this *Hippolitus to a certain Queen* Πρὸς βασιλίδα τινα. This Reason is not sufficient to me, for Inscriptions upon Marbles, when drawn by skilful Men, are Copyed by the Graver with more Care than ordinary Books by Transcribers: And because we cannot tell who this *Severina* was, therefore it does not follow, either that *Hippolitus* did not write such a Letter to her, or that he might not write another to the Empress, which *Theodoret* might have seen and quoted.

(c) *All the Scriptures.*] This *Du Pin* has rightly translated; *Le Moyne* tells us, that it should be πάσας τὰς αἱρέσεις, *upon all Heresies.* Heresies seem to be as improper things to write Hymns upon, as one would wish. But the Historical Parts of Scripture will afford Matter enough for the loftiest Genius to work upon. Dr. *Cave* does deservedly throw aside *Le Moyne*'s Conjecture, though it seems strange that he should not discern that the received Reading was true.

Scaliger's Conjecture of the two first Lines, which are almost all eaten away, is too rash; he takes the Letters ιως and ιτας to be parts of the Words ψαλ-μος μετανοιας, from whence he concludes, that *Hippolitus* wrote Commentaries upon the Seven Penitential Psalms; but (as Dr. *Cave* observes, that Word applied to those Psalms was unknown in that Age, and what to put in the room of it, is hard to assign, and so I left it out.

Hippolitus. was published by *Gruter*, by *Scaliger*, and by *Bucherius*; who caused it to be Printed, together with the Cycle of *Victorius* of *Aquitain*, in the Year 1633. *Mabillon* observes in his *Iter Italicum.* *Voyage into* Italy, that he saw at *Rome* in Cardinal *Chigy*'s Library, an Ancient Greek Manuscript, containing the four great Prophets, wherein there is a Commentary of *Hippolitus* upon the Dream of *Nebuchadonosor*.

Lastly, *Theodoret* quotes and produces some considerable Fragments of *Hippolitus*, (*k*) concerning the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, taken from several of his Homilies, and from his other Treatises upon the Holy Scriptures.

(*k*) *Lastly*, Theodoret *relates some considerable Fragments of* Hippolitus.] He cites some from an Oration upon these Words of *Isaiah*, *Dominus pascit me*, &c. from his Sermon upon *Hannah* and *Elkanah*, from a Homily upon the beginning of *Isaiah*, from a Book concerning the Distribution of Talents; and lastly, From a Letter to a Queen (which some believe to be *Mammea*, the Mother of *Alexander*, others, one called *Severa*) whose Name is mentioned in a Catalogue of this Author's Works, which was on the side of his Statue; from an Oration upon *Canticles*, from an Interpretation of the Second *Psalm*, and from the Three and twentieth Oration upon the Two Thieves. See the Tradition related by *Theodoret* at the end of his Three Dialogues.

GEMINIANUS *or* GEMINUS.

Gemminianus or Geminus. WE joyn *Geminianus*, or *Geminus* (*a*), a Priest of *Antioch* to *Hippolitus* the Martyr, because they both flourisht under the Reign of *Alexander*, and because he is spoken of in *Eusebius*'s *Chronicon* in the same Place, where *Hippolitus* is mentioned. We know nothing of the Works of this Author. Only S. *Jerom* assures us, that he left behind him some Pieces, which were Monuments of his Parts.

(*a*) Geminianus *or* Geminus] He is called by *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon Geminianus*; and by S. *Jerom*, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, *Geminus*.

ALEXANDER.

Alexander. A *Lexander*, a Bishop in *Cappadocia*, being come to *Jerusalem*, to visit the Holy Places that are there, when *Narcissus*, who governed that Church, was not capable himself alone, by reason of his great Age, to discharge all the Duties of the Episcopal Office; the *Christians* of that City retained *Alexander*, and made him his Coadjutor, by the Consent of the Bishops of the neighbouring Churches. It is said that they had a Revelation, and heard a Voice, advising them to chuse him Bishop; and indeed there needed nothing less than a Miracle, to authorize an Election so extraordinary as this (*a*) and for which there had yet been no Precedent. He governed this Church joyntly with *Narcissus*, as his Collegue. See what he says of it at the Conclusion of a Letter, written to the *Antinoites*. 'Narcissus, who held before me the Episcopal See, and who is now united '(*b*), with me in Prayers, being a Hundred and sixteen Years old, sends you Greeting, and exhorts 'you to be all of one and the same Mind.

Alexander being in Prison in the Time of the Persecution under *Severus*, wrote likewise a Letter to those of *Antioch*, wherein he Congratulates them upon the Ordination of *Asclepiades*, who succeeded *Serapion* in that See: He sent this Letter by *Clemens*, as it is believed of *Alexandria* (*c*). Besides, he wrote a Letter to *Origen*, of which *Eusebius* recites a Fragment in the 14th Chapter of the 6th Book of his History, where he says, that he was a Friend of *Pantænus*, and of *Clement* of *Alexandria*, and that these Men made him acquainted with *Origen*. And last of all, he sent a Letter to *Demetrius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, which he wrote along with *Theoctristus*, Bishop of *Cæsarea*, in favour of *Origen*, wherein he proves by several Examples, that Bishops may invite those that are proper for instructing the People, to Preach in their Presence: He wrote besides several other Letters, of which we have nothing remaining. He suffered Martyrdom at *Cæsarea* in the time of the Persecution, under the Emperor *Decius*.

(*a*) *An Election so extraordinary as this.*] There were two things in this Ordination which were New, and contrary to the Laws of the Church. The first was the Translation of a Bishop to another See: The Second, the making a Coadjutor to a Bishop whilst living.

(*b*) *Who is now united.*] It appears by this, that *Alexander* was not only Coadjutor, but that he alone had the Care of the Church, that *Narcissus* did not concern himself with any thing, and that he had no more than barely the Honour.

(*c*) *As it is believed of* Alexandria.] S. *Jerom* believes that it was S. *Clement* of *Alexandria*, and this may very well be; For he lived 'till this time, and he was intimately acquainted with *Alexander*, to whom he Dedicated a Book concerning the Ecclesiastical Rule. *Eusebius*, Lib. 6. cap. 13.

JULIUS AFRICANUS.

Julius Africanus, who was of *Palestine* (*a*), tho' older than *Origen* (*b*), is believed to have been the Disciple of *Heraclas*, because being drawn by his Reputation, he came to *Alexandria* to confer with him (*c*). He was deputed by the Emperor *Alexander* (*d*), to cause the City of *Emmaus* to be repaired, which was afterwards called *Nicopolis*. He particularly applied himself to Chronology and History, and composed an exact Chronicle (*e*), divided into five Books, from the Beginning of the World, to the Third Year of the Reign of *Heliogabalus* (*f*), wherein he gave a brief Account of the most remarkable Accidents from the beginning of the World, to the time of Jesus Christ, and related in few Words all that had happened since Christ's Time, to that wherein he wrote. We have not this famous Work at present under *Africanus*'s Name. But *Eusebius* has inserted it almost entire in his *Chronicon*, altering and adding some few things, and Correcting some of his Mistakes. We have still some of his Fragments in two Works, published by *Scaliger*, of which one is Latin, and is called *Chronological Extracts*, taken out of *Eusebius* and *Africanus*; and the other is Greek, and Entituled, *A Collection of Histories*. *Julius Africanus.*

Besides this Chronicle, he wrote two Letters upon two important Questions relating to the Scripture: The first directed to *Aristides*, was written to reconcile that seeming Contradiction which is found in the Account given of the Genealogy of Jesus Christ by S. *Luke* and S. *Matthew*. *Eusebius* gives us a considerable part of this Letter, in the ~~Last~~ *Sixth* Chapter of the ~~Seventh~~ *Sixth* Book of his History. And in order to reconcile this Difference, he has recourse to that Law of Adoption, that took Place among the Jews, and which obliged the Brothers to Marry their Brothers Wives who died without Children. He says then, that *Matthan*, who descended from *David* by *Solomon*, married a Wife named *Estha*, by whom he had *Jacob*: But that after the Death of *Matthan*, this same Woman married *Melchi* (he should have said *Matthat*) who descended from *David* by *Nathan*, of whom she had a Son named *Heli*, and that so *Heli* and *Jacob* were Brothers by the Mother's-side; and that *Heli* dying without Children, *Jacob* was obliged to marry his Widow, of whom he had *Joseph* the Husband of *Mary*, who was by consequence natural Son to *Jacob*, and the Son of *Heli* according to the Law; and descended from *Solomon* by *Jacob*, and from *Nathan* by *Heli*. This way of reconciling the Evangelists, as to the Genealogy of Jesus Christ, is very easie, and has hardly any Difficulty in it; but that every Body may readily comprehend it, we shall represent it in the following Table.

(*a*) *Who was of* Palestine.] Some have confounded him with *Sextus Africanus* of *Lybia*; but this is an Error: For our Author was of *Palestine*, and lived there, whereas the other was only of *Lybia*.

(*b*) *Older than* Origen.] In the Letter which he wrote to *Origen*, he calls him his Son, and he continues his Chronicle no farther than to the Time of *Heliogabalus*, which shews that he was older than *Origen*.

(*c*) *To confer with him.*] *Heraclas* was undoubtedly Bishop of *Alexandria*, when he came into this City. He says as much himself in his Chronicle, according to the Relation of *Eusebius*, Lib. 6. Cap. 3. and of *Bede de Sex. æt.* P. 86. of *Ado*, and others.

(*d*) *By the Emperor* Alexander.] This Embassy was under *Alexander* the Son of *Mammea*, and not under *Heliogabalus*. That which made *Eusebius* mistake, is because *Africanus*'s Chronicle went no farther than the time of *Heliogabalus*.

(*e*) *And composed an exact Chronicle.*] *Eusebius* gives it the Name of *a Chronography*, and S. *Jerom* styles it *a History of the Times*: *Photius* and *Bede* call it a *Chronicle*. It contained the Origin and Succession of all the Monarchies and Commonwealths, and he annext to the end thereof, a kind of Table, called a *Canon*, wherein he disposed under every Year, what he had before observed Successively. S. *Basil* cites a Passage from thence, relating to the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, in the 29th Chapter of his Book, *de Spiritu Sancto*.

(*f*) *The Reign of* Heliogabalus.] *Photius*, who had seen it, says that his Chronicle went no farther than the Reign of *Macrinus*. But the Computation of Years, and a Fragment related by *Scaliger*, clearly shew, that he continued it to the Time of *Heliogabalus*.

DAVID

Julius Africanus.

DAVID

SOLOMON, *And his Deſcendents, related by S.* Matthew.		NATHAN, *And his Deſcendents, related by S.* Luke.
MATTHAN, *The firſt Husband.*	ESTHA, *The Wife of both.*	MELCHI, *Or rather* MATTHAT, *The Second Husband.*
JACOB, *The Son of* Matthan, *the firſt Husband.*	THEIR COMMON WIFE, *Whoſe Name we do not know, Firſt married to* Heli, *of whom ſhe had no Children, and afterwards to* Jacob, *his Brother.*	HELI.
The Natural Son of Jacob.	JOSEPH.	*The Son of* Heli, *according to the Law.*

The Second Letter of *Africanus*, relating to the Hiſtory of *Suſanna*, was written to *Origen*, who had in a Conference cited the Prophet *Daniel*, to vindicate the Innocence of *Suſanna*. *Africanus* writes to him, that he admires that he does not look upon this Part of *Daniel* as Fictitious, and that this whole Hiſtory is no more than a Fable. The Reaſons which he brings for this Opinion, are very Learned and Ingenious, and there was a Neceſſity for ſo great a Man as *Origen* to anſwer him; and yet it ſeems as if *Africanus* wrote to him, rather to be inſtructed in the Truth, than with any Deſign of Diſputing againſt him.

There is likewiſe attributed to this Author, a Work Entituled, *The Ceſti*, which is cited under his Name, not only by *Suidas*, and *Sincellus*; but likewiſe by *Photius*, and even by *Euſebius*, in the Sixth Book, Chap. 31, of his Hiſtory: If that Paſſage, which is not to be found in *Ruffinus*'s Verſion, nor in S. *Jerom*, be not foiſted in. But it is more likely that this is the Work of another *Africanus* (*g*). We do not know whether he, of whom we ſpeak, wrote any thing elſe, nor when he died.

(*g*) *Is the Work of another* Africanus.] Theſe Books, Entituled *Ceſti*, were Diſcourſes containing nothing but Prophane Learning, they were ſo called *à Ceſto Veneris*: They treated of Herbs, and particularly of thoſe that had any Faculty in procuring Love. The Author of this Book was of *Lybia*; he called himſelf *Sextus Africanus*, or rather *Africanus Ceſtus*. He was probably a Heathen, as the Title, and the Subject of this Work ſufficiently ſhew. There is a Book attributed to one *Africanus*, cited by *Politian*, under the Name of *Ceſtus*, being a Manuſcript in the King's Library, but not the ſame which *Photius* ſpeaks of: It was lately publiſhed.

MINUTIUS FELIX.

Minutius Felix.

Minutius Felix, a famous Lawyer at *Rome*, (*a*) who lived in the beginning of the Third Century (*b*), wrote an excellent Dialogue, Entituled *Octavius*, in defence of the Chriſtian Religion. 'Tis a Conference between a Chriſtian, whom he calls *Octavius*, (*c*) and a Heathen named *Cecilius*, where *Minutius* ſits at Judge. *Cecilius* ſpeaks firſt againſt the Chriſtian Religion, and begins by laying down this Maxim, That every thing is uncertain and doubt-

(*a*) *A Lawyer at* Rome.] Not only *Lactantius* and S. *Hierom* aſſure us that he was of this Profeſſion; but this likewiſe appears by the beginning of his Dialogue, where he ſays, That it being Vacation Time, he had no Buſineſs at the Hall.

(*b*) *In the beginning of the Third Century.*] The Ancients do not fix preciſely the time wherein he lived. S. *Hierom*, in his Catalogue, wherein he keeps the Order of Time, places him between *Tertullian* and S. *Cyprian*. It is evident that *Minutius* has taken ſeveral Thoughts from *Tertullian*, and that S. *Cyprian*, in his Book *Of the Vanity of Idols*, has tranſcribed in ſeveral Places the Words of *Minutius*. This makes it probable that he was an *African*, and his Style ſavours a little of *Africa*.

(*c*) *Octavius.*] He is alſo called *Januarius*, and *Cecilius* is named *Natalis*; and *Minutius Felix*, *Marcus*. It would be rather to divine, than to believe, that theſe were the *Januarius* and *Natalis*, Biſhops of *Africa*, who lived in S. *Cyprian*'s time: It would have been more likely that *Octavius* and *Cecilius* were imaginary Names in the Dialogue, if we had not been told that they are their proper Names.

ful,

ful, and that therefore it is a great piece of Rashness, especially in the Christians, who are an ignorant and stupid sort of People, to pretend to establish their Opinions as certain and infallible Truths: That there being no Providence that governs the World, and all things being dubious, it is the best way to stick to the Religion of our Ancestors. That the *Roman Empire* was first established, and afterwards arrived to its present Height by the Religion of the Gods; that they never contemned the Omens and Presages of the Sooth-sayers, without repenting of it; and that their Oracles certainly foretold things that were really to come to pass. Afterwards he attacks the Religion of the Christians, and in particular, he accuses them of worshipping an Asses Head, adoring Crosses, and other things which were yet more dishonourable. He upbraids them for those Crimes of which the Heathens themselves were justly accused; to wit, the Murthering of Children, the Committing of Incests. He reprehends in them as a Crime, that excessive Love which they had for one another. He finds fault with them, because they had no Temples, Altars nor Statues. He tells them, that they can neither see themselves, nor shew to others that God whom they adore; that they feign that he sees all things, but that it is impossible that he should be able to take care of every particular thing, if he has the Charge of the whole Universe lying upon him. He pretends that it was to no purpose that the Jews adored and honoured this God: He scoffs at the Hopes of the Christians. He looks upon the Resurrection, Hell and Heaven to be Fables, like those of the Poets. He says, that Men being necessarily Good or Evil, 'tis ridiculous to believe that God will punish or reward them for their Actions. He examines the Condition of the Christians in this Life, which is to be Poor, Ignorant, subject to Diseases, Persecuted, exposed continually to Racks and Tortures: 'Which shews, *says he*, that their God 'either cannot, or will not relieve them, and by consequence that he is Impotent or Malicious. That on the contrary, the *Romans*, who do not adore the God of the *Christians*, are not only Powerful, and Lords of the whole World; but they likewise enjoy all those Pleasures, from which the Christians are forced to abstain. He concludes by advising the *Christians* not to seek any more after Heavenly Things, and not to flatter themselves vainly with the Knowledge of them; maintaining that all things being uncertain and doubtful, it is better to suspend our Judgments, than to judge rashly, for fear of falling into Superstition, or utterly destroying all Religion. After some Reflexions of *Minutius Felix*, *Octavius* answering *Cecilius*'s Discourse, observes how he has argued after a very inconstant manner, sometimes admitting a Deity, and sometimes seeming to doubt thereof. 'Which he has not 'done, *says he*, out of any Craft or Cunning, this sort of Artifice not suiting with his Candid and Frank 'Temper; but that has happened to him which usually happens to a Man who is Ignorant of the 'Way, when he sees several Paths, he stands in suspence, not daring to chuse any, and not being able 'to follow them all. In like manner, as he adds, he who has no certain Knowledge of the Truth, is 'always in doubt, and suffers himself to be led by the first Suspicion, without being able to stop him-'self. He afterwards reprehends all the Reasonings of *Cecilius*, and he answers every one in particular. After having shewn that Poverty and Ignorance, which was upbraided to the *Christians*, could be no ways prejudicial to the Truth; he proves the Divine Providence, by the Order and Beauty which is seen in the Universe, and by the admirable Perfections of all the Creatures. And he shews, that it could be no other than God, who has created all things, governing them by his WORD, ruling them by his Wisdom, and bringing them to perfection by his Power: That he is not to be seen, because he is more subtil than the Sight: That he is not to be comprehended, because he is greater than all the Senses: That he is infinite and immense: That the Bounds of our Understanding are by much too shallow to have a perfect Knowledge of him: That it is only he who comprehends himself; that it is impossible to give him a Name suitable to his Perfections: And yet that all Men do naturally know him: That the People stretching out their Hands to Heaven, invoke only this God, and that the Prophets and Philosophers have acknowledged him. He afterwards shews, that the Antiquity of their Fables ought not to give them any Authority: That they have not only so much as the least appearance of Truth, but that they are Impertinent and Ridiculous, and that he must be void of common Sense, who gives any Credit to them: That we are not to attribute the Establishment nor Encrease of the Empire, to the Religion of the *Romans*, since it was founded at first by Parricide, and by the Rapes of strange Women, and that it afterwards grew to its Greatness by Uncleanness, by Sacrilege, and by unjust Wars: That very often their Commanders contemned the Auguries; and that nevertheless they were successful in what they undertook: That the Answers of their Oracles were very often false and ambiguous, and that we are not to wonder, if by a great Chance they sometimes hit: That the Dæmons, who are impure Spirits, made use of these Superstitions to destroy Mankind; and to set them at a greater Distance from God, after they were already lost by their Vices and disorderly Desires: That 'tis these Spirits who answer in their Statues, who possess Men, and agitate them so furiously; but being conjured by the Name of the only true God, they are obliged to go out of the Bodies of those whom they have tormented. He afterwards confutes the Calumnies wherewith they asperst the *Christians*: He says, That if it were true, they ought not to be compelled to deny their Religion, but rather to own those Incests, Impieties and Murders wherewith they were accused: That the *Christians* are too well instructed, to adore an Asses Head, and too Chast, to commit Uncleanness in the Celebration of their Mysteries: But that there is a Religion among the Heathens, in which they worshipped Beasts, and committed execrable Villanies without Punishment; that they are not the *Christians*, but the Heathens, who place their Hopes in mortal Men, and in inanimate Statues, and who were frequently guilty of Murders and Incests: That the *Christians* do neither adore nor desire Crosses, and that they are so far from shedding Man's Blood, that they dare not so much as to eat that of Beasts: That they are modest and reserved, not only in Body but in Mind: That they com-

Minutius Felix.

Minutius Felix.

monly Marry but once, and that they have no other Design in their Marriage, but the having of Children: That their Repasts are not only very Chast, but also very Sober: That there are several *Christians* who preserve a perpetual Continency, and yet without any Vanity upon that Account: That though they refuse to bear any Offices, yet they are not for all that of the Scum of the People: That their Number encreases continually, which is a certain sign of their Virtue: That they do not distinguish themselves from others by any outward Mark, but by their Innocence and Modesty: That they love one another, and call one another Brethren, because they have all one and the same God for their Father: That they have neither Statues, nor Altars, nor Temples, because the Majesty of God cannot be represented by Images, nor enclosed in Houses built by the Hands of Men, and that it is better to consecrate our Mind, and our Heart as his Temple. *Nonne melius in nostra dedicandus est mente, in nostro Consecrandus Corpore?* That the Sacrifices and Victims which he requires, and which we ought to offer up to him, are Justice, Purity and Innocence: That though God be invisible, yet he is discovered by his Omnipotence: That he knows all things, and nothing can be concealed from him: That he protected the Jews so long as they honoured him; and 'twas only for their Sins that they have drawn upon themselves his Anger and Vengeance. After having thus discoursed of the Object of the Christian Worship, he goes on to the Proof of the other Points of their Doctrin. He shews, That the Learned do agree, That the World shall have an End: That *Pythagoras* and *Plato* believed one part of the Resurrection when they taught the Immortality of the Soul, and the *Metempsychosis*: That it is not more difficult for God to raise up Men after their Death, than it was for him to produce them out of nothing: That all the Revolutions of Nature are as so many Images of the Resurrection: That several had rather be annihilated for ever, than to rise again to endure Eternal Torments; and that they were confirmed in their Opinion by the Impunity which they enjoyed in this Life: But that the Judgment of God will be by so much the more Rigorous, as it is slower in Punishing: That these Torments shall be excessive, and shall have neither End nor Bounds: That the Fire which shall burn the Body without consuming it, shall nourish it (if I may so say) and make it to subsist to all Eternity: That it is sufficient not to know God, to be Condemned to suffer these Pains, because it is not a less Sin to be ignorant of him, than to offend him: But that the Heathens shall not be Punished only for this Ignorance of God, they being guilty of several Crimes; that they cannot excuse themselves by alledging Destiny, since Man is a free Agent, and that Destiny is nothing else but the Execution of God's Decrees, which are regulated according to Men's Actions: That that Poverty which is so frequent among the Christians, makes for their Glory; that the Evils and Persecutions which they suffered, are no Proof that God has forsaken them, but that he tries and purifies them: That it is a Spectacle well becoming God, to behold a Christian stoutly contending with Pain, standing firm and stedfast in the midst of Torments, insulting over his Executioners and Judges, freely resisting even Princes and Emperors, and yielding only to God. 'You exalt, *says he*, to the Skies, a 'Scevola, who after having missed of his Aim in killing a King, voluntarily lost his Hand, and saved 'his Life by this couragious Action. But how many Persons are there among us, who have suffered 'without Complaining, not only their Hand, but their whole Body to be burnt, though they could 'have delivered themselves from these Torments, had they pleased? What do I say? Even our Sons 'and our Daughters laugh at your Gibbets, at your wild Beasts, and at all your Punishments. And 'ought not this to convince you, that it is impossible that they would have endured these Pains to no 'purpose; or that they could be able to suffer them without God's Assistance? And do not think 'that those Persons are happy, who being utterly ignorant of God, are loaded with Honours and 'Riches. These are unfortunate Men, who are raised up, that their Downful might be the greater, 'these are Victims which are fatened for the Sacrifice. For what solid Good can be had without 'God, since Death shews that all the rest is no more than a Dream? This being so, a Christian may 'indeed seem to be miserable, but can never be really so: *Christianus videri potest miser, non potest esse.* He adds, that they abstain from Pleasures, from publick Sights, and from the Pomps of the World, because all these things are contrary to good Manners, and that their Life is more unblameable than that of the Philosophers, who seem to be wise by their Discourses, and by their outward Appearance, but were by no means sound at the Bottom.

After *Octavius* had thus answered all the Objections of *Cecilius*, the last acknowledges himself convinced by his Arguments: *I do not expect*, says he, *the Determination of our Arbitrator; we are equally victorious*, Octavius *triumphs over me, and I triumph over Error. I submit my self therefore to God, I acknowledge his Providence, and I do publickly declare, that the Religion of the Christians, among the Number of whom I place my self from this present, is the only way that discovers the Truth.*

This Dialogue is Elegant, the Expressions are Select, the Words proper, the Turn agreeable, the Reasons are set forth to advantage, and beautified with a great deal of Learning. In a word, this small Treatise shews, as *Lactantius* has observed, that *Minutius* had been a very excellent Defender of Religion, and of the Truth, had he entirely applied himself to this Study. But this is rather the Production of one who would divert himself from Business, than a Book written with great Assiduity and Diligence. He flourishes upon his Subject without treating of it thoroughly. He takes more pains in shewing how ridiculous the Opinions of the Heathens are, and in confuting them by their own Authors, than in explaining and proving the Doctrin of the Christians. Besides, he does not appear to be very well skilled in the Mysteries of Religion, and he seems to have believed, that the Soul should die with the Body *(d)*.

(d) That the Soul should die with the Body.] He says, That there is nothing after Death, as there was nothing before the Production; and that being made of nothing, it shall likewise be renewed of nothing.

This

This Discourse passed a long time for the Eighth Book of *Arnobius*; for it being found together with the seven Books of *Arnobius* in an ancient Manuscript of the *Vatican* Library, it was printed four times (*e*) under his Name, before any Body knew its true Author. The Learned Lawyer *Balduinus* was the first that found out this vulgar Error, and caused this little Treatise to be printed by it self in the Year 1560, at *Heidelberg*, with a learned Preface, wherein he restores it to its true Author. But though we owe to this famous Lawyer the Honour of having first made this Discovery; yet 23 Years after, *Ursinus* caused *Arnobius*'s Works to be printed at *Rome*, whether he had not seen *Balduinus*'s Edition, or whether he had a mind to attribute all the Honour of this Observation to himself, separated this Book of *Minutius* from those of *Arnobius*, without taking any notice that it had been done before, ascribing to himself by this means the whole Credit of the Discovery. Some time after, in the Year 1603. *Wowerius* caused it to be printed at *Basil* by *Frobenius*, with very useful Notes, for the understanding of this Author. In 1610, it was printed at *Francfort* in *Octavo*, according to *Balduinus*'s Edition. Afterwards *Elmenhorstius* caused it to be printed at *Hambourg* with some new Observations in the Year 1612. adjoining thereunto the Preface of *Balduinus*. The Year following, *Heraldus* the Lawyer published at *Paris* an Edition of *Minutius* in *Quarto*, which was more correct than the others. Lastly, *Rigaltius* reviving it very diligently from a Manuscript in the King's Library, being the same which was in the *Vatican*, put it forth in the Year 1643, with very learned and curious Notes; and it was re-printed at *Amsterdam* in 1645, together with *Julius Firmicus*. This Edition of *Rigaltius* was followed in the Edition of S. *Cyprian* of 1666. to whose Notes they have added part of those of *Wowerius*, *Elmenhorstius*, *Oizelius*, and those lately made by *Priorius*. Lastly, All these Notes were printed together with the Text, after the manner which they call *Variorum*, in the Year 1672. *Minutius Felix.*

S. *Hierom* says, That in his time there was a Book *concerning Destiny* attributed to *Minutius Felix*: But though this might be the Work of an elegant Author, yet it was not written with the same Style with this Dialogue. It is true, that *Cecilius* promises in this Dialogue, to treat more largely of Destiny upon another occasion: But to tell whether he did it or no, or whether this Treatise that was extant in S. *Hierom*'s Time, was the same which he promised, or rather, whether this Promise gave occasion to some other Author to forge a Discourse thereof under *Minutius*'s Name, are things which we cannot positively determine.

(*e*) *Four times.*] The first by *Sabæus*, according to the Manuscript of *Rome*, in the Year 1542. The second in *Germany* by *Gelenius*. The third in *Holland*, at *Leyden*, in the Year 1552. The fourth at *Basil*, by *Erasmus*, in 1560.

AMMONIUS.

Ammonius, a Christian Philosopher, the Master of *Plotinus* and *Origen* (*a*), flourished in *Alexandria* (*b*), where he publickly taught Philosopy in *Alexander Severus*'s Reign. *Porphyry* falsly accuses him for having quitted the Christian Religion, in which he had been educated: For it is certain, as *Eusebius* and S. *Hierom* observe, That he always continued stedfast in the Doctrin and Precepts of Christianity. 'Witness, says *Eusebius*, those excellent Works that he has left behind 'him, which are so many authentick Monuments of his Faith and his Ability; as the Book intituled, '*The Agreement between* Moses *and* Jesus Christ, and all the other Pieces which may be found in the 'Hands of studious Persons. In the Number of these Works we may reckon a Gospel composed out of all the Four: Which was a kind of Harmony and Concord which he had drawn up with a great deal of Pains and Study, as is testified by *Eusebius* in his Epistle to *Carpianus*, placed at the beginning of his Canons upon the Evangelists. Which has given occasion to S. *Hierom* to affirm, That *Ammonius* writ Canons like those of *Eusebius*. But they were not, properly speaking, Canons which *Ammonius* composed; for the Canons were no more than *Indices* of the Places of the Gospels, which are contained in One, Two, Three or Four of the Evangelists; whereas *Ammonius*'s Harmony or Concord contained the entire Text of the Four Evangelists, which *Eusebius* made use of in making his Canons, which referred to this Concord, and were a Table to it. *Trithemius* likewise attributes Canons to *Ammonius*, but they are those of *Eusebius*. We have at present in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* an Harmony of the Four Evangelists, falsly attributed to *Tatianus* by *Victor* of *Capua*; which Cardinal *Baronius*, Father *Labbe*, and several other Learned Men do ascribe to *Ammonius*. It is certain, that this was not written by *Tatianus*, who retrenched the Genealogies of Jesus Christ, which are to be found in this Concord. It bears the Name of *An Harmony*, and it is ascribed in the Title to an *Alexandrian*, which made *Baronius* conjecture that it was written by this *Ammonius*, who was of *Alexandria*, and whose Works bore the Title of *An Harmony*. *Zacharias*, Bishop of *Chrysopolis*, who lived in the Twelfth Century, and made Commentaries upon *Ammonius*'s Harmony, has followed this Word for Word, which confirms *Baronius*'s Conjecture. *Ammonius.*

(*a*) *Master of* Plotinus *and* Origen.] *Porphyry* says, in *Plotinus*'s Life, That this Philosopher, when he was twenty years old, came to hear *Ammonius*; that he was his Disciple for eleven Years; and that he had another Disciple named *Origen*. But, as we shall observe elsewhere, this is a different Person from the famous *Origen*. Nevertheless, *Eusebius* assures us, That our *Origen* was likewise his Scholar, and it seems undeniable, and we must needs confess, that there were two *Origens*, who were Disciples to *Ammonius*.

(*b*) *Flourished in* Alexandria.] There was another *Ammonius*, a Philosopher likewise, who lived after the Council of *Chalcedon*. He was somewhat older than *Origen*, and a *Platonist*.

ORIGEN.

Origen.

ORigen (*a*) was born in the City of *Alexandria*, about the Year 185, from the Birth of *Christ*. (*b*) Besides the Name of *Origen*, he had moreover that of *Adamantius*. (*c*) His Father, who was called *Leonidas*, educated him in the Faith of Jesus Christ, and did not only cause him in his Youth to learn the politer Learning, with all the profane Sciences, but he particularly ordered him to apply himself to the understanding of the Holy Scripture, before any other kind of Learning, giving him every day some Portions thereof to learn and repeat. And it hapned very luckily, that the Son's Inclination exactly answered the Father's Design; for he pursued his Study with a most extraordinary Zeal and Fervency; and as he was endowed with a quick Apprehension, and very great Sagacity, he did not content himself with that Sense which at first view presented it self, but he afterwards endeavoured to dive into the mysterious and allegorical Explication of the Sacred Books, and sometimes would even puzzle his Father by asking him the meaning of some Passages of Scripture, which obliged this good Man seemingly to reprehend him, and to advise him not to soar above the reach of his Understanding, and to content himself with the most clear and natural sense of the Scripture; though inwardly he was extreamly joyful, and returned Thanks unto God with all his Heart, for his great Mercy, in bestowing on him such a Son. But that these Opinions may not be attributed either to the blind Love of a Father for his Child, or to that Affection which *Eusebius*, who relates these things, had for *Origen*, it may be sufficient to observe, That S. *Hierom*, even then when he wrote against *Origen*, with the greatest Earnestness, was obliged to acknowledge, that he had been an extraordinary Person from his very Infancy. *Magnus vir ab infantia*, Ep. 65. *ad Pammachium de erroribus Origenis*. When he was a little more advanced in Years, he had for his Master in Philosophy, the famous *Ammonius* (*d*), the Christian Philosopher; and in Divinity, the learned S. *Clemens* of *Alexandria*. He was not above sixteen or seventeen years of Age, when the Persecution began at *Alexandria*, in the 10th Year of the Reign of *Severus*, and the 202d from the Birth of Christ. His Father being seized and imprisoned upon the account of the Christian Faith, he would also have offered himself to the Persecutors, out of the great Zeal he had to suffer Martyrdom; but his Mother opposed it very stiffly, and was even forced to hide his Cloaths, to prevent him from going abroad to put his Design in Execution: And being thus detained against his Will, he wrote a Letter to his Father to exhort him to Martyrdom, wherein he expresses himself thus: *Stand stedfast, my Father, and take care not to alter your Opinion upon our Account.* *Leonidas* being animated by his Son's Exhortation, couragiously suffered Martyrdom, and was beheaded within a little while after. His Goods having been confiscated, *Origen* remaining with his Mother and Brethren, was reduced to extream Poverty; but a certain Lady of *Alexandria*, who was very rich, whether out of Compassion to his Misery, or out of the respect she had for him, afforded him all kind of Assistance, and even took him into her House. There lived with her at the same time a famous Heretick of *Antioch*, whom she had adopted for her Son, who held Conferences in her House, where a great Number, not only of Hereticks, but also of Catholicks, were present. But though *Origen* was obliged of necessity to converse with this Man, yet he would never hold Communion with him in Prayer, keeping exactly to the Ecclesiastical Constitutions, and testifying the Abhorrence that he had for the Doctrin of the Hereticks. However, in a little time he put himself into such a Condition, as not to stand any longer in need of his Ladies Assistance; for applying himself entirely, after his Father's Death, to the Study of Human Learning, he taught Grammar, and by his Employment he got a sufficient Competency to maintain himself.

(*a*) *Origen.*] There is not any Ecclesiastical Author, whose Life we have more exactly. *Eusebius*, who was his great Admirer, has described it very particularly. 'Tis from him that we have taken, without citing him, almost all that we have related concerning him. We must add thereunto S. *Hierom* in his Catalogue, and in several other Places. *Ruffinus* against S. *Hierom*; S. *Epiphanius* in the 64th Heresie; *Photius* in the 118th Volume, where he has given an Abridgment of the Apology of *Pamphilus*, and what *Origen* says of himself, *Tom. 6. in Matth. & alibi.* We have also made use of the Assistance of the Moderns, and particularly of that famous Work of *Huetius*, intituled *Origeniana*; of the Life of *Tertullian* and *Origen*; written in French by a worthy Man; which we say as much to do them Justice, as to take off from our selves the Imputation of being a Plagiary. [Our Author means Dr. *Allix*, Treasurer of the Church of *Sarum*, who had a great Esteem paid to him in his own Country for his extraordinary Learning, till the late Persecution forced him hither for Relief.

(*b*) *Was born in the City of* Alexandria, *about the Year 185 from the Birth of Christ.*] S. *Epiphanius* says, That he was an *Alexandrian*. *Eusebius* says, That he was seventeen Years old at the time of the Persecution of *Severus*, which was in the Year 202 from the Birth of Christ, and by consequence he was born in 185.

(*c*) *He had moreover that of* Adamantius.] *Photius* believes that he had this Name by reason of the strength of his Reasonings. S. *Hierom* says, That he had it because he resisted Errors like a Diamond. But this is only guessing: We may say the same of those who seek for the Etymology of the Name of *Origen*, out of a needless Curiosity.

(*d*) *He had for his Master in Philosophy, the famous* Ammonius.] There were two *Origens* Disciples to *Ammonius*: The first of whom, *Porphyry* speaks of in the Life of *Plotinus* and *Longinus*, who wrote nothing but a small Treatise of Dæmons, and lived but to the Reign of *Gallienus*, and who was *Porphyry*'s Disciple and Friend, which does not agree with our *Origen*, as has been observed by *Valesius* and *Huetius*.

Whilst

Whilst he followed this Profession, the Chair of the School at *Alexandria* becoming vacant by the Retreat of S. *Clement*, and by the Flight of all those who were dispersed by the Persecution, some of the Heathens, who were willing to be converted, made their Application to him, though he was not then above eighteen years old. The two first of his Disciples were *Plutarch*, and *Heraclas* his Brother, who succeeded *Demetrius* in the See of *Alexandria*. At length, the Reputation and Number of those that were converted by him increasing every Day more and more, *Demetrius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, confirmed him in the Employment of *Catechist*, or *Professor of Sacred Learning* in the Church of *Alexandria*. When he saw himself setled in this Charge, he left off teaching Grammar, not being willing to depend upon any other Profession for his Subsistence: He sold all his Books that treated of human Learning, contenting himself with four *Oboli* a Day, which were allowed him by the Person who purchased them. *Origen.*

And then it was that he began to lead a very strict and severe Life, which contributed no less than his Learning to attract to him a great number of Disciples, notwithstanding the Fury of the Persecution, which being then begun at *Alexandria*, under the Government of *Lætus*, continued still with greater Violence under *Aquila* his Successor. He had several of his Disciples there, who suffered Martyrdom in the same Place; among others, *Plutarch*, *Serenus*, *Heraclides*, *Hero*, &c. And he was himself very often exposed to the Rage of the Heathens, when he went to the Assistance and Encouragement of the Martyrs. He then carried his Austerities so far, as to commit an Act of that Excess, as to be blamed even by those who have been his greatest Defenders, and which he himself afterwards condemned, though he might do it upon a good Motive (*e*), and out of an excessive Zeal for Charity. For as his Employment obliges him to be often with Women, whom he instructed as well as Men, that he might take away from the Heathens all pretence of Suspicion of any ill Conduct by reason of his Youth, he resolved with himself to execute to the Letter that Perfection which he was persuaded was proposed by Jesus Christ in these Words of the Gospel; *That there are some who make themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven.* He was willing to keep this Action private, and did all he could to conceal it from his Friends: But it was presently discovered; and being come to the Knowledge of *Demetrius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, he commended his Zeal, and the Fervency of his Faith, and bad him not be discouraged upon that Account, but to continue more earnestly in the Instruction of the *Catechumens*.

In the mean time, *Origen*'s Reputation increased daily more and more, and procured him so great a Number of Disciples, that he himself alone was not able to manage it: And therefore he committed to his Friend *Heraclas* the Care of those who were to be instructed in the first Principles of Religion, reserving to himself such as were advanced to a higher Degree of Knowledge. It was about this time, in the beginning of the Reign of *Antoninus*, that he went to *Rome* (*f*), under the Pontificate of *Zephirinus*; and much about the same time, he likewise composed that great and famous Work, called the *Tetrapla*; which was a Bible, wherein by the side of the Hebrew Text, he had transcribed in different Columns, the Translation of the *Septuagint*; that of *Aquila*, that of *Symmachus*, and that of *Theodosion*, distinguished by Verses; and he added thereunto afterwards two other Versions without any Authors Name, and a Seventh only upon the *Psalms*, which he found at *Jerico* in a Barrel: And these Versions, with the *Hebrew*, written both in *Hebrew* and *Greek* Characters, make up that Book which is called the *Hexapla* (*g*). These Works mightily increased his Reputation, and drew from all Parts into *Alexandria* a great Number of learned Persons to converse with *Origen*, and to be instructed by him. *Ambrose* was one of this Number: He anathematized the Heresie of *Valentinus*, in which he had been engaged, to embrace the Orthodox Faith. *Origen* was afterwards obliged several times to leave *Alexandria*: For first he was sent for by an *Arabian* Prince, who wrote to *Demetrius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, and to the Governour thereof, to send him to him to be instructed by him; and a little while after, this City being cruelly harrass'd by the War which the Emperor *Antoninus Caracalla* made against its Inhabitants for having affronted him by their Jears and Scoffs, *Origen* retired into *Palestine*; and being come to settle in the City of *Cæsarea*, the Bishops of that Province desired him to expound publickly the Scripture in that Church, and to instruct the People in their Presence, though he was not yet a Priest; to which Request of theirs he complied. Now whether *Demetrius* envied him this Honour, or whether he was persuaded that they had violated the Rules of the Church, he wrote to these Prelates, telling them, That it was a thing unheard of, and that it had been never practised till then, that Lay-men should Preach in the Presence of Bishops. But *Alexander* of *Jerusalem*, and *Theoctistus* of *Cæsarea*, writing back to him, proved by several Instances, That this had been often put in Practice. In the mean time, *Demetrius* had written to *Origen* to come home; and having also sent some Deacons to press his Return, he was obliged to betake himself again to his first

(*e*) *And which he himself afterwards condemned, though he might do it upon a good Motive.*] *Eusebius*, his great Advocate, speaks of it in such a manner as shews he was ashamed of it. The Passages where *Origen* himself has condemned it, are in the 15th Sermon upon S. *Matthew*, Chap. 19. Ver 12. and against *Celsus*, Book 7. We do not know whether he made use of Iron, or of some particular Simple; nor is it any great matter if we did know it.

(*f*) *In the beginning of the Reign of* Antoninus, *that he went to* Rome.] *Baronius* places this Voyage under *Heliogabalus*, and says that *Origen* was sent for to *Rome* by *Mammæa*; but he is mistaken, for *Mammæa* caused him to come to *Antioch*, and not to *Rome*.

(*g*) *That Work which is called the* Hexapla.] See *Valesius* upon *Eusebius*, where he proves that the *Hexapla* do comprehend six entire Versions, and that the seventh was only upon the *Psalms*. *Eusebius* writes, that they were composed at this time. S. *Epiphanius* believes that they were made at *Tyre*. As they are great Works, and tedious to compose, 'tis likely that he began them then, and finished them afterwards.

Employ-

Origen.

Employment. Some time after, he was again diverted from it by Order of the Princess *Mammæa* who caused him to come to *Antioch*, that she might see, and discourse with him: But staying with her but a little while, he returned to *Alexandria*, and fell again to work upon the Holy Scripture, with the Assistance of his Friend *Ambrose*, who furnished him with Copyers. He continued there till the Year 228, when he departed from thence with Letters of Recommendation from his Bishop, to go into *Achaia* about some Ecclesiastical Affairs (*b*). It was in this Voyage, as he passed through *Palestine*, that he was ordained Priest by the Bishops of this Province, being 42 years old. This Ordination of *Origen* by Foreign Bishops extreamly incensed his Diocesan *Demetrius* against him, it having been done without his Permission. He wrote every where Letters against him, upbraiding him for the Action which he had committed in his Youth. However, *Origen* returned to *Alexandria*, where he continued to write his Commentaries upon the Sacred Scripture. It was then that he published his five Books of Commentaries upon the Gospel of *S. John*, eight Books upon *Genesis*, Commentaries upon the first *Five and twenty Psalms*, and upon the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*; his Books *de Principiis*, and his *Stromata*.

All this while the Bishop of *Alexandria* was not at all appeased, but continued to persecute him: And in a Council which he assembled in the Year 231. it was ordained, That *Origen* should go out of *Alexandria*; that he should not be permitted to teach there any longer, nor so much as to live there; but that nevertheless he should not be deprived of his Dignity of Priesthood. *Origen* being banished from *Alexandria*, retired to *Cæsarea*, his ordinary Place of Refuge, where he was very well received by *Theoctistus*, Bishop of that City, and by *Alexander*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who undertook to defend him, and commissioned him to expound publickly the Scripture, hearing him as if he had been their Master. But *Demetrius* not being satisfied with the first Judgment given against *Origen*, accused him in a Council of the Bishops of *Egypt* (*i*), and having caused him to be Deposed, and even to be Excommunicated, according to *S. Hierom*, wrote at the same time to all Parts against him, to procure his being thrust out of the Communion of the Catholick Church. For when once a Priest was Excommunicated, and deposed by his Bishop by the Consent of the Bishops of the Province, he could not be any longer received in any Church. There was no need of examining whether it was justly or unjustly that he had been condemned in his Province. So that it is no wonder if all the Bishops of the World, excepting those of *Palestine*, *Arabia*, *Phœnicia* and *Achaia*, who were particularly acquainted with *Origen*, and with whom he had a most familiar Intimacy, should consent to his Condemnation; and if *Rome* it self, *having assembled its Senate against him*, says *S. Hierom*, that is to say, its Clergy, did condemn him after the Example of his own Bishop. *We believe*, says *S. Augustin*, upon a Subject almost like this, *whatsoever we are informed of by Letters from a Council, and we must not do otherwise.* For those who had not any particular Knowledge of *Origen*, ought to believe him guilty; and those who knew him, that they might not violate that Order of Discipline, ought to consent to his Excommunication, after it was once signified to them by his own Bishop. And so it was that *Marcion* being excommunicated by his Father, and his Bishop, and being come to *Rome*, desiring to be received there into Communion, received this Answer from the Clergy of that Church: *We cannot receive you, without the Consent of your Father; for as there is in the Church but one and the same Faith, so there ought to be therein but one and the same Spirit, and one and the same Discipline.* Therefore, by a great Number of Canons and Ecclesiastical Constitutions, it was absolutely prohibited to any Bishop whatever, *and even to the Bishop of* Rome *himself*, to receive into Communion those Priests who had been Excommunicated by their Bishops upon any Pretence whatever. Nevertheless *Origen* found, as we have said, some Protectors, especially in *Palestine*, where he continued to explain the Scripture at *Cæsarea* with great Reputation, both in the Life-time, and after the Death of *Demetrius*, who lived not long after he had condemned *Origen*. All sorts of Persons, not only from that Province, but even from remote Countries, came to be his Disciples. The most famous were, *Gregory*, Sirnamed afterwards *Thaumaturgus*, who was Bishop of *Neocæsarea*; and his Brother *Athenodorus*. But though after *Demetrius*'s Death, the Persecution which he had raised against *Origen* abated a little, yet he was always looked upon as a Person Excommunicated by all the *Egyptians*, and the Sentence which was given against him by *Demetrius* continued under his Successors (*l*), *Heraclas* and *Dionysius*, though the first had been *Origen*'s Disciple, and the second had a great Esteem for him. In this time he went on with his Commentaries upon *S. John*, and began to compose some upon *Ezekiel* and *Isaiah*.

(*b*) *About some Ecclesiastical Affairs.*] This Business was without doubt to confute Heresies which were at that time very numerous in *Achaia*, as *S. Hierom* and *Ruffinus* relate. 'Tis probable it was in this Voyage that he wrote, whilst he was at *Nicomedia*, (as he himself observes) his Letter to *Africanus* concerning the History of *Susanna*. It was likewise at this time that he convinced two Hereticks of falsifying the Conferences which he had with them, and of making him say what he never said. *Ruffinus* relates this in the Book *de Adul. lib. Orig.*

(*i*) *Accused him in a Council of the Bishops of* Egypt.] *Photius*, Cod. 118. makes mention of these two Councils, and *S. Hierom. lib. 2. in Ruff. c. 5.*

(*l*) *The Sentence which was given against him by* Demetrius *continued under his Successors.*] *Gennadius* says, That *Theophilus* reports that *Heraclas* drave *Origen* out of the Church; and the Author of the Life of *S. Pachomius*, says the same thing, as well as *Peter* of *Alexandria*, cited by *Justinian* in his Letter against *Origen*. It is most certain that the Sentence given against him was not revoked, and that not one of the *Egyptians* would have any thing to do with them.

After

After the Death of *Alexander*, under whose Reign all this happened, his Successor *Maximinus* stirred up a Persecution against the Church in the Year 235. *Ambrose*, *Origen*'s Friend, and *Theoctistus*, Priests of *Cæsarea*, having been taken and brought before this Emperor, upon the account of the Christian Religion, *Origen* sent them an Exhortation to Martyrdom. Nevertheless, he concealed himself during this Persecution, and retired for some time to the City of *Athens*, where he finished his Commentaries upon *Ezekiel*, and went on with the Commentaries upon the *Song of Solomon*, which he finished when he returned to *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, from whence he went afterwards to *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, where he remained some time with *Firmilian*, who invited him thither. *Origen.*

Under the Reign of *Gordianus*, which began in the Year 238, *Beryllus*, Bishop of *Bostra*, in *Arabia*, fell into a very gross Error, affirming, That our Lord, before his Incarnation, was not a Person subsisting. Some Bishops being assembled to convince him of this Error, they caused *Origen* to come thither also. After that several Bishops had had Conferences and Disputes with this Bishop, *Origen* being desired to enter the Lists with him, discoursed him at first familiarly, being willing to be throughly informed of his Opinion; and after having perfectly understood his Error, and the Grounds upon which he pretended to maintain it, he convinced him by several Reasons, and set him again in the right Way, forcing him to acknowledge his Error. The Records of all that passed in this Affair were preserved for a long time after, wherein were to be seen the Sentiments of *Beryllus*, the Opinions of the Bishops who met there, the Questions proposed to him by *Origen*, and the whole Conference which they had together in his Church. S. *Hierom* takes notice, That in his Time, *Origen*'s Dialogue with *Beryllus* was extant. This Bishop having acknowledged his Error, preserved the Purity of his Faith even to his Death, and had an extraordinary Kindness for *Origen*, to whom he wrote several Letters. S. *Hierom* places him among the Number of the Ecclesiastical Writers.

Afterwards *Origen* was called, under the Reign of *Philip*, to another Assembly of Bishops, which was held against some *Arabians*, who maintained, That the Souls of Men died, and were raised again with their Bodies. After having spoke in the Presence of them all, upon the Question which was in agitation, he defended the Truth, and attacked this Error with that Force of Argument, that he caused all those to change their Opinion, who had fallen into the Mistake.

He was then Threescore Years old, or thereabouts, and yet this did not hinder him from carrying on his Works with the same, or rather with greater Diligence; for he did not only compose several Books in his Study, but he made almost every Day Discourses to the People, and for the most part without any time allowed to prepare them, which were nevertheless so well esteemed, that the Transcribers took them after him as he delivered them, and published them afterwards. This Employment did not take him off from composing several considerable Books; as his Eight Books against *Celsus*, Twenty five Volumes upon S. *Matthew*, Twenty five Volumes of Commentaries upon the Minor Prophets, a Letter to the Emperor *Philip*, and one to *Severa* his Wife *(m)*. S. *Hierom* says, That he wrote also a Letter to Pope *Fabianus*, wherein he sets forth his Recanting of the Errors which he had written, and laid the Blame of them upon *Ambrose*. If this be so, he did it to make this Pope favourable to him, that he might get again into the Communion of the *Roman* Church. He wrote also at this time against the Hereticks called *Helcesaitæ*.

Afterwards, in the Persecution of *Decius*, which was about the same time, *Origen* suffered with great Constancy for the Faith. He was seized, put into Prison, loaded with Irons; he had for several Days his Feet in the Stocks, where they were cruelly extended, even to the greatest Extremity: They threatned him to burn him alive, and they rack'd him with several sorts of Tortures, to try his Patience to the utmost; but he endured all with an undaunted Resolution *(n)*. Being come out of Prison, he held several Conferences, and wrote Letters worthy of a Holy Confessor of Jesus Christ. Lastly, After having laboured so much, and suffered with such great Credit and Glory, he died in the beginning of the Reign of *Gallus*,

(*m*) *A Letter to the Emperor* Philip, *and one to* Severa *his Wife*] Some have believed that this Emperor was a Christian, and say that *Babylas* deprived him from the Communion of the Church till he had repented for the Murthers which he had committed; but this Story is very uncertain.

(*n*) *But he endured all with an undaunted Resolution.*] S. *Epiphanius* accuses him for approaching to the Heathen Altars, and for making as if he would offer Incense to the Gods: But this Story, and almost every thing that *Epiphanius* says concerning *Origen*, is fabulous, and invented by some Enemy to *Origen*, who deceived S. *Epiphanius*, a Man easily imposed upon. To shew that this Story is false, 'tis sufficient to observe, that even *Origen*'s greatest Enemies, as *Theophilus*, S. *Hierom*, *Justinian*, &c. who have omitted nothing to cry him down, have taken no notice at all of it; and that his Defenders, *Eusebius* and *Pamphilius*, are so far from excusing him from this Crime, that they have on the contrary commended his Constancy and Resolution. 'Tis true, S. *Epiphanius* does not say that this happened in the Persecution of *Decius*, as *Nicephorus* does; but in what time soever they fix this Accident, it is equally overthrown by the Observation we just now made. It is also less probable, when it is referred to the time of *Maximinus*'s Persecution; for what likelihood is there that *Origen*, after having committed so gross a Fault, should be honoured, as he was, by the Bishops of *Palestine*?

in

in the Year Two hundred fifty two, from the Birth of Christ, and in the sixty sixth Year of his Age (*p*).

Origen.

Though what we have remaining at present of the Works of *Origen*, makes up several considerable Volumes, yet they are nothing in comparison to what he has wrote (*q*). *Eusebius* had made an exact Catalogue of his Works, in the Apology which he made for him, under the Name of the Martyr *Pamphilus*; and S. *Hierom* did the same in one of his Letters. But both of these Catalogues being lost, we have no knowledge of any, but those that have been cited by the Ancients; which still are much more in number than those which we have now remaining.

We may distinguish Two kinds of Works written by *Origen*. The One are upon the Sacred Scriptures, and the Others are separate Treatises upon different Subjects. He had composed three sorts of Books upon the Scripture, not to mention his *Hexapla* and *Tetrapla*, which were rather a Collection than a Work; to wit, *Commentaries*, *Scholia*, and *Homilies*. In his *Commentaries*, he wholly gave up himself to that Heat and Fire which was natural to him, to penetrate the height and depth of the Scripture, and the most mysterious Interpretation thereof, the better. His *Scholia* were, on the contrary, only short Notes to explain the difficult Places. These two kinds of Works were more for the Learned, than for the use of the People; whereas the *Homilies*, which the *Latins* call *Treatises*, and which we call *Sermons*, were Moral Instructions upon the Holy Scripture. We have none of the *Scholia* remaining, nor have we hardly any of the *Homilies* in *Greek*; and those which we have in *Latin*, are translated by *Ruffinus* and others with so much Liberty (*r*), that it is a difficult matter to discern what is *Origen's* own, from what has been foisted in by the Interpreter. A great part likewise of his *Commentaries* are entirely lost. The following Table will present you in one View those Works which we know to have been composed by *Origen* upon the Scripture, what we have left of them in *Greek*, and what we have only remaining of them in *Latin*.

(*p*) *He died in the Year 252 from the Birth of Christ, and in the 66th Year of his Age.*] According to *Eusebius*, Lib. 7. cap. 11. he died in the first Year of the Reign of *Gallus*; and S. *Hierom*, in his 65th Epistle, written 400 Years after Christ, says, That it was 150 Years after *Origen*'s Death. It is certain, according to *Eusebius*, that in the Year 202 *Origen* was seventeen Years old, and that in the third Year of the Emperor *Philip* he was above sixty Years old. So that if we suppose him to have lived but sixty six years, as S. *Hierom* assures us in his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers, he must have died in the beginning of the Reign of *Gallus*, in the Year 252; but if he lived sixty nine Years, as *Eusebius* writes, he must have lived to the end of the Reign of *Gallus*; that is to say, till the Year 254 or 255.

(*q*) *Yet they are nothing in comparison to what he has written.*] It is certain that he composed a very great Number of Books; and he made them with that ease, that he could hardly find Scribes enough, as both his Friends and Enemies agree. S. *Hierom* in his 65th Letter to *Pammachius*, speaking of *Origen*, says, *Who is there of you that can read as many Books as he has composed?* And in another place, he says, That he compiled an innumerable Company of Books. *Theophilus* says the same thing. *Eustathius* says, That he filled the World with his Works. *Vincentius Lyrinensis* affirms, That none has written more than him; and it is upon this Account that he had the Name given him of *Chalcenterus* and *Syntacticus*. S. *Epiphanius* and *Ruffinus* say, That he writ 6000 Volumes. S. *Hierom* seems to dispute it, telling us, That there is not the third part of them in *Eusebius*'s Catalogue. By the Word *Volumes*, we must not understand such Tomes as are now adays, but only small Works; so every Homily, every part of a Book, is in this sense a Volume; so that we need not admire, though he had written 6000 Volumes.

(*r*) *Are translated by* Ruffinus *and others with so much Liberty.*] *Ruffinus* says it himself in the Conclusion to his Version of the Commentaries upon the *Romans*; and S. *Hierom* also somewhere upbraids him with it. And besides, this appears by the Translation it self, which is full of Figures and Allusions to Latin Words, of Terms taken in another sense than what they were in *Origen*'s Time, where the Trinity and other Mysteries are expressed in such Terms as were not used till after the Council of *Nice*, and where there are Points of Discipline more modern than *Origen*'s Age; which has given occasion to those who have not considered the Liberty that *Ruffinus* took of adding or leaving out what he pleased, to doubt whether the greatest part of these Works were *Origen*'s or no. The Liberty which *Ruffinus* has given himself is still more evident, by what he has written in the Prologue to his Version of the Commentary upon the Epistle to *Romans*, which he says he has Abridged by above the half. S. *Hierom*'s Versions are not more exact; and the most faulty of all is that of an ancient Translator, who has interpreted the *Commentaries* upon S. *Matthew*.

The Books of Origen, *of which we have any knowledge, and by whom they are cited.*	*The Books or Fragments of* Origen, *which we have in* Greek, *and whence they are taken.*	*The Latin Books of* Origen, *and their Translators.*	*Proofs and Notes upon the Table.*

S. *Epiphanius*, and after him *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*, say, That *Origen* writ upon all the Books of the Holy Scripture. We shall here give the several Books in order, of which there remains now any knoweldge.

Thirteen Tomes of Commentaries, and two Books of Mystical Homilies upon *Genesis*. S. *Hierom apud Ruffinum invect* 2 *& Ep. ad Damasum. Euseb. lib.* 6. *cap.* 24. But these thirteen Tomes went no farther than Ver. 15. of the 4th Chap. where it is written, *Omnis qui occiderit Cain*, &c. S. *Hierom ibidem ad Damasum*, q. 1.

Two Books of Mystical Homilies upon *Genesis*. *Idem Ibid.*

Pamphilus in his *Apology* produces a small Fragment of his Preface upon *Genesis*.

Commentaries upon *Exodus* in the *Philocalia*, cap. 26.

Item. Some Scholia.

And twelve Homilies.

Scholia's upon *Leviticus*, and sixteen Homilies. *Ruffin. invect.* 2. *& in Prologo Homil. in Num.*

Commentaries upon *Deuteronomy*, which he cites himself, *Tom.* 32. *in Joan.* and in the 8th Homily upon S. *Luke*. *Cassiodorus* had seen eight Books of them, *de Inst Divin. c.* 7.

Some Homilies. *Ruffin. Prolog. ad Ursat.*

Six and twenty Homilies upon *Joshuah*.

Nine Homilies upon the Books of *Judges*.

Two Homilies upon the *Kings*: One upon the first Chapter of the first Book;

And the other Intituled, *De Engastrimytho*

Cassiodorus had seen another upon the first Book of *Kings*, one upon the Second, and a very long one upon the second Book of *Chronicles*. *Lib. Decretal. Div.* cap. 2.

He composed several Homilies upon *Job*; witness *Eustathius in Diagnostico de Engastrimytho*; and S. *Hierom* Ep. 75. The first of whom tells us, That he had said some things very childish concerning the Names of *Job*'s Daughters: And the second, that he had said some things concerning the Stars, and against the Devil, which the Church does not receive.

He was the first that made Commentaries upon all the Psalms, as S. *Hierom* tells us, *Ep.* 89. S. *Hilary* has copied

Three Fragments of Tomes, some Commentaries upon *Genesis*, related by *Eusebius* in his Books *de Præparatione*.

The first upon Ver. 12. of the first Chapter of *Genesis*, taken from the 7th Book.

The second taken out of the Third Tome, upon Ver. 14. taken from the 6th Book, and in the 22d Chapter of the *Philocalia*.

The third, which is in the *Philocalia*, cap. 14. is extracted out of the same Tome upon the 16th Verse.

Some Fragments taken from the *Philocalia*, cap. 16 & 17.

Some Commentaries upon *Exodus*; and upon *Leviticus*, (2).

A Fragment of the 20th Homily upon *Joshuah*, in his *Philocalia*, cap. 12.

The Homily *de Engastrimytho* was taken from a Manuscript of the *Vatican* Library, and published by *Leo Allatius* in 1629. with *Eustathius in Hexameron*, who wrote against this Homily of *Origen*'s. The Subject of this Discourse is, to enquire whether the Witch of *Endor* did really raise the Soul of *Samuel*, or whether the Devil only appeared in his shape. *Origen* maintains the first Opinion, and *Eustathius* the second, Authors are divided hereupon.

A Fragment upon the first Psalm, taken from S. *Epiphanius*, *Hæres.* 64. Three others taken from the *Philocalia*, cap. 2 & 3.

Another Fragment containing the Catalogue of the Sacred Books, taken from *Eusebius*'s History, *lib.* 6. *cap.* 25.

Another from S. *Epiphanius*, Ibid.

Seventeen Latin Homilies upon *Genesis*, translated by *Ruffinus* (1). It is doubted whether they be not extracted from the two Books of Mystical Homilies, because they seem to be of the number of those which were made *ex tempore*, and transcribed by the Writers. The last Homily is imperfect.

Twelve Homilies upon *Exodus*, translated by *Ruffinus*.

Sixteen upon *Leviticus*, attributed falsly to S. *Cyril*, translated also by *Ruffinus*.

Eight and twenty Homilies upon *Numbers*, which are doubtful, because they were translated by *Ruffinus* with great liberty (3).

Six and twenty Homilies upon *Joshuah*; to which there is a Preface attributed to S. *Hierom*; but 'tis more likely to be by *Ruffinus*, as well as the Translation of this Work, both because of the conformity of Style in the Prologue and in the Version, as because he owns them in the conclusion of the Commentaries upon the Epistle to the *Romans*.

Nine Homilies upon *Judges*, all translated by *Ruffinus* for the same Reasons.

The first Homily upon the *Kings*, which is in all probability done by the same Interpreter.

Nine Homilies upon the Psalms, translated by *Ruffinus*.

(1) In the Prologue to *Ursatius*, which is written by *Ruffinus*, he says, That he has collected and translated into *Latin*, the Homilies of *Origen* upon the whole *Pentateuch*; so that though this Version in *Merlin*'s Edition bears S. *Hierom*'s Name, yet it was made by *Ruffinus*, as *Erasmus* and *Genebrard* acknowledge. The Author of the Conclusion to the Version of the Commentaries upon the Epistle to the *Romans*, which is also *Ruffinus*, says positively, That he had translated *Origen*'s Homilies upon *Genesis*, *Exodus* and *Leviticus*: They are those that follow.

(2) There is in the *Philocalia*, cap. 1. a Passage taken from the second Homily upon *Leviticus*, which is not to be found in those Latin Homilies which we have. He must therefore necessarily have written more than sixteen. Besides, in those which we have, *Hom.* 4 & 6. he cites more of them.

(3) The Style is *Ruffinus*'s, who has made a Preface thereto; in which he affirms, and also in his Prologue to *Ursatius*, That he has collected in this Work, and disposed in order, all that he could find of *Origens* upon *Numbers*, whether they were written in *Homilies* or *Scholia* so that this Work is more *Ruffinus*'s than *Origen*'s; and we must not wonder, if we therein find some Explications which appear to be of a Latin Author, and later than *Origen*.

Origen.

Works of Origen.

and imitated them in ſeveral places. *Trithemius* ſays that he had ſeen them.

He alſo wrote Homilies and Scholia upon the Pſalms, as the Author of the Commentaries upon the Pſalms, attributed to S. *Hierom*, aſſures us.

A Commentary upon the *Proverbs*, cited by *Pamphilus*.

Two Commentaries upon the *Song of Songs*: One was made when he was young;

The other, which he Compoſed when he was older, divided into Ten Tomes, in which he has out-done himſelf; upon which account, S. *Gregory Nyſſen* ſays, That he has taken extraordinary pains upon this Book of Scripture, *In Proœmio lib. Canticorum.*

Thirty Books of Commentaries upon *Iſaiah.*

Five and Twenty Homilies.

And ſome Scholia. *Hier. lib.* 1. *Apel. adverſus Ruffin. cap.* 3. & *in Proœmio Comment MSS Euſebius* Book 6. chap. 32. ſays, That the Thirty Tomes went as far as the Viſion of the four-footed Beaſts.

Several Homilies upon *Jeremy*: *Caſſiodorus* and *Rabanus Maurus* tell us, That there were 45 of them.

Five Tomes of Commentaries upon the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*; *Euſebius.*

Five and twenty Books of Commentaries, and ſome Homilies upon *Ezekil*; *Euſebius* Book 6. chap. 32.

Some Commentaries upon *Daniel*; *Orig. Tract.* 24. *in Matth.*

Five and twenty Volumes of Commentaries upon the leſſer Prophets. S. *Hierom. de Scriptorib. Eccleſiaſt.* lib. 6. cap. 36. The Commentaries upon *Hoſea* and *Zachary* are a part of them. S. *Hierom* makes mention of two little Books of *Origen* upon *Hoſea*, in the Preface to his Commentary upon the Prophets: but he did not explain it entirely, as it appears by S. *Hierom*, and by the *Philocalia.*

Greek Works or Fragments of Origen.

Item. One upon the 4th Pſalm, taken from the *Philocalia*, cap. 25.

One upon the 40th Pſalm, *Ibid.*

And laſtly, one upon the 82d Pſalm, taken from a Homily; *Euſebius Hiſt. lib. 6. cap.* 38.

A Fragment taken from his firſt Commentary upon the *Canticles*, in the *Philocalia*, chap. 27. And one taken from his ſecond, chap. 26.

Nineteen Homilies upon *Jeremiah*, falſly attributed to S. *Cyril*, and publiſhed by *Corderius*, twelve whereof are tranſlated by S. *Hierom.*

A Fragment of the 39th taken from the *Philocalia*, chap. 1.

A Fragment extracted from the 20th Tome, taken from the *Philocalia*, chap. 11.

A Fragment of the Commentary upon *Hoſea*, in the *Philocalia*, chap. 8.

Latin Works of Origen.

Two paſſages taken from the Commentary upon the *Canticles*, in the Apology of *Pamphilus*, tranſlated by *Ruffinus*, in S. *Hierom* Tom. 4.

Huetius believes, that the Latin Book upon the *Canticles* ought not to be divided into Homilies, ſince it is a continued Commentary, and that it is the very Commentary of *Origen* tranſlated by *Ruffinus.*

Sixtus Senenſis, and ſeveral others, think that it is by a Latin Author. See the Remark here at the ſide (4)

Two Homilies tranſlated by S. *Hierom* word for word.

Two paſſages taken from his Commentary upon *Iſaiah.* One upon the 1 Chap. and the other upon the 28th chap. in the Apology attributed to *Pamphilus* in the 4th Tome of S. *Hierom.*

Nine Homilies tranſlated by S. *Hierom* (as the ſame S. *Hierom* in his *Catalogue*, and the conformity of the Style, makes it appear.) The 9th is imperfect, to which there is added the end of the 9th Homily upon *Jeremiah.*

Fourteen Homilies upon *Jeremiah*, tranſlated by S. *Hierom*, twelve whereof are alſo in *Greek*; but the Tranſlation differs very much from the *Greek*, and the Homilies are diſpoſed without any order.

Fourteen Homilies upon *Ezekiel*, tranſlated by S. *Jerome*, as the Prologue, Style, S. *Jerome*'s own Teſtimony in *Catalogo* aſſures us, and *Ruffinus Invect.* 2.

S. *Jerome* inſerted into his Commentaries upon *Daniel*, *Origen*'s *Scholia*, taken out of his 10th Book of *Stromata.*

Proofs and Notes upon the Table.

(4) Not only the Proteſtant Criticks, as *Perkins*, *Coke*, *Rivet*, and others, do reject this Work after *Eraſmus* and *Amerbachius*, but likewiſe *Sixtus Senenſis*, and ſeveral Papiſts. In ſome Editions it is attributed to S. *Ambroſe*, in others to *Peter Lombard*, others, as *Merlin*, *Genebrard*, and *Huetius*, believe it to be that of *Origen*; and even *Blondel* in his Apology is of this Opinion, as well as *Aubertin.* The Reaſons againſt it are, That it appears to be by a Latin Author, 1. Becauſe in his Prologue he cites the *Greeks* as ſtrangers to him. 'Tis anſwered, That he oppoſes the *Greeks*, not to the *Latins*, but to the *Chriſtians.* 2. 'Tis ſaid, That the Author ſpeaks as if he had Written in Latin; for he explains the three *Greek* Names of the three parts of Philoſophy; *Generales Diſciplinæ*, ſays he, *quibus ad ſcientiam perveniltur, tres ſunt, quas Græci Ethicam, Phyſicam, & Theoriam appellaverunt, (nos has dicere poſſumus Moralem, Naturalem, & Inſpectivam) nonnulli ſane etiam Logicam, quam nos rationalem poſſumus dicere.* And in another place he ſays, That the Greek word ἀγαπᾶν ought to be Tranſlated by *diligere*, and ἀγαπᾶν by *dilectio.* 'Tis anſwer'd, That theſe Explications are by the Interpreter. A third Reaſon, which is more conſiderable, is, That S. *Hierom* in his Prologue upon *Origen*'s two Homilies upon the *Canticles*, which he Tranſlated, ſaith, That *Origen* in the ten Tomes explain'd the Tranſlations of the *Septuagint*, of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, *Theodeſion*, and the fifth Verſion; which is not to be found in this Work; But this perhaps was left out by *Ruffinus*; beſides, it may be ſaid that this Commentary here may be accommodated to all theſe Verſions; ſo the Reaſons which are for the Negative are but weak, whereas thoſe which are for the Affirmative are very ſtrong. *Firſt*, It is certain that *Origen* did write upon the *Canticles.* *Secondly*, This Commentary has the Character and Style of *Origen*, which gives an allegorical and figurative ſenſe to every thing. *Thirdly*, There are ſome Sentences and Thoughts exactly like thoſe which are in the Homilies Tranſlated by S. *Hierom.* *Fourthly*, It explains the Hebrew words, and draws from thence a myſtical ſenſe, after *Origen*'s way. *Fifthly*, He here cites his other Works. *Sixthly*, He has peculiar Notions concerning the Soul and the Angels. And *laſtly*, That which is a convincing Proof, is, That the Greek Fragment of *Origen* upon the *Canticles*, cited in the *Philocalia*, is found here, though interpreted with a great deal of liberty. That it is a continued Commentary, and not Homilies, is proved by the Style, becauſe there is a Preface written by the Author; and beſides, all *Origen*'s Homilies have a like form of Concluſion, whereas this Commentary is continued without this Concluſion. *Ruffinus* is the Author of this Tranſlation; and it is certain that it was not S. *Hierom*, who ſays in the Prologue of the two Homilies, That this Tranſlation would require too much leiſure, pains, and expence, and that he durſt not undertake it. *Gennadius* ſays, That all *Origen*'s Works which were not tranſlated by S. *Hierom*, were done by *Ruffinus*; and indeed the Style of it is very like *Ruffinus*'s.

(5) Five

Works of Origen.	*Greek Works or Fragments of* Origen.	*Latin Works of* Origen.	*Proofs and Notes upon the Table.*
(5) Five and twenty Tomes of Commentaries upon S. *Matthew*, with Homilies and Scholia. *Euseb. lib. 6. cap.* 36. and S. *Hierom in Proæmio Comment. in Matth.*	A Fragment of the first Tome upon S. *Matthew*, in *Eusebius* lib. 6. Hist. cap. 25. Another taken from the first Tome in the *Philocalia*, chap. 6. The Commentaries from the 13th Chap. Ver. 36. to th 22d Chap. Ver. 33. are published by *Huetius*, who has copied them from a Manuscript in the Queen of *Sweeden*'s Library; and from another in the King's Library, from the 11th to the 16th Tome, and comprizing the 17th.	A Fragment of the first Tome upon S. *Matthew*, in the Apology of *Pamphilus*. Another of the 7th Tome, *ibid. Bullinger* cites some passages thereof, *in Disput. contra Casaubonum*, p. 2. *Decamb.* 3. p. 19. taken out of the Commentary upon the 6th Chap. and the 23d. The Translation of the Commentaries upon S. *Matthew*, from the 13th Chap. Ver. 16. to the 27th, Ver. 66. is improperly divided into 36. Homilies, made by *Erasmus* from the 13th Chap. Ver. 36. to the 16th Chap. Ver. 20. The remainder is an Ancient Version, of which we do not know the Author (6).	(5) In the Preface attributed to S. *Hierom* upon the Homilies on S. *Luke*, there are 36. *Ruffinus* in his *second Invective* reckons 26 of them. We had better keep to the Account of *Eusebius* and S. *Hierom*. (6) Some have attributed it to S. *Hierom*; but he himself says in his Prologue upon S. *Luke* that he would not undertake it. In his 65th Epistle, he says, That no Person dar'd till his time to interpret the Books *de Principiis*, and the Tomes of *Origen*, therefore it is not ancienter than S. *Hierom*. Neither was it done by *Ruffinus*, who in his Version of the Apology of *Pamphilus*, translates some passages of this Commentary, and relates them after a different manner than what is to be found in this Version, which differs very much from the Text; and and it is quite another Style from that of S. *Hierom*, and of *Ruffinus*. 'Tis probably later than *Gennadius*, who says that all that we have of *Origen* in his time was Translated by S. *Hierom*, or *Ruffinus*. *Aquinas* relates some passages of them word for word, in his *Catena aurea*: So that this Author is between *Gennadius* and *Aquinas*, and nearer the first than the last, because he cites a passage of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, *Tract.* 8. which was not quoted by *Origen*; which shews its Antiquity, besides the Style and the Terms are old. *Huetius*, from whose Observations we have taken all this, believes that it was made in *Cassiodorus*'s time, and that it might be ascrib'd to *Epiphanius Scholasticus*, the Author of the Tripartite History, were not the Style quite different: Therefore he attributes it to one *Bellator*, a Friend of *Cassiodorus*, who had Translated several Greek Books, and particularly some of *Origen*'s Homilies at the desire of *Cassiodorus*.
Commentaries upon S. *Luke*. 5 Tomes. S. *Hierom*, *Prol. Hom. in Lucam. Origen T.* 13. *in Matt.* Nine and Thirty Homilies upon S. *Luke*. *Id. ibid* & *in Catalogo.* Two and Thirty Tomes of Commentaries upon S. *John*. *Ruffin. Invect.* 2. Some Homilies upon the *Acts*.	There are but 9 Tomes upon S. *John* extant, 1.2.6.10.13 19.20.28.32. *Ferrarius* published a Version divided into 32 Tomes, taken from a Venetian MS. *Huetius* published the Greek from a MS. in the Kings Library. A Fragment of the 4th Tome. *Philocal. c.* 4. Another of the 5th Tome. *Ibid. c.* 4. A Fragment of the Comments upon the *Acts*. *Ib.* c. 7.	Nine and thirty Homilies upon S. *Luke*, Translated by S. *Hierom* (7).	(7) He mentions it in the Catalogue of his Works, and in his Prologue to *Paula* & *Eustochium*; and it is quoted by *Ruffinus* in his *Invective*. *Ruffinus* upbraids him for having omitted and alter'd, in Translating *Origen*'s Homilies upon S. *Luke*, those Passages which were against the Divinity of the Son; and that when he quoted this Passage, *Ecce enim ut facta est vox*, &c. he observes that he added, *Principium substantiæ ejus*; which is to be found in the 4th of those Homilies that we have still extant. Lastly, according to the report of *Ruffinus*, S. *Hierom* Translated seventy of *Origen*'s Homilies. Now he had Translated 14 upon *Jeremiah*, 14 upon *Ezekiel*, and 9 upon *Isaiah*, as appears by his Prologue upon *Ezekiel*; and there remains, to make up the 70, these 39 upon S. *Luke*; besides that those which we have under his Name, are written according to the Style and manner of *Origen*. It is objected in the *first* place, That there are therein several Greek words turn'd into Latin: for example, it is observed, That κεχαριτωμένη, that is to say, *gratia plena*; That ἄλογος, that is, *sine ratione*, That *cadaver* comes *a casu*; That in the Greek there is an Article. *Homily* 22, and *Homily* 25. *Answ.* These Explications are put in by the Interpreter. There are the like in those Books which we have at present in Greek, and which are undoubtedly his, and in the ancient Translators, as in him that interpreted S. *Irenæus*, &c. *Secondly*, It is objected, That the Holy Ghost is there called *the Third Person*. *Ans. Origen* often said, That the Father, and the Son and the Holy Ghost were 3 *Hypostases*, and the Latins have Translated the word *Hypostasis* by that of *Person*: for example, *Ferrarius* Translated that Passage of the second Tome *in Joan.* after the same manner. *Third* Objection: He makes a Dialogue between the Devil and Jesus Christ, and makes them hold long Discourses together. *Ans.* This is exactly *Origen*'s way. *Fourth* Objection: He makes use of the Authority of *Isaiah* and the *Psalms* against the *Sadducees*, in the 39th Homily; whereas *Origen* said that the *Sadducees* admitted only the *Law*, and by consequence he would not have made use of any other Books against them. *Answ. Origen* never said that the *Sadducees* did not admit the Prophets, but only that they did not make use of them to prove the Doctrins of Faith.
Commentaries upon the Epistle to the *Romans*, which were to the Number of 15 Tomes, according to *Ruffinus* in the Preface to his Version; or twenty according to *Cassiodorus*. Some Commentaries upon the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*; *Hom.* 17. *in Luc.* & *Hier. Ep* 52. Some Commentaries, Homilies and Scholia upon the Epistle to the *Galatians*. S. *Hierom* in *Proæmio Commentar. Ep. ad Galat.* & *Ep.* 89 *ad August.* Three Tomes upon the Epistle to the *Ephesians*. *Lib.* 1. *Apol. ad Ruff.* 4, 5.	A Fragment of the first Tome of the Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Romans*, chap. 24. of the *Philocalia*. Another taken from the 9th Tome, in the 9th chap. of the *Philocalia*.	*Ruffinus* Translated 15 or 20 Tomes of *Origen*'s Commentaries upon the Epistle to the *Romans* (8).	(8) *Ruffinus* abridg'd them into half the Compass, as he acknowledges in his Preface. Some attribute this Version to S. *Hierom*; but unjustly: for in the conclusion he strikes at S. *Hierom* in these Words: *Some perhaps may ask me why I put my Name, and may enquire why I have not set down, for example, The Commentaries of* Hierom *upon the Epistle to the* Romans. And he adds, That he Translated the Books of S. *Clement*; and that we should not think that it was done by *Hierom*, he puts the Name of *Clement* in the Title, which shews that this Translation was done by *Ruffinus*. We have also two Latin Passages taken from the Apology of *Pamphilus*.

Origen.

Works of Origen.	*Greek Works or Fragments of* Origen.	*Latin Works of* Origen.	*Proofs and Notes upon the Table.*
A Commentary upon the Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*. *Apolog. de Pamphilo.*		Fragments of Commentaries upon the Epiſtles to the *Coloſſians* and to *Titus*, in the Apology of *Pamphilus*.	
One upon the Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians*. *Hier. Ep.* 52.		S. *Hierom*, in the Epiſtle to *Minerius* & *Alexander*, relates a Fragment of the Commentaries of *Origen* upon the Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians*.	
One upon the Epiſtle to *Titus*. *Apolog. Pamph.*		Laſtly there are ſome Fragments of a Commentary upon the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, in the Apology of *Pamphilus*.	
Some Commentaries and Homilies upon the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*.	*Euſebius* lib. 6. cap. 25. relates a Fragment upon the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*.		
He promiſed a Commentary upon the *Apocalypſe*, Tom. 3 in Matth.	All theſe Greek Fragments are exactly collected by *Huetius* in the two Volumes which he has publiſhed, containing all that remains in Greek of *Origen*'s Works upon the Scripture; and tis to him that we are indebted for almoſt all the Remarks that are here. He has not inſerted the Fragments which are in the *Catenæ*, becauſe he believes they are not of any great Authority.		

The other Treatiſes of *Origen* are not near ſo many in Number as his Works upon the Holy Scripture: and yet they were very conſiderable: for not to mention his Commentaries upon the Philoſophers, which *Euſebius* ſpeaks of in the 6th Book, Chap. 18. of his Hiſtory, he wrote (*s*) 2 Books of the Reſurrection; the Treatiſe *de Principiis*, divided into 4 Books; 10 Books of *Stromata*, (*t*) witneſs the ſame *Euſebius*, Chap. 24. The Book of *Martyrdom*, mentioned in the 28 Chapter. The 8 Books againſt *Celſus* in the 36 Chap. The Letter to *Africanus*, concerning the Hiſtory of *Suſanna*; to which we may add, the Diſpute which he had with *Beryllus*, which was extant in *Euſebius*'s Time, (*u*) and ſome Diſcourſes and Letters which *Euſebius* collected, and divided into three Books, as he declares in the ſame 5th Book, Chap. 36. S. *Hierom* mentions almoſt all his Works; and beſides theſe, two other Dialogues of the Reſurrection, and a Treatiſe explaining the Hebrew Names of the New Teſtament, which he added to that of *Philo*, concerning the Explanation of thoſe of the Old. (*x*) And alſo in the Apology of *Pamphilus*, there is mention made of a Treatiſe *concerning Prayer*, compoſed by *Origen*. *Theodoret* often cites our Author againſt divers Heretick: (*y*) but we muſt not therefore think that he compoſed ſo many expreſs Treatiſes againſt theſe Hereticks: they are only ſome Paſſages of his Works, where he confutes ſeveral Errors, whilſt he is writing upon other Subjects.

The Chief of all theſe Books is the Diſcourſe againſt *Celſus*, divided into eight Books, which were publiſhed in Greek long ſince, with the Tranſlation of *Gelenius*, and the Notes of *Hæſchelius*, and of one *Chriſtoph. Perſona*, printed at *Rome* in the Year 1471, and afterwards very correctly in *England* in

(*s*) *He wrote two Books of the Reſurrection.*] S. *Hierom in Ruffin. lib.* 2. *Invect.* ſays, That *Origen* compoſed two Books and two Dialogues of the Reſurrection. The ſame in his 6th Epiſtle cites the 4th Book of the Reſurrection. *Methodius* wrote againſt this Work.

(*t*) *The Treatiſe* de Principiis, *divided into four Books, and ten Books of* Stromata.] This laſt Book was compoſed in imitation of that of S. *Clement* of *Alexandria*; witneſs S. *Hierom*, Ep. 84. Who ſays, That *Origen* compared therein the Opinions of the Philoſophers and Chriſtians, and proved our Doctrins from *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Numenius* and *Cornutus*. In the tenth Book he explained the Epiſtle to the *Galatians*, and ſome Paſſages of *Daniel*.

(*u*) *And ſome Diſcourſes and Letters which* Euſebius *had collected.*] *Euſebius* has related a Fragment of that which he wrote to his Father, being then very young, *lib.* 6 *cap.* 2. *Item*, of another againſt thoſe who accuſed him of applying himſelf too much to the Study of Human Learning, *Chap.* 19. He makes mention in the 28th Chapter of the Letters which he wrote in the time of the ſixth Perſecution: afterwards in the 36th Chapter, of a Letter to the Emperor *Philip*, and of one to *Severa* his Wife; and laſtly, of one to *Fabianus*, and of ſeveral others, cited at large in the 39th Chapter. S. *Hierom* in his Catalogue, cites the three laſt, together with a Letter to *Beryllus*. *Ruffinus* cites a Letter to his Friends, *Lib. de Adult. lib. Origenis*; where he complains that ſome had falſified his Writings. In the 13th Chapter of *Philocalia*, there is part of one ſet down to *Gregory Thaumaturgus*; *Cedrenus* and *Suidas* have preſerved a Fragment of another Letter.

(*x*) *Concerning the Explanation of thoſe of the Old.*] S. *Hierom in Præfat. ad lib. Hebr. Nom.* The Author of the Orthodox Queſtions, attributed to S. *Juſtin*, *Queſt.* 82, and 86.

(*y*) Theodoret *often cites our Author againſt divers Hereticks.*] *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 2. He ſays, that he wrote againſt *Menander*. In the 4th Chapter againſt *Baſilides* and *Iſidorus*; in the 7th againſt the *Helceſaites*; *Euſebius* ſays, concerning theſe laſt, That it was in his Homilies. In the 19th Chapter, againſt *Apelles*; in the 3d Book, Chap. 2. againſt the *Nazareans*. He attributes to him in the 5th Chapter, the little Labyrinth againſt *Theodotus*, which is by another Author.

1658. The *Exhortation to Martyrdom* has been lately published by *Metstenius*, the Greek Professor at *Basil*, together with the Letter to *Africanus*, concerning the History of *Susanna*, which was formerly set forth in part by *Hæschelius*, in the Year 1602. We have likewise the Version of the four Books *de Principiis*, composed by *Ruffinus*. But he has taken so much Liberty (*aa*), that we cannot discern what is *Origen*'s own. There are some Latin Fragments of the Books of the Resurrection, cited in the Apology of *Pamphilus*, which we have only in Latin. The Letter to S. *Gregory Thaumaturgus* is entire in Greek in the *Philocalia*. *Ruffinus* relates a Fragment of a Letter to those of *Alexandria*, where he complains that they had corrupted his Books. S. *Hierom* accuses him for having omitted, that in this same Letter *Origen* railed at *Demetrius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, and at those others who had condemned him. *Eusebius* also produces, as we have already said, some Fragments of two Letters. The Book *of Prayer*, which *Huetius* had promised, has been lately published in Greek and Latin in *England*. This Work was addressed to *Ambrose* and *Tatianus*, and it may be divided into three Parts. In the first, he treats of the Necessity, the Advantage, and the good Effects of Prayer. In the Second, he discourses of the different kinds of Prayer, and particularly explains the Lord's Prayer. In the Last, he speaks of the Circumstances and Conditions which ought to precede, accompany and follow our Prayers. Lastly, We may joyn to *Origen*'s Works the *Philocalia*, which is a Collection of several Passages of *Origen*, relating to the Holy Scripture, made by S. *Basil*, and S. *Gregory Nazianzen*, and published by *Tarinus* in the Year 1618, and the Book of the Apology of *Pamphilus*, of which we have the Translation done by *Ruffinus*, which is amongst S. *Hierom*'s Works in the Fourth Tome. *Origen.*

We ought also to have reckoned here the Dialogue against *Marcion*, which bears his Name, if it was not more probable that it was composed by another Author (*bb*), who has introduced *Origen* in this Dialogue defending the Churches Cause, and therefore has given it *Origen*'s Name, as *Cicero* gave that of *Lælius* and *Cato* to his Books of *Friendship* and *Old Age*.

(*aa*) *But he has taken therein so much Liberty.*] He declares it himself in his Preface, where he says, that he has retrenched and added several things concerning the Trinity. The Passages out of these Books, related in the Apology, are quite different from this Version, as well as those which are in the *Philocalia*.

(*bb*) *If it was not more probable that it was composed by another Author.*] This Dialogue is a Dispute against the *Marcionites*, and the *Valentinians*, wherein he introduces *Origen*, defending the Doctrins of the Church; *Megethius*, and *Marcus* taking the Part of the *Marcionites*; *Droserius*, *Valens*, and *Maximus*, that of the *Valentinians*, and *Eutropius* as a Judge between them. We have three different Versions of it, that of *Perionius*, that of *Picus*, printed in 1655, and that of *Humfredus* in 1557, which is much the exactest. But it has been lately published in Greek by a Learned Englishman, who pretends that it is *Origen*'s. *Huetius* after *Halloixius* and *Rivet* believes that it is not *Origen*'s, and this Opinion seems the most probable. 'Tis indeed cited in the *Philocalia*, as a Work of *Origen*'s: But it is possible that S. *Gregory* and S. *Basil* might have been deceived, because it bears his Name; or that believing that this Book containing nothing but *Origen*'s Opinions, and going under his Name, they might quote it in a Work wherein they made a Collection of his Opinions. Besides it appears by the Title, that they had taken this Passage from *Eusebius*, who relates it word for word as it is in the *Philocalia*, in his 7th Book *de Præparatione Evangelica*, as taken from the Treatise of one *Maximus* περὶ ὕλης, that is to say, *concerning Matter*; and at the end they add the following Remark: *This is extracted from* Eusebius's *Book*, De Præparatione Evangelica; *the Author thereof is* Maximus, *a famous Writer among the Christians, as* Eusebius *observes*; *but it is likewise found almost in the same Terms in* Origen's *Dialogue against the* Marcionites *and other Hereticks, in which* Megethius *is the Disputant, and* Eutropius *the Judge*. This Observation makes it appear, that the Authors of the *Philocalia* believed that this Passage did really belong to *Maximus*, relying upon *Eusebius*'s Authority; but having also found it in a Dialogue which bears *Origen*'s Name, they believed that they might cite it as his, without examining whether he was the Author of it; for 'tis a thing very unlikely to affirm, that *Origen* had taken this Passage from *Maximus*, to insert it into his Dialogue, since it is already in *Eusebius* in form of a Dialogue, though the Names be suppressed. So it seems that we may say that *Maximus* was the Author of this Dialogue, wherein he introduces *Origen*, disputing, against the Hereticks, and *Eutropius* as Judge. But there are considerable Difficulties raised against this *Hypothesis*. The first, That *Maximus* was more ancient than *Origen*, as appears by *Eusebius*, who in the first Book of his History, Chap. 27, places him amongst the Authors, who flourished under the Emperours *Commodus* and *Severus*. The Second is, That it is not likely the Treatise of *Maximus* should be this Dialogue, because it was Entitled concerning Matter, and he only proved therein, that Matter was a created Substance, whereas this Dialogue contains several other Points of Religion. We may answer, to the first Reason, That *Eusebius* was not exact in setting down the Times of Authors, and especially of those about whose Lives he was not particular. The second Objection is more difficult; though we may say, that *Eusebius* having extracted out of this Book of *Maximus*, only what relates to the Original of Evil, and the Creation of Matter, he gave it the Title of περὶ ὕλης, *& unde sit malum*, though it treated of other Subjects; besides that, this Dialogue was chiefly designed to confute the Error of the *Marcionites*, who admitted of several Principles for the Explaining the Cause of Evil, and that of the *Valentinians*, who made Matter Eternal. Which agrees with what *Eusebius* says in his History, that *Maximus* composed several Volumes concerning that famous Question among the Hereticks; *From whence comes Evil?* and to prove that Matter is a created Substance; for though there are other things discoursed of in this Dialogue, yet these are the two Principal Heads. Nevertheless, as the Passage which is related by *Eusebius*, and in the *Philocalia*, does not agree exactly with what is in this Dialogue, and that the Names of *Origen*, and the other Disputants, are not there to be found, 'tis likely they were added after the Death of *Maximus* and *Origen*. There are likewise in this Dialogue some Things which might

(*Whom our Author means by this* English-man *I know not.* Wettenius, *the Greek Professor at* Basil, *was the first that published it at* Basil, Gr. Lat. *in* 1574. 4°.)

Origen.

might give occaſion to conjecture, that it is more Modern than any of theſe Authors. For it having been objected in the Firſt Part, that the God of the Creation, who has the Hearts of Kings in his Power, muſt of neceſſity be a wicked God, ſince he ſuffered the Chriſtians to be perſecuted: He anſwers, *Theſe pitiful Shifts which you make, might have had ſome probability in former times, and there might have been ſome neceſſity then of returning an Anſwer to them, which might have been done very eaſily: But now we have a Religious Prince, what have you to ſay? Will you ſay that it is another God who rules his Heart, ſince this Godly Prince governs its much better than the others, and yet after a quite contrary manner; for he eſtabliſhes what the others would have deſtroyed, he overthrows the Images and Temples which the others honoured.* Which ſhews that this Dialogue was compoſed in *Conſtantine*'s time; for to ſay that this is to be underſtood of *Philip*, is to affirm a thing of which there is no likelihood; becauſe ſuppoſing that he was a Chriſtian, of which we are not aſſured, it was moſt certain that he did not make Profeſſion thereof, and we cannot ſay of any Emperor before *Conſtantine*, that he overthrew Idolatry, and deſtroyed Temples and Idols. So the moſt probable Opinion is, That this Dialogue was compoſed in the beginning of the Fourth Age by one of *Origen*'s Diſciples, who has inſerted *Maximus*'s Dialogue into his Diſcourſe. Beſides, there is another Reaſon not to attribute it to *Origen*, which is taken notice of by *Huetius*; which is, that we find ſome Notions that are very Orthodox, and quite different from *Origen*'s Errors, concerning the State of Innocence, Man's Body, the Soul, and the Reſurrection.

But we muſt reckon amongſt the Suppoſititious Books two different Commentaries upon *Job*, Printed in Latin under *Origen*'s Name; the firſt divided into three Books, which concludes about the middle of the third Chapter of *Job*. We do not certainly know whether it was compoſed in Latin, or whether it was tranſlated from the Greek *(ee)*: however, 'tis certain that it was not written by *Origen (dd)*, but by ſome other Author, who lived ſince the Time of *Arius (ee)*, and one that was an *Arian* himſelf.

The other Commentary upon the Book of *Job*, tranſlated by *Perionius* from a Manuſcript of the King's Library, is alſo by an *Arian (ff)*, but different from the firſt, though he commends the Martyr *Lucian* as well as *Origen*; and ſpeaks of the *Manichees*. The four Homilies upon *Job*, which were publiſhed under *Origen*'s Name in the firſt Edition by *Genebrard*, were left out in the ſecond, becauſe they are not *Origen*'s, no more than S. *Chryſoſtom*'s, to whom they are ſtill attributed. It is obſerved in a Letter prefixed to *Eraſmus*'s Edition, that there were ſtill remaining under *Origen*'s Name, ſome little Notes upon *Job*, which they would not inſert in his Works, becauſe they appeared to be of a quite different Style and Genius.

There is in the King's Library, a Commentary upon S. *Mark*, aſcribed likewiſe to *Origen*, which is certainly none of his *(gg)*.

The ten Homilies upon ſeveral Paſſages of the Goſpel, collected by *Merlinus*, are all written by others *(hh)*, being written after a quite different manner, and almoſt all of them compoſed by a La-

(cc) Whether it was compoſed in Latin, or whether it was tranſlated from the Greek.] *Eraſmus*, *Aubertin*, and *Cook* are of Opinion that it was Latin, becauſe the Phraſe and Manner of Expreſſion is Latin; but this might proceed from the Intrepreter. That which makes it believed that the Author was rather a Greek, is the Prologue which is in the Interpreters Name; which *Eraſmus* rejects as Suppoſititious.

(dd) 'Tis certain that it was not written by Origen.] He ſays ſome things contrary to what *Origen* affirms. For Example, in the Second Book, he ſays that Jeſus Chriſt preached three years and a half; and *Origen*, in his Book *De Principiis*, *Cap.* 2. and *Hom.* 32. *in Lucam*, ſays that he preached but a Year and odd Months.

(ee) But by ſome other Author, who lived ſince the time of Arius.] He calls the Church that believes the Trinity, a Sect and a Hereſie. He rejects the Word Trinity and ὁμοούσιον: He commends the Martyr *Lucian*, who died a long time after *Origen*, and whom the *Arians* extolled as their Patron: Upon which *Arius* calls *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Colluſianita*: And this ſufficiently ſhews how groſly they are miſtaken, who have attributed theſe Commentaries to S. *Hilary*.

(ff) The other Commentary upon the whole Book of Job, *is alſo by an Arian.*] He condemns the Term ὁμοούσιον; and calls the Catholicks *Homouſiaſts*; He commends *Lucian* the Martyr; and it is different from the Firſt, becauſe he makes *Moſes* to be the Author of the Book of *Job*, and the Firſt only make him to be the Interpreter. Whereas *Origen*, in his Sixth Book againſt *Celſus*, ſays, that *Moſes* wrote nothing but the *Pentateuch*. It is of a different Style from the Treatiſes of *Origen*, and he confutes thoſe who believe the Stars to be animated, which is *Origen*'s Opinion.

(gg) A Commentary upon S. Mark, *aſcribed likewiſe to* Origen, *which is none of his.*] It is of a quite different Style. He ſays he will collect the Opinions of the Ancients. In ſome Manuſcripts it is attributed to S. *Cyril*; in others to *Victor* of *Antioch*: It has been Tranſlated, and Publiſhed under this Name by *Peltanus*. He cites *Origen*, *Euſebius*, S. *Chryſoſtom*, *Apollinarius*, and *Theodoret*; and he mentions the *Novatians*.

(hh) The Ten Homilies are all of other Authors than Origen.] They have been collected in ſeveral Places, and put into order by *Merlinus*. They are all written in a different Style from *Origen*'s; and compoſed by a Latin Author: They have all Deſigns that are quite differing from thoſe of *Origen*'s Homilies; They are full of Quibbles upon Words, and of affected Rhetorical Figures, which is not to be found in *Origen*'s Works. In the Firſt, he ſays, That Jeſus Chriſt was born of the Virgin, without opening of her Womb; The contrary to which is taught by *Origen*, in his 54th Homily upon S. *Luke*. The Second diſcourſes of the *Arians* and the *Manichees*; and therein the Term ὁμοούσιον is defended; therein likewiſe are cited the Books attributed to S. *Dionyſius*. The 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 10th Books are all filled with vain Repetitions, Antitheſes, Quibbles upon Words, Synonima's and Alluſions, which prove that it is a Latin Author, they are of the ſame Style of the Firſt. The 9th is compoſed of Three Parts (as *Huetius* has obſerved.) The Firſt is Part of *Origen*'s 34th Diſcourſe upon S. *Mathew*. The Second is taken from S. *Hierom*'s 8th Book upon *Iſaiah*; and the Laſt from the 17th Chapter of St. *Gregory*'s Ninth Book of Morals.

tin.

tin. The Book concerning *Sighs*, or *Penance*, attributed to *Origen*, and placed by *Gelasius* among the Number of the *Apocryphal* Pieces, is without doubt counterfeit, as well as his Preface. *Morellus* caused to be printed under *Origen*'s Name, in the year 1601, some *Scholia* upon the Lord's Prayer, and upon the Hymn of the Blessed Virgin, and of *Zachary*; but the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, &c. (*ii*) informs us, That they were written by *Petrus Laodicensis*. Besides, there were found in the *Vatican* Library, some Homilies upon *Jeremiah*, some whereof were printed by *Chifletius* in the Year 1623, which also are none of his. The Book concerning Cœlibacy of the Clergy, which is amongst S. *Cyprian*'s Works, bears the Name of *Origen* in a Manuscript of the King's Library (*kk*), but 'tis the Work of a Latin Author. It is said also, That there are in Libraries some Treatises under this Author's Name (*ll*), which are very dubious, they not being cited by the Ancients, and being for the most part upon such Subjects, upon which it is not likely that *Origen* should have written. *Origen.*

I shall not stand to set down in particular the several Editions of *Origen*'s Works, as well in Greek as in Latin, having already taken notice of the greatest part of them: It shall suffice me to say, That all *Origen*'s Works that are in Latin, have been collected by *Merlinus*, and afterwards by *Erasmus*, and printed in two Volomes at *Paris* in the Year 1512, and at *Basil* in the Years 1526, 1545, and 1571. That *Genebrard* has since made a larger Collection, printed at *Paris* in 1574, 1604, and 1619; and at *Basil* in 1620. That all the Greek Fragments of *Origen*'s Books upon the Scripture, are published with a Translation by the Learned *Huetius*, and printed in *France* in two Volumes, in the Year 1667, but that he has not yet set forth the other Works of *Origen*, as he promised. That his Books against *Celsus*, and the *Philocalia* were printed in *England* in 1658. That *Wetstenius*, Greek Professor at *Basil*, caused to be printed there, in 1674, the Dialogue against *Marcion*, the Exhortation to Martyrdom, and the Letters of *Africanus* and *Origen*, concerning the History of *Susanna*; and lastly, That the Book concerning Prayer has been lately printed in *England*. So that to have all *Origen*'s Works, as well those which we have only in Latin, as those in Greek, we must have *Genebrard*'s Edition, *Huetius*'s two Volumes, the Books against *Celsus*, with the *Philocalia*, printed in *England* in Quarto; the Quarto Volume set forth by *Wetstenius*, and the little Treatise concerning Prayer, lately printed in *England*.

It would be very tedious, and to little purpose, to give here an Abridgment of all *Origen*'s Works, and particularly of his Homilies, and his Commentaries upon the Scripture, which are almost all full of Allegories and Morality; besides, having only the Version of the greatest part of the Homilies, we cannot be certain whether that which relates to Doctrin and Discipline, be *Origen*'s own, or *Ruffinus*'s: I shall therefore content my self to give a Summary of his Doctrin upon the principal Points of our Religion, examining at the same time whether he be guilty of those Errors of which he is accused.

If we had had his Books *of Principles* in Greek, we might easily have been informed of all his Opinions; for these Books contained the Abridgment of Doctrin: But since we have only *Ruffinus*'s Translation, in which he himself confesses that he altered and omitted several Passages, wherein *Origen* discourses concerning the Mystery of the Trinity, which he believes were corrupted by the Hereticks, we cannot be assured of *Origen*'s Doctrin from this Version, except it be in those things for which he is condemned: so that we must have recourse to those Works of *Origen* which we have in Greek.

Origen's Notions concerning the Nature and the Attributes of God are very Orthodox; he believes that he is a Spiritual, invisible, Simple, and Eternal Essence.

He is wrongfully accused for believing that God had a Body, since he says directly contrary in several places, and proves it by many convincing Arguments. He discourses admirably concerning the Knowledge and the Providence of God. Some have accused him of having set Bounds to his Power, because he says, *That he is called Omnipotent only because he governs all things, and not because he can create any thing new.* *Justinian* cites in his Letter to *Mennas*, a Passage taken from the second Book of *Origen*'s Principles, where he says that the Power of God is finite, and that he made all the Creatures that he can govern. *Ruffinus* also taxes him of this Error. He seems indeed to have believed that God created that Matter from all Eternity, whereof he has made the World, and of which he will make successively several other Worlds.

Lib. 4. *contra Celsum*, & 6. *Lib.* 3. *contra Celsum*. *T.* 14. *in Joan* & *de Princip. c.* 1. *q* 20. *in Exod. Lib.* 4. *contra Celsum.*

The Ancients are extreamly divided as to the Judgment that is to be given of *Origen*'s Doctrin concerning the Trinity.

(*ii*) *But the Bibliotheca Patrum*, &c.] *Michael Chifleri* tells us in the Preface to his Commentary upon *Jeremiah*, Printed in the Year 1623, that he found four and twenty of them, and that the Last was the Treatise of S. *Clement*, *What Rich Man can be saved?* He sets down Eight.

(*kk*) *Bears* Origen's *Name in a Manuscript of the King's Library.*] By *Vincentius Bellovacensis*, and some others. *Pamelius* is of this Opinion. In other Manuscrips it is attributed to S. *Hierom* and S. *Augustin*. Some have believed, that it was Translated from Greek, but it is, as we shall shew hereafter, written by a Latin.

(*ll*) *Lastly, They say that there are in Libraries other Treatises under this Author's Name.*] There is a Book concerning the Astrolabe, which was said to be in the *Vatican* Library; the Breviary or Abridgment of *Origen*, a Book concerning Preaching or Catechizing, &c. And besides this, there are several of *Origen*'s Fragments in the *Catenæ Græcorum Patrum*: But it would be an endless Labour to collect them all. *Huetius*, who neglected this Toil, thinking it to be too Great, by reason of the Multitude of the *Catenæ*, and to be to no purpose, by reason of their little Authority; tells us that Father *Combefis*, a Man of indefatigable Pains, having undertaken it, he has referred us to the Collection which he has made of them. 'Tis probable he did not think them worth publishing.

S. *Hierom*

Origen.

(c) *Hom.* 23. *in Joſ. lib.* 2. *Per. c.* 11. *Tom.* 13. *in Mat. & p.* 310, 311. *Tom.* 14. *p. ſeq. lib.* 1. *in Ep. ad Rom. Hom.* 23. *in Joſ. lib.* 8. *cont. celſum. Hom.* 4. *in Num. Hom.* 2. *in Joſ. lib.* 1. *Per. cap.* 10. *lib.* 8. *cont. Celſum, Hom.* 4. *in Pſal.* 36. *Hom.* 20. *Hom.* 25. *in Luc. lib.* 5. *cont. Celſum. lib.* 8. *Hom. in Ezek. Hom.* 23. *in Lucam.*

(*c*) He ſays in ſeveral Places, That the Angels take care of Men; That every Chuch, every Society; and laſtly, every Man has his Guardian-Angel; and even in ſome places he ſays, That every one has his good and evil Angel; in other Places, That ſeveral Angels have the Care of one particular Perſon; and in others, That they take care of inanimate Things. Though he denies that we ought to addreſs to the Angels the ſame Prayers, and the ſame Adorations as to God, yet he allows that they may be prayed unto, and honoured according as they deſerve.

Concerning the Soul, he ſays in the Preface to his Books *of Principles*, that it is not determined by the Tradition of the Church, whether it be produced by another Soul, or whether it comes from elſewhere; whether it be Eternal, or created at a certain time; whether it animates the Body, or whether it be only confined there. This is what he ſays in the Language of an Eccleſiaſtical Author: But following the Principles of *Plato*'s Philoſophy, he holds, That Souls are intelligent Creatures, which have been from Eternity, which are ſent into Bodies as into a Priſon, for a Puniſhment of their Sins; That they paſs from Body to Body; That they become Angels; and laſtly, That they are in a continual Motion. He aſſerts all theſe things in his ſecond Book *of Principles*, Chap. 6, and 7. and in ſeveral other places of his Works.

(d) *Lib.* 2. *Per. cap.* 2.

(*d*) He ſays in ſome Places, That the Soul is Corporeal, but in others he aſſures us, that it is Spiritual and Incorporeal.

(e) *Hom.* 1. *in Geneſ. in Exhortat. ad Matt. lib.* 6. *contra Celſum. In Luc. cap.* 41.

(*e*) He holds it as an Article of Faith, That there is a Free-Will in all reaſonable Creatures; from whence it follows, That though a Man may be excited to Good by ſome Cœleſtial Power, and ſpurr'd on to Evil by the Devil, yet he is never conſtrained to do Good or Evil. This is what he ſays agreeably to the Doctrin of the Church; but he extends this Liberty, by following *Plato*'s Principles, to all ſorts of Conditions; and he pretends, That an intelligent Creature is, and will always be free to do Good and Evil, in whatſoever State and Condition he is; for in this he makes Free-Will to conſiſt.

(f) *Lib.* 2. *Per. c.* 3. *& li.* 3. *cap* 1. *& 3. Lib.* 3. *περὶ ἀρχῶν, c.* 1. *& 2. & in Ep. ad Rom. paſſim, Tom.* 11 *in Matt. Item.* 16, *& 13. in Joan. lib.* 1. *περὶ ἀρχῶν, c.* 7. *lib.* 3. *c.* 1. *Philocal. cap.* 20. *in Ep. ad Rom. lib.* 7, *& 9. & lib.* 2. *de Princip. cap.* 9. *Hom* 10. *in Levit.* 1. *in Ezek. lib* 1. *Per. c.* 5. *Hom.* 35. *in Luc. c* 1. *Lib.* 3. *Per. Tract.* 33. *in Matt. Lib.* 4, *& 9. in Ep. ad Rom. Supra, & lib in Ep. ad Rom. lib.* 3. *Per. c.* 2. *lib.* 1. *Per. c.* 8. *lib.* 3. *cap.* 2. *in Pſal.* 4. *Hom. in Pſal.* 36. *Hom. in Matt. p.* 210. *Tract.* 15. *in Matt.*

(*f*) He does not ſeem to have made any Diſtinction between *Adam*'s State, and that of Mankind after the Fall.

He attributes very much to Free-Will, and Nature, and he ſpeaks but very little of Grace, which he believes was infuſed into Souls according to the Merits which they have, before they are confined in Bodies; and afterwards it is augmented according to the Good and Evil which they do in making uſe of their Natural Liberty. He aſcribes in ſeveral Places the Converſion of a Man, and all the Good which he acts, to Free-Will; and allows hardly any thing to Grace, ſo that it was not without Reaſon that S. *Hierom* accuſes him for having furniſhed the *Pelagians* with Principles; though yet in ſome places he ſpeaks very advantagiouſly of Grace, and of the Aſſiſtance of God. He is taxed for holding, That Men may arrive to ſuch a Degree of Perfection, that they ſhall be no more ſubject to Temptation, nor commit any more Sins: And indeed there are ſome Relicks of this Error in his Books. He has alſo affirmed, that thoſe who have ſinned, after having received the Holy Ghoſt, could obtain no more Pardon for their Sin. (*g*) And upon this account he maintains, that S. *Peter* had not as yet received the Holy Ghoſt, when he denied Chriſt, and that being forſaken by God, it was impoſſible for him not to ſin. (*h*) When he explains that Paſſage of the Fifth Chapter of the Epiſtle of S. *Paul* to the *Romans*, he diſcourſes of Original Sin after a very obſcure manner; as if he doubted of it: And we muſt not wonder after this, that he did not admit of any other Predeſtination, than that which has reſpect to Merits.

(g) *Lib.* 5. *in Ep. ad. Rom. Tom.* 13. *in Matt. p.* 328. *T.* 15. *p.* 385. *Tract.* 35. *in Matt. ibid. & Lib.* 1. *in Ep. ad Rom.*

(h) *Lib.* 1 *in Ep ad Rom. & lib.* 7. *ejuſdem operis.*

He believed that the Stars were animated with reaſonable Souls confined to theſe Bodies. (*i*) He owns the Reſurrection of the Body, but by Philoſophizing too nicely upon this Matter, he has, if I may ſo ſay, Spiritualized it.

(i) *Tom.* 1. *in Joan. p.* 17. *lib.* 1. *Per. c.* 7. *& lib.* 2. *Tom.* 13. *in Matt. lib.* 5. *con. Celſum & in Ep. ad Rom. Cap.* 8. *& lib.* 8. *Juſtin. Ep.* 8 *ad. Mennam.*

He admits of two Reſurrections; That of the Righteous, and that of the Wicked. He acknowledges the laſt Judgment, wherein Men and Angels ſhall be judged: but he ſeems to make a doubt in what Place it ſhould be, if all Men were there to be judged. (*k*) He ſays, That Jeſus Chriſt ſhall appear there, but that we neither know the Place where he will appear, nor the Manner how. He rejects the Opinion of the Millenaries. He confeſſes that Good Men ſhall again be recompenced with Eternal Bleſſedneſs, and the Wicked puniſhed with Eternal Fire; but he deſtroys the Simplicity of this Faith by Reaſoning too much on this Subject. He believes that all Men, even the moſt Holy, ſhall paſs through the Fire: That after Men have paſſed through the Fire, the Wicked ſhall be caſt into Hell, that is to ſay, into the Loweſt Place, and they ſhall be there tormented with Eternal Fire. This

(k) *Lib.* 5. *Con. Celſ. lib.* 2. *Per. c.* 3. *lib.* 2. *c.* 10. *See* Methodius *in* Epiphanius, *and St.* Jerom *in his Epiſtle* John *of* Jeruſalem. *Tom.* 17. *in Matt. pag.* 494, *& 495. lib.* 2. *c.* 3. *& 10. & lib.* 3. *Cap.* 6.

Fire

Fire (as (*l*) he Explains it in other Places) is Remorse of Conscience, and Vexation of Spirit. (*m*) He make Blessedness to consist in an Union with God. He says that Souls come to it by degrees; that after they are separated from their Bodies, they are for some time upon Earth, in order to be purified, that afterwards they are taken up into the Air, and instructed by Angels, that they pass through several Places, where they remain for some time, and that at last they come to the Highest Heaven, in comparison whereof the Firmament is but a Hell; that the more they retain of Earth in them, the longer they are upon this Journey: That the Souls which are arrived at this Sovereign Degree of Bliss, may fall from it, and that they are sent back again into Cœlestial Bodies, or others, and that they afterwards return from whence they were driven: That so Blessedness may have an End, and that Torments shall have a Conclusion likewise. (*n*) He says in his Preface to the Book *de Principiis*, that God Created the World, that it had a Beginning, and that it must have an End; but that it is not determined by Tradition, what it was before, and what it will be after. He imagines that it was made, if I may so express it, to be a Place of Banishment for all Intelligent Creatures. He makes no difficulty of asserting, that there were more Worlds before this, and that there shall be more after it. He says, That God always had the Matter upon which he wrought, since God Created it from all Eternity.

(*o*) He says, That the Earthly Paradise was in Heaven, and he has explained of Souls which were there, that which is said in *Genesis* concerning *Adam* and *Eve*. He understands by the Fig-Leaves, wherewith they covered themselves after the Fall, the Mortal Bodies to which the Souls were chained,

It may be concluded from all, that we have already said concerning *Origen*'s Doctrin upon the Tenents of our Religion, that although he professed to believe the Doctrin of the Church, (*p*) yet he sets up some Philosophical Principles, the Consequences of which were found contrary to what was taught by the Christian Religion; which obliged him, in order to accomodate these things which were so directly opposite one to the other, to invent several Opinions that were very far from the Simplicity of the Faith. So that me must distinguish in *Origen* what he says according to the way of Speaking used by the Church in his Time, and what he says according to the Principles of *Plato*'s Philosophy, and then we need not wonder, if after having acknowledged the Truths of Christianity, he should lose himself by advancing such Platonick Notions as are destructive to them. And this, in my Opinion, is the reason of his principal Errors, which are all of them founded upon three Principles taken from the Platonick Philosophy; which are: First, That Intelligent Creatures have always been, and shall eternally exist. Secondly, That they have always been free to do Good and Evil. And Lastly, That they have been precipitated into the Lower Places, and confined to Bodies for a Punishment of their Sins. Let any one throughly Examine all *Origen*'s Errors, of which we have just now spoken, and he will easily perceive that they all proceed from this, that he was willing to accommodate the Truths of the Christian Religion to these Platonick Principles.

There are besides some other slighter Errors in *Origen*, into the greatest part of which he fell by confining himself too much to the Allegorical Sense of the Scripture; for Example, (*q*) Explaining Christ's Words concerning the Power of Binding and Loosing, which he granted to St. *Peter*, he seems to reserve this Power to those Bishops and Priests who imitate the Virtues of this Apostle; and in the same Sense he says, that all Spiritual Men are this Rock, upon which Jesus Christ has built his Church. So likewise (*r*) explaining that Passage of Scripture, where it is said: *Not that which goeth into the Mouth defileth a Man*, he speaks of the Eucharist after so Obscure and Allegorical a manner, that it is very difficult to comprehend his Meaning. (*s*) He likewise explains Allegorically whas is said of the Eucharist in other Places of the Word of God. It is easie however to defend him against the Protestants upon the Subject of the Real Presence, since he acknowledges in the Eighth Book, that the Loaves which are offered in the Church are made a Holy Body by Prayer, Σῶμα γινόμενοις διὰ τῆς ἐυχῆς ἁγίον τι. We might easily bring other Examples of the Oversights that he has committed, endeavouring too much to Spiritualize the Words of the Scripture, but I shall pass them over in Silence.

He speaks of the Sacred Scripture after a very excellent manner, as of a Book written by Persons who were inspired by God. His Passages upon this Subject have been collected by St. *Basil*, and St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, in a Book which they have Entituled *Philocalia*. (*t*) He distinguishes the three Senses of Scripture, but he applies himself particularly to the Allegorical Interpretation, and he affirms that there are some Places which have no literal Meaning. He proves that every Body ought to read the Scripture.

(l) *Tract.* 30, & 34. *in Matt. lib.* 2. *in Ep. ad Rom. & lib.* 5. *Hom.* 6. *in Exod Hom.* 3. *in Psal.* 36. *Hom.* 14. *in Luc. lib.* 5. *cont. Celf. & lib.* 8 *ad Rom.* *Origen.*

(m) *Lib.* 4. *Per. Cap.* 2. *& lib.* 1 *cap.* 6. *Philocal. cap.* 1.

(n) *Lib.* 2. *de Prin. & lib.* 5. *con. Celf. Tract.* 34 *in Joan. Hom.* 26. *in Num. & 27, 28. & Paſſim Tract.* 30. *in Matt. Lib.* 1. *de Prin. c.* 6. *lib.* 2. *c.* 3. *& 12. lib.* 3. *cap.* 6. *lib.* 3. *de Prin. c.* 3. *& lib.* 2. *Hom.* 7. *in Levit. Hom.* 6. *in Num. & in Reg. in Ezech.* 5. *c.* 14. *li.* 1. *Per. c.* 6. *Tom.* 15. *& Tract.* 33. *in Matt. Hom.* 8. *in Levit.* 14. *in Luc.*

(o) *Lib.* 2. *cap.* 1, *&* 8. *Tom.* 19. *in Joan. Juſtin. Ep. ad Menam. and two Paſſages from Lib.* 1. *&* 4. *Hieron. Ep.* 59. *ad Avitum.*

(p) *Lib.* 1. *Per. c.* 2. *Method. apud Photium c* 3. *in Geneſ. c.* 1. *This was objected againſt him by* Methodius *in* Epiphanius, *by* Photius, *by* Eustathius, *by* John *of* Jerusalem, *by St.* Jerome, *and it may be found in lib.* 4. *de Prin. c.* 2.

(q) *Tom.* 12. *in Matthæum.*

(r) *Tom.* 11. *in Matt.*

(s) *Hom.* 16. *in Num. & Tract.* 35. *in Matt. Hom.* 7. *in Levit. & Tom.* 32. *in Joan.*

(t) *Hom.* 2. *&* 6. *in Gen. Hom.* 3. *&* 5. *in Levit. Hom.* 2, *&* 3. *in Exod. item* 7. *&* 11. *in Levit. lib.* 1. *Per. c.* 2. *Hom.* 9. *&* 2. *in Joſ.*

Origen.

Now for ſome Points of Diſcipline which may be obſerved in his Works. The Chriſtians aſſembled together in his Time in the Churches, not only on Sundays, and Feſtivals, but alſo on other Days. (*u*) He often ſpeaks againſt thoſe who neglected to do it, and who did not hear the Word of God with due Reſpect. There were Prieſts and Biſhops in his Time, who were choſen by the People. And their Duty was to teach the People, they inſtructed the Catechumens, and prepared them for Baptiſm for a conſiderable time. They Baptized the Children; and Baptiſm was never reiterated; they anointed thoſe who were Baptized with Oyl. They obſerved Lent; and alſo faſted *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*. They expelled out of the Church, ſuch as committed Publick Crimes after Baptiſm: And (*x*) he obſerves in his Book againſt *Celſus*, that there were ſome Perſons ſet apart on purpoſe to take care of the Manners of the Faithful. They allowed of Penance but once, and that rarely too. Excommunication was the greateſt Eccleſiaſtical Penalty. Nevertheleſs, It was not doubted but that thoſe who were unjuſtly Excommunicated, might be ſaved. Simony alſo was Prohibited.

(u) *Hom.* 10. 13 & 9 *in Num. Hom.* 6. *in Levit. Hom.* 4. *in Joſ. Hom.* 6. *in Jerem. Hom.* 8. *ibid. Hom.* 10. *in Levit. Hom.* 21. *in Joſ. Hom.* 9, & 11. *in Jerem. Tract.* 35. *in Mat. Hom.* 2. *in Jud.* & *Hom.* 2. *in Pſ.* 37. *Hom.* 15. *in Levit. Hom.* 10. *in Ezech. Tract.* 6. *in Matt. Hom.* 14. *in Levit. in cap.* 14. *Matt. Hom.* 2. *in Levit. item. Hom.* 14.

(x) *Tract.* 11. *in Matt. Tract.* 32. *in Joan. con. Cel. l. lib.* 8. *Hom.* 17. *in Levit.*

In his time Sins were confeſs'd to the Prieſts, and they examined thoſe who were to teach in Publick. They believed that one ought to live a very Holy Life, to approach the Bleſſed Sacrament, and that as it was very advantagious to thoſe who received it Worthily, ſo it was Damnation to thoſe who received it Unworthily. They did not admit Perſons that were twice Married to Holy Orders. They concealed the Myſteries, and principally of the Euchariſt from the Infidels and the Catechumens. They Prayed to God on their Knees, and turning towards the Eaſt. They celebrated *Good-Fryday*, *Eaſter*, *Whitſontide*, and *Sundays*, with very great Solemnity.

And theſe were the Principal Points of Diſcipline, that can be obſerved in the Books of *Origen*: It would be too tedious to take notice of Points of Morality that he diſcourſes of in his Homilies, which are filled with them. We ſhall here preſent you only with ſome of them.

He ſays, that we ought not to make uſe of Marriage, but only for the Sake of having Children: that he who does Good out of ſervile Fear, ſhall be leſs rewarded than him who does it out of Love. (*y*) There are in his Homilies upon *Exodus*, a great many curious Allegories upon the Neceſſity of Renouncing the World, and leading a Chriſtian Life. He ſays, that *Pharaoh* repreſents the World, who ſlew the Male Children, that is, the righteous, and preſerved the Females, that is to ſay Vicious and Effeminate Perſons; and he makes a pretty Moral upon the Allegory. He ſays, that *Ægypt* is the Type of the World, from whence we muſt depart, not only in Body, but in Mind, by renouncing it entirely. There are a great many other Allegories and Moral Thoughts of the ſame Nature. He diſtinguiſhes two ſorts of Sin; Great Sins, and Leſſer Sins. He ranks among the number of leſſer Sins, ſuch as may prove Mortal; and by great Sins, he underſtands ſuch, for which we can do no Penance but once. He gives ſeven Remedies for Sins, Baptiſm, Martyrdom, Alms-deeds, Forgiving of our Enemies, the Converſion of our Brethren, Charity, and Labourious Penance, and laſtly, that Repentance and Unction of which S. *James* ſpeaks. (*z*) He ſays, that we muſt not preſently reprehend publickly the Sin of our Brother, but that we ought firſt to rebuke him in Private, afterwards before one or two Witneſſes; and laſtly, if he did not reform, then we are to tell it to the Church. (*a*) He ſhews that true Faſting is an Abſtinence from Sin, and that we ought to Faſt in order to Feed the Poor. His Homilies upon *Numbers*, *Joſhuah*, *Judges*, are more filled with Allegories than Morality. Thoſe which he compoſed upon the *Pſalms* have more Morality in them: He there diſcourſes of Humility, of Prayer, of Patience, of Meekneſs, of the Proſperity of the Wicked, of Repentance, of that Holineſs which is required to Communicate worthily, of the Choice of a Guide. His other Homilies are mixed with Morality and Allegories: His large Commentaries have more Learning in them. He therein handles ſeveral Queſtions very learnedly, and makes very judicious Remarks upon them. He gives ſome Explications upon the Holy Scripture, that are very curious and ingenious: But he goes too far upon the Letter, to find out Allegorical Senſes; and he amuſes himſelf in Explaining too ſcrupulouſly all the Words of Scripture, that he might the better give them a Myſtical Senſe. He is a Great Enemy to Hereticks, he attacks them as often as he diſcourſes of any Subject that has any relation to their Errors. He does not let any of them eſcape; ſometimes he writes againſt *Simon*, *Baſilides*, *Carpocrates*, *Valentinus*, *Marcion*, and *Montanus*: At other times he attacks the *Ebionites*, the *Helceſaites*, the *Encratites*, the *Ophites*, and the *Sabellians*. (*b*) He acknowledged for Canonical Books of the Old Teſtament, only thoſe which were in the Canon of the Hebrews, to the Number of Two and Twenty: (*c*) He ranks the Book of *Eſther*, in this Number, and joyns the Book of *Ruth* with the Book of *Judges*, and *Baruch* with that of *Jeremiah*. As for the Books of *Maccabes*, *Judith*, *Tobit*, *Eccleſiaſticus*, and *Wiſdom*, he commends them as Good Books, profitable for Catechumens, but ſuch as are out of the Canon of the Books of the Sacred Scripture.

(y) *Hom.* 5. *in Exod.* & 23. *Hom.* 3. *in Gen.* & *ibidem. Hom.* 5. *Hom.* 2. *in Jerem. Hom.* 8. *Hom.* 2. *Hom.* 3. & 10. *in Exod. Hom.* 14. *in Levit. Item Hom.* 15. *Tract.* 6. *in Matt. Hom.* 2. *in Levit.*

(z) *Hom.* 3.

(a) *Hom.* 10. *in Levit.*

(b) *In Geneſ. ap. Euſeb.*

(c) *Hom.* 27. *in Num.* & 25. *in Joſ. in Frag. in Ep. ad Heb. in Apol. Phamphilio lib.* 3. *con. Celſ. Hom. in Exod.* 8. *lib* 2. *Per.* & *Hom.* 3. *in Cant. in Matt.* & *Hom.* 18. *in Num.*

Scripture. He calls them nevertheless in some places Divine Books. He cites the Book of Wisdom under the Name of the Scripture. He cites likewise the *Maccabees*, and the Book of *Ecclesiasticus*, which he affirms to be among the Books of *Solomon*. We have already taken notice of his Opinion concerning the History of *Susanna*. He receives as Canonical Books of the New Testament; the Four Gospels, the Fourteen Epistles of St. *Paul*; *(d)* He says however, concerning that to the Hebrews, that the Thoughts of this Epistle are St. *Paul's*; but that it was Composed by some other Person, and that there is none but God who knows the Author of it, though some attribute it to S. *Clemens*, others to S. *Luke*. He says that there is but one Epistle of S. *Peter*, which was received by all the Churches, but that we may grant the Second likewise to have been his. He says the same thing of the Two last Epistles of S. *John*. He cites the Epistles of St. *Jude*, and St. *James* in his Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Romans*. He likewise quotes the *Revelations*, and attributes them to St. *John*. Besides these Books, he often cites Apocryphal Writings, as the Gospels according to the *Ægyptians*, and according to the *Hebrews*; the Book of *Hermas*, the Epistle of S. *Barnabas*, the Book of *Enoch*, and even some Heretical Books, as the *Apocalypse* of S. *Paul*, a Book concerning the Twelve Apostles, the Doctrin of S. *Peter*, the Acts of S. *Paul*, the History of *Isaiah*, and some others.

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(d) He *always cites it under S.* Paul's *Name. Hom.* 8. *in Exod.* 7. *in Levit. in Jerem.* Hom. 1. *lib.* 1. *Per. Lib.* 2. *in Matt. c.* 13. *ap. Euseb. lib.* 6. *c.* 25. *lib* 2. *Per. c.* 5. & *lib.* 2. *Per. in Matt. c.* 13. *Hom. in Jesum* 3. & 10. *in cap.* 18. *Matt. Hom. in Jer.* 14. *in Ez. in Luc. Hom.* 8. *in Exod. Hom.* 10. *in Jos. lib.* 1. *Per. lib* 2. *lib.* 3. *in Luc. Hom.* 35. *Luc.* 3. *per.*

Origen had very quick Parts, a very strong and Extensive Phancy: but he relied too much on the Vivacity of his Genius; and often lost himself out of too great earnestness to fathom, and subtilize every thing. He had a very happy invention, and a much more happy delivery of what he had invented: But he had not that exactness in his Inventions, nor all that Gracefulness in the Delivery as might be wish'd. He carried on his Work with so great ease, that he is said to have Dictated to Seven or Eight Persons at a time, and he was so ready in Expressing himself, that he made the greatest Part of his Homilies *Extempore*. Upon which account his Style was not very Correct, nor Coherent; He had a vast Memory, but he often trusted too much to it. He was a Person of most profound Learning; and he particularly Studied *Plato's* Philosophy, which he understood to Perfection, and indeed he was too much addicted to it for a Christian. He understood likewise the Maxims of the other Philosophers. He had apply'd himself mightily to the Study of Humane Learning: He was neither Ignorant of History, nor Mythology, and he had as great knowledge in all the Profane Sciences, as those who had Studied nothing else all their whole Lives. But he particularly excell'd in the knowledge of the Holy Scripture, to the Study of which he entirely addicted himself. He had Learned it all by heart, and that he might not neglect any thing which might be of use for the understanding the Letter thereof, he carefully Examined all the Versions of the Bible, which were in his time, and compared them all together with the Hebrew Text, adding thereto a Literal Commentary upon the most difficult Places. He was not very well skill'd in the Hebrew; yet he knew enough of it to understand it, and to observe the Differences of the Text, and the Translations; but he did not keep to the Literal Explication of the Bible. He thought it necessary for the setting off of the Holy Scripture to the best advantage, which appeared but plain and simple to the Heathens, and for the rendring it of greater use to all the World, to give Mystical or Allegorical Interpretations of every thing in it. And herein imitates the way of *Philo* and *Aristobulus*, and followed the Genius and Manner of the Platonists. We have already taken notice, that *Hippolitus* explained the Scripture Allegorically, and that it was in imitation of him that *Origen* undertook this way of Writing. St. *Clement* of *Alexandria* his Master, is also full of Allegories, and 'tis not to be denied but that the Hellenistical Jews, and the Primitive Christians made very frequent use of them: But *Origen* has carried on an Allegory as far as it can possibly go, and he has furnished Matter to all the Greek and Latin Fathers who have imitated him, and have hardly done any thing else than copy him. This way of explaining the Holy Scripture by continual Allegories, seems to me to be very defective. For though it may be good sometimes to awaken, if I may so say, the Auditor, and to direct him by such kind of Allegories, yet they become useless and tedious, when they are perpetual; and the Mind, which requires great Application for the comprehending of them, is tired, and soon loses the Consequence both of Reasoning and Thought: Besides, that by minding only the Allegorical Sense, we neglect the Literal, which is oftentimes more excellent, and of greater Advantage than all the Allegories in the World, that divert the Mind without instructing it, and strike the Imagination without affecting the Heart. Lastly, If in explaining the Holy Scripture, we should only stick to the Allegory, as *Origen* has done, it might give occasion to believe, that the Scripture taken barely in the Literal Sense would be but of very little Advantage, which is a very great Error. 'Tis therefore a very ill way of defending *Origen* in this Point, to say with a modern Author, that he seems to have been excusable in this, because he had learned by Experience, that the Letter of the Scripture was but of little use for instruction. For this is to make him assert a thing which is very false, the Letter of the Scripture being of exceeding use for instruction, and even more profitable than any Allegory, which is not to be us'd, but only now and then to awaken the Auditors.

Origen's Books against *Celsus* an excellent Work, and stored with extraordinary Learning. He answers the Objections of *Celsus*, who of all the Heathens that have written again the Christian Religion, has made the most cunning ones, and proposed them the most maliciously, very solidly. He establishes by convincing Proofs, the History of Jesus Christ, his Miracles, his Divinity and Resurrection. He confutes the Calumnies and Impostures of *Celsus*, and of the other Heathens against the Chri-

stians;

ſtians; and Laſtly, he proves the Truth and Excellency of the Doctrin and Religion of Jeſus Chriſt. This Book is written very Politely, and with great Care and Exactneſs. 'Tis not only the beſt of *Origen*'s Works, but alſo the moſt accompliſh'd and beſt Compoſed Apology for the Chriſtians which we have of all the Ancients. The Books of Principles were likewiſe written with great Care, and they had been of very great uſe, if he had contented himſelf to explain the Principles of Religion according to Scripture and Tradition, without mixing therewith his own Philoſophical Notions. His Commentaries upon the Scripture are more Polite than his Homilies, they are full of Learning, but they are not very Exact, and we may obſerve therein a great many Fancies which are uſeleſs, obſcure, and perplexed. Often after having begun one Explication, he paſſes to another, without finiſhing the firſt. His Homilies are plainer and intelligible, but their ſtyle is leſs Elegant.

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The Treatiſe concerning Prayer is an Excellent Piece of Devotion. It contains a great many Excellent Principles of Morality, and is full of very profitable Inſtructions. We may alſo find there ſeveral Curious Remarks relating to the Diſcipline of that Time. But it is not abſolutely free from the Errors and Defects which we have obſerved in the other Works of *Origen*. As this Diſcourſe is very Inſtructive and not very much known, I have thought it convenient to give a Summary of it.

Origen begins it by a Common Place, to wit, that there are an Infinite Number of Things which we cannot know without being enlightned from Heaven. He applies this Reflection to his Preſent Subject, ſaying, that it would be impoſſible for him, without the Aſſiſtance of Heaven, to explain how we ought to Pray, what we ought to ſay when we Pray, and what are the moſt Proper Times for Prayer. That he who treats of this Matter, muſt be enlightned by the Heavenly Father, inſtructed by the Son, and inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt: That in order to Pray as we ought, 'tis not ſufficient to repeat ſome certain Prayers, but we muſt have Good Diſpoſitions; and that our Prayer may be acceptable to God, it muſt be accompanied with a Conſcience, Pure, and without Blemiſh. Afterwards entring upon his Subject he obſerves that the Greek Word Εὐχὴ, which ſignifies Prayer, is mentioned in Scripture the firſt time, in that Place where it is ſaid that *Jacob* coming from *Meſopotamia*, made a Vow to offer unto God the Tenth of all that he ſhould bring from that Country. He adds that the Word is often taken in this Senſe, to ſignifie a Promiſe or Vow of Performing a Thing, if God grants us what we ask of him in our Prayers. But he obſerves at the ſame time that there are other Places where it is taken for Prayer it ſelf; and he ſets down ſome Examples wherein it is taken in both Senſes.

After having ſpoken of the word *Prayer*, he treats of the neceſſity of the thing it ſelf: He confutes the Arguments of thoſe who pretended to maintain that it was to no purpoſe to pray; he obſerves, that this Error could not be maintained by any but notoriouſly-wicked Perſons, and by Atheiſts, who deny God's Providence: but that the Devil endeavouring by all means to ſpread deteſtable Doctrins among thoſe that bear the Name of Chriſt, had put it into the hearts of ſome perſons to reject every thing that is ſenſible in Religion, to deſpiſe the Holy Euchariſt and Baptiſm, and to neglect Prayer as a uſeleſs thing. Now theſe are the Reaſons which theſe Perſons bring for their Opinion: *Firſt*, God knows every thing, *ſay they*, therefore what need is there of Praying? *Secondly*, He does not only *know* what muſt happen, but he *ordains* it; therefore what neceſſity is there of *asking* that of him, which ſhall infallibly come to paſs? *Thirdly*, If we are Predeſtinated before our Birth, it is to no purpoſe to pray, ſince we ſhall be neceſſarily *Sav'd* or *Damn'd*. *Fourthly*, God being immutable, we do but deceive our ſelves in believing that we are able by our Prayers to make him alter his Decrees. *Origen*, in anſwer to theſe difficulties diſtinguiſhes Three ſorts of Things which are in motion. The *firſt* are thoſe that are moved by a Foreign Power, ſuch as, Inanimate Beings. The *ſecond* are thoſe that are moved by their own Nature, but without Knowledge, as Animals and Plants. The *Third* are thoſe that move themſelves, and determine themſelves, as Intelligent Creatures. He proves, That theſe are free, and that Preſcience and Predeſtination does not at all deſtroy this Liberty, becauſe God ordains nothing relating to free Actions, but what he has foreſeen that intelligent Creatures would do freely: And that ſo Preſcience is not the cauſe of Things, nor of Actions which are done freely; but it only ſuppoſes that theſe things will be, or will not be; and that the knowledge which God has of them, is followed by the Decree, whereby he is reſolved to grant or not to grant his Grace, to hear or not to hear; That he foreſees the Good and Evil which Men ſhall commit; That he knows whether they will repent or no; and that, in conſequence of this knowledge, he Predeſtinates or Reprobates them. He adds, That God has appointed Angels over Men to preſerve them, as long as they deſerve it. One might here take notice of his particular Opinion concerning the Sun, the Moon, and Stars, which he ſays are intelligent and free Agents.

After having confuted the Reaſons of thoſe who reject Prayer, he ſhews the advantage of it. He ſays in the firſt place, That he who prays, puts himſelf in a condition of preſenting himſelf before God, and of converſing with him; That in order to this, he ought to drive away all evil Thoughts, to baniſh all earthly Affections, to raiſe up his mind towards Heaven, to forget Injuries, to pardon his Enemies, and by no means to repine againſt God. From hence he concludes, That Prayer cannot be of any advantage, if it be not preceeded with great preparation. Secondly, He aſſures us, That Chriſt Jeſus, the High-Prieſt of our Offerings, prays with us; That the Angels pray with him, and that the Saints which are departed pray with us, (and this here is one of the moſt ancient and excellent Monuments to prove the Interceſſion of Saints.) His words are theſe: *The Souls of the Saints which ſleep among the number of the Juſt, pray with us, as it is ſaid in the Book of* Macchabees——— *And ſince the imperfect Knowledge which we have in this World is made perfect in the other Life, 'tis a very great Abſurdity not to believe the ſame thing of the other Virtues, and principally Charity towards our Neighbour, which*

we ought to believe to be much stronger in the Saints than in mortal Men, who are subject to Weaknesses and Imperfections. He adds, That every faithful Person has his Angel that hears him, and preserves him whilst he prays. *Lastly*, He proves the necessity of continual Prayer, by the Example of Jesus Christ, by that of Just Persons, and by the reckoning up of those Benefits and Graces which have been bestowed upon Men from their Prayers: He exhorts the Faithful to pray for spiritual and heavenly Things, rather than for earthly and sensual Goods, such as Beauty, Nobility, Riches: He shews the meanness and the vanity of these things. *Origen.*

He distinguishes four kinds of Prayers, after the Apostle S. *Paul* in his first Epistle to *Timothy*. The Δεησις, that is to say, Supplication, which is to ask any Good of which we stand in need. The second called προσευχη, is according to *Origen*, a request that is made in any danger, with assurance of obtaining what we desire: He observes, that this kind of Prayer is commonly joined with *Doxology*, that is to say, with Praising of God's Holy Name; The third ἐντευξις, is a Prayer made by a Person who has great confidence that he shall obtain what he asks, he being much in God's Favour. The last is, Giving of Thanks for the Benefits which we have received. He gives Examples taken from the Holy Scripture, of each of these kinds of Prayer.

This first Part of his Treatise concerning Prayer, is followed with an Explication of the Lord's Prayer.

He makes two Observations upon these first words, **Our Father**, The first is, That it is only in the New Testament, where there is given to God with assurance the Title of *Our Father*. The second, That if we would say these words as we ought, we must be of the number of the true Children of God, that is to say, *Free from Sin, and in a state of Grace.*

He says upon these words, **Which art in Heaven**, That we must not understand them in a gross sense, as if God was in Heaven after a corporael manner.

Upon these words, **Hallowed be thy Name**, That it is not as if God were not Holy in himself, but only that we desire that men should acknowledg this Holiness in his Conduct. He observes, That this and the following Forms are in the Imperative, but that it is taken for the Optative Mood. And from hence he takes occasion to confute *Tatian*, who affirmed that these Words of God in *Genesis Let there be light*, was not an express Command, but only a simple Wish. By these other Words, **Thy kingdom come**, the faithful Person prays the Lord, That the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, which is in him, may be perfected and compleated by the expectation of the Day of Judgment. By these, **Thy will be done**, we desire of God, That men may fulfil God's Will upon Earth, as it is accomplished in Heaven; or else, That the Wicked, being represented by the Earth, should perform God's Will, as it is already done by Just Persons. *Origen* would not have us understand these following words, **Give us this day our dayly bread**, of bodily Bread; but he understands them of the Doctrin of Jesus Christ, who is our Bread and our Nourishment. He observes, that the word ἐπιουσιος, *Supersubstantialis*, which we render by DAILY, is not to be met with in any Author; and that it is peculiar to the Evangelists. In order to explain it, he tells us, That as bodily Bread is changed into our Substance, so this Bread of the Word Communicates its Nature and Efficacy to our Souls. By *Daily Bread*, he means *Eternity*. Upon these Words, **And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us**, he explains the several Duties of Men. He says, That they owe to themselves the good of their Souls, that they owe very much to their Guardian Angels, but that they are above all things indebted to Jesus Christ, and to the Holy Ghost; that every Condition and every Estate has its peculiar Duties. *There is one Duty*, says he, *of a Wife, another Duty of a Widow, another of a Deacon, another of a Priest, another of a Bishop, whose Charge is much the greater, and he shall render an exact Account to God, who will punish him very severely, if he does not acquit himself well of his Duty.* He adds, That as we are indebted to others, so others are indebted to us; and that if we call to mind those Duties wherein we have been wanting towards others, we shall easily pardon those who have been deficient therein towards us, as God forgives us the faults which we have committed against him; That the Priests forgive in the Name of Jesus Christ the Sins of Men; but that, in imitation of the Priests of the Old Law, they must be instructed by the Holy Ghost who those are for whom they ought to offer up Sacrifices, when, and after what manner they must do it. Wherefore he blames those who not being sensible of what is beyond their Power, *boast of their being able to pardon Idolatry, and to forgive Adultery and Fornication*; which shews, that at that time they refused Communion to Idolaters in some Churches. Upon these words, **And lead us not into temptation**, *Origen* says, That it is impossible to pass through this life without temptations; and he proves it, by giving a Catalogue of those temptations to which we are exposed in all conditions and at all times: from whence he concludes, That we ought not to pray *not to be tempted*, but only *not to sink under temptation*. He observes, That God suffers us to fall therein, for a punishment of our sins. He here delivers his Opinion of those Souls that were always free, which were sent into this world for a punishment of the faults which they had committed in the other life. He afterwards discourses of the advantage of temptations, for the trial and proving of our Vertue. Lastly, Upon these words, **But deliver us from evil**, he says, That God does not deliver us from all the troubles and afflictions of this life, but that he makes us support them with patience.

After having explained the Lord's Prayer, he discourses of the temper and disposition of mind that is requisite for Prayer, of the place where we are to pray, and of the time proper for Prayer. He would have him that is to pray, to recollect and prepare himself, that so he may perform it with the greater attention and fervency; and that after having purified his mind from the thoughts of this World, and banished from his heart all passions and earthly affections, he should reflect upon the excellency of the

Origen. the life to come; That he ſhould drive from his heart all thoughts of hatred and enmity; That he ſhould lift up his hands and eyes towards Heaven, when nothing hinders him; for he allows ſick Perſons to pray ſitting or lying. He obſerves that kneeling is neceſſarily when we ask God pardon for our Sins. Concerning the place of Prayer, he ſays that every place is proper to pray in, but that Cuſtom will have it that we ſhould chuſe the moſt retired part of the Houſe for our Prayers; and that we ſhould prefer the place which is ſet apart for the Aſſemblies of the Faithful, where the Angels are preſent, where we may be ſenſible of the Efficacy of Jeſus Chriſt, of that of the Holy Ghoſt, and of the Suffrages of the Saints departed. He would have us always turn our ſelves towards the Eaſt, whether we be in our Chamber, or in an open place. Laſtly, He diſtinguiſhes four Branches, or Common Places of Prayer; *The Doxology*, which ought to be ſaid, ſays he, at the beginning of Prayer, praiſing and glorifying the Father of Jeſus Chriſt through the Holy Ghoſt; It ought to be followed with *Thanksgiving*; Afterwards we muſt make a *Confeſſion*, or an Accuſation of ourſelves for our Sins; to which we ought to add the craving of *Heavenly Benedictions* for us and our Friends. Laſtly, We muſt conclude our Prayer by *praiſing God* through the Son in the Holy Ghoſt. And this is a great part of what is contained in this Treatiſe of *Origen's*, which ſufficiently ſhews it to be of great uſe. There is nevertheleſs one paſſage which may create a great deal of difficulty to thoſe that read it: For he therein affirms, That we ought to addreſs our Prayers only to God the Father, and not to Jeſus Chriſt becauſe the Son of God being different from the Father, 'tis abſurd to direct our Prayers to him. This expreſſion is very harſh, and difficult to excuſe: yet we may ſay, That he would have us addreſs our Prayers to the Father alone, for fear we might ſeem to acknowledge ſeveral Gods; and that when he ſays, That Jeſus Chriſt is *an Eſſence different from the Father*, he takes the term *Eſſence* for *Perſon*. And indeed he owns in ſeveral other places, and principally in the fifth and eighth Book againſt *Celſus*, That we may and ought to direct our Prayers to Jeſus Chriſt. Be the thing as it will, it cannot be denied but that he has aſſerted in this place ſeveral Propoſitions favourable to the Opinion of the *Arians*, on which it is difficult to put a good Conſtruction.

There is nothing more for me to do, to compleat all that relates to *Origen*, than to give an Account of the Quarrels and Diſputes which aroſe in the Church after his Death, upon the Account of his Perſon and his Writings: But this not being a Subject which any ways relates to the Deſign which I have propoſed in this Work, I do not think it neceſſary to engage my ſelf in this Relation, which otherwiſe would be but of very little uſe.

AMBROSE *and* TRYPHON, *Diſciples of* ORIGEN.

Ambroſe and Tryphon. AMBROSE would not have deſerved to be reckoned amongſt the Eccleſiaſtical Authors, had he not been *Origen's* Friend, and contributed very much to the Publiſhing of his Works, both by furniſhing him with Amanuenſes, and by continually preſſing him to his Work. He had been a *Marcionite*, and though he was converted, yet he retained ſome of his Errors, (if we believe St. *Hierom.*) However he was ordained Deacon, and generouſly confeſſed the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, with *Theoctiſtus* the Prieſt in the time of the Emperor *Maximus*. He was a Perſon of Quality, and wanted not Parts, which he ſhewed in ſome of his Letters to *Origen*, that were extant in St. *Hierom's* time, but now are all loſt. He died before *Origen*, and S. *Hierom* ſays that he was blamed becauſe, though he died Rich, yet he left nothing to his Friend, who was Poor.

Tryphon who was likewiſe *Origen's* Diſciple, and who had written ſome Letters to him, was looked upon in St. *Hierom's* time as a Man very well verſed in the Learning of the Sacred Scripture, which ſtill appears, ſays this Father, *by ſeveral Works which he had compoſed*; but more particularly by a Treatiſe concerning the *Red Heifer* in the 19th Chapter of *Numbers*, and upon the Diviſion of the Sacrifices made by *Abraham* in the 15th Chapter of *Geneſis*: From whence it appears that *Origen's* Diſciples following their Maſters Genius, applied themſelves wholly to Allegories.

[It is moſt probable, that *Tryphon's* Commentaries, are, in imitation of his Maſter *Origen's*, Allegorical; yet it is only probable, at leaſt, for any thing, that M. *Du Pin* has to ſay againſt it: and when things are loſt, to determine concerning them poſitively, is only beating the Air; and though we our ſelves know how little weight can be laid upon our words beyond conjecture, yet it may lead others into miſtakes, who think we can prove what we ſay, though we do not.]

BERYLLUS.

Beryllus. BERYLLUS Biſhop of *Boſtra* in *Arabia*, after he had been, as we have ſaid, undeceived of his Error by the Conference which he had had with *Origen*, wrote ſeveral ſmall Treatiſes, and particularly ſome Letters, wherein he returned *Origen* Thanks for his Converſion: The Conference which *Origen* had with him upon the occaſion of his Error was Extant in Saint *Hierom's* time; but at preſent we have nothing of his remaining.

Saint

Saint CYPRIAN.

SAint *Cyprian* (*a*) was by Birth an *African*, and taught Rhetorick with great Reputation (*b*) before he was a Christian. (*c*) He was converted by the Persuasion of a Priest called *Cecilius*, from whom he took afterwards his Sirname. From the time that he was a Catechumen, he made a Resolution within himself to live continently, believing, as his Deacon *Pontius* tells us, who has written his Life, that it was almost impossible otherwise to come to the Knowledge of the Truth. Presently after he was Baptized, he sold all his Goods to assist the Poor. He was afterwards ordained Priest, and after the Death of *Donatus* Bishop of *Carthage*, he was elected Bishop in his Place in the Year 248 (*d*), by the Suffrages of the Clergy, and the People of *Carthage*, and the Choice was confirmed by a great number of Bishops, who were then assembled in that City. The Persecution of *Decius* beginning two Years, or thereabouts, after his Ordination; the Heathens being enraged because he encouraged his People to stand firm to the Religion of Jesus Christ, demanded him several times in a full Theatre, to expose him to the Wild Beasts. And this obliged him to retire from *Carthage*, according to the Command which he believed he had received from God in a Vision. In this Retreat he wrote several Letters to his People, his Clergy, the Confessors, and the Clergy of *Rome*, of which we may see a Catalogue, with an Account of their Subjects in the Sequel of this History. When the Fury of the Persecution abated, S. *Cyprian* came back to *Carthage*, and called a Council there the 15th of *May*, in the Year 251, wherein he, with the Bishops his Collegues, regulated whatever related to the Penance of those who had fallen in the time of Persecution, either by taking Tickets or Testimonials from the Magistrates, certifying that they had committed Idolatry; by offering Incense publickly upon the Altars of their Gods, or by eating the Meat which was Sacrificed to them. For the first they ordained that they should be reconciled; but for the Latter, they judged it necessary to leave them still under Penance, and not to allow them Reconciliation till they became dangerously sick, provided also that they had begun to do Penance before they fell sick. For as for those who staid till they were seized by some desperate Distemper, before they desired to undergo their Penance, it was thought expedient wholly to refuse them Absolution, because then, says S. *Cyprian*, *'Tis not so much their Sorrow for their Sin, as the Fear of Death that obliges them to desire it. Quia eos non tam Delicti Pœnitentia, quam Mortis Admonitio petere compellit.* As for those Ecclesiasticks, who had fallen into Idolatry, it was ordained that they should for ever be excluded from the Clergy, that they should communicate no more with the Faithful but as Laymen, and that even some of them should be obliged to undergo the Severities of Penance. They Excommunicated *Felicissimus* and those of his Party, who had disturbed the Tranquility of the Church of *Carthage*, in S. *Cyprian*'s Absence. Perhaps it was at this Synod that *Privatus*, a Heretick of the Colony of *Lambesa*, presented himself, who had been already Condemned in a Synod of Ninety Bishops, and seeing himself so far rejected, that they would not so much as hear him make his Defence, embraced the Party of *Felicissimus*. The Council, after they had made these Regulations, wrote a Synodal Letter to *Cornelius*, lately Elected Bishop of *Rome*, who assembled likewise a Synod of Sixty Bishops and several Priests, who followed the Rules of the *African* Council in the ordering of publick Penance, and Excommunicated *Novatian*, who joining himself to *Novatus*, refused the Grace of Reconciliation to those Persons, who had once fallen into any Sin, and caused himself to be ordained Bishop of *Rome*, in opposition to *Cornelius*, by three Bishops, whose Credulity and Easiness he had abused in this Matter. This for a time made a kind of a Schism in *Rome*, for *Novatian* drew to his Party, not only some Priests, but also the Confessors who were ready to suffer Martyrdom. The Heads of both Parties being desirous to obtain the Favour of S. *Cyprian*, and of the other *African* Bishops, wrote Letters to them, and sent their Deputies into *Africk*. But *Novatian*'s were received very ill, and the *African* Bishops, who had for some time suspended their Judgment, and ceased to send Letters of Communion to either of the two Parties, till they were informed of the Matter by two of their own Brethren, whose Names were *Caldonius* and *Fortunatus*, whom they had dispatched to *Rome* on purpose to learn the true State

S. *Cyprian*.

(*a*) *Saint* Cyprian.] His own Name was *Thascius*, as appears by the Letter to *Pipin*, and the Acts of his Passion.

(*b*) *Before he turned Christian.*] This is all we are able to say of what concerned him before his Conversion, because *Pontius* the Deacon in his Life, and S. *Jerom* in his Catalogue tells us no more of him. What *Baronius* has cited, taken out of the Oration of S. *Gregory Nazianzen*, concerning one S. *Cyprian* a Martyr, does not belong to our Bishop of *Carthage*: 'Tis commonly believed that S. *Gregory* speaks of another S. *Cyprian*, but 'tis a great deal more probable, that the Greeks, who knew but little of what passed in the West, feigned these Circumstances in the Life of S. *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage*, as it was a familiar thing with them to adorn and set off the Lives of Saints, with several uncertain and fabulous Narrations.

(*c*) *He was Converted.*] His Conversion might happen towards the Year 246. Having been Baptized at *Easter* or at *Whitsuntide*, he writ his Letter to *Donatus* in *Autumn*. He tells us in his 59th Letter to *Cornelius*, which was written in the Year 252, that it was four Years since he had been made a Bishop. Thus he was Bishop 10 Years. He calls *Donatus* his Predecessor.

(*d*) *The Year* 248.] The Persecution under *Decius* began at the end of the Year 249, or else at the beginning of the Year 250.

S. *Cyprian.* of the whole Affair: After they were fully instructed by them, and two other *African* Bishops, who were present at the Ordination of *Cornelius*, after what manner he had been ordained, decided it in Favour of him, and sent him Letters of Communion, having first confirmed the Judgment he had passed against *Novatian* in *Italy*. The Judgment of the Church in *Africk*, and the Eloquent Letters of S. *Cyprian*, brought the Confessors of the Roman Church over to *Cornelius*'s Party. Thus the *Novatians* finding themselves cried down in *Italy*, to be revenged upon S. *Cyprian*, raised Disturbances in *Africk*, where they caused one *Maximus*, a Deputy of *Novatian*, to be chosen Bishop; and on the other side, *Felicissimus* the Deacon, an Enemy to S. *Cyprian*, got *Privatus* of *Lambesa*, whom we have already mentioned, to ordain, in opposition to him, one whose Name was *Fortunatus*, and afterwards came into *Italy*, to get his Ordination ratified there by *Cornelius*, and by the rest of the *Italian* Bishops, pretending that this *Fortunatus* had been ordained by five and twenty Bishops, and that S. *Cyprian* favoured the Party of the *Novatians*. *Cornelius* immediately rejected *Felicissimus*, and those of his Faction, but at last being either frighted by their Menaces, or else shaken by their Discourses, he entertained some Suspicions to the Prejudice of S. *Cyprian*, and writ to him after a very disobliging manner; to this the Saint returned a vigorous Answer, exposing his Weakness, and acquainting him with the Malice of his Enemies.

In the mean time, while *Felicissimus* endeavoured to create a Misunderstanding between S. *Cyprian* and *Cornelius*, that Holy Man assembled a Council of Sixty six Bishops at *Carthage* in *April*, in the Year 252, wherein some Ecclesiastical Regulations were made concerning a certain Priest, whose Name was *Victor*, whom his Bishop had received to Grace contrary to the Decision of the Council, and also concerning the Baptism of Infants. About the same time he opposed one *Fortunatianus* a Bishop, who still held his Bishoprick, though he had Sacrificed to Idols, and offered to reconcile those, who after they had held out for some time, at last yielded to the violence of Torments, and who had undergone Penance for this their Transgression three whole Years.

S. *Cyprian* after this, having had several Revelations, which inclined him to believe that the Church was to be Persecuted within a short time, was of Opinion, that in order to prepare the Christians for this new Assault, it would be necessary to fortifie them with the Eucharist, and to that Effect, to reconcile them to the Church. So in the Year 253, he assembled a Council of several Bishops, who were all of the same Judgment, and signified their Resolution to Pope *Cornelius*, that he might use the same Conduct in his own Church. Soon after happened the Persecution of *Gallus*. Pope *Cornelius* was sent into Banishment, and suffered Martyrdom the very same Year. *Lucius*, who succeeded him, was immediately banished, from whence he returned after the Death of *Gallus*, in the beginning of the Year 254; but he did not long enjoy the Comforts of Peace, but suffered Martyrdom, after he had held the See of *Rome* for the space of Eight Months only. *Stephen* was elected in his Place towards the end of that Year, or the beginning of the next. Under this Pope the celebrated Dispute about the Validity of the Baptism of Hereticks was warmly discussed between the Churches of *Africa* and *Rome*. S. *Cyprian* being consulted in the Year 255 by *Januarius*, and the other Bishops of *Numidia*, whether it was necessary to re-baptize those, who after they had been Baptized by Hereticks, desired to be re-united to the Church, returned this Answer, as did several *African* Bishops assembled in Council, that no Baptism could be valid out of the Church; that it was absolutely necessary to Re-baptize those who had received the Baptism of Hereticks; and in one Word, that this Question had been already decided by the *African* Bishops their Predecessors. *Quintus* having also sent the same Demand to S. *Cyprian*, he made the same Answer, and sent him the Decision of this Synod, which was moreover confirmed in another *African* Council held in 256, which wrote to *Stephen* about it, to exhort him to embrace this Discipline. But he was so far from submitting to the Reason of the *Africans*, whether because he imagined they had a Design to condemn the Roman Church, or because he thought this Question was of too great Consequence, that he was enraged against S. *Cyprian* and his Collegues, and used their ~~Disputes~~ ill: Nay, he prohibited all Christians belonging to his Church, to receive or lodge them, depriving them not only of Ecclesiastical Communion, but also refusing them the common Civilities of Hospitality. The Letter he writ back was full of Injuries and Invectives, and his Decision was comprised in these Terms: 'If any one 'comes to you, of whatsoever Heresie he is, let there not be made the least Alteration in what has 'been regulated by Tradition, but only impose Hands upon him, and so receive him. This Letter being brought into *Africk*, S. *Cyprian* moved at the Proceedings of *Stephen*, sent his Letter, with a Refutation of it, not only to *Pompey* of *Africk*, but also to *Fermilian*, and the other Bishops of *Cappadocia*, who were all of the same Opinion with S. *Cyprian*, touching the Baptism of Hereticks. *Firmilian* having received it, writ a long Letter, wherein he amply refutes the Opinion and Letter of *Stephen*, and establishes the Discipline which S. *Cyprian* defended; saying, It had been observed in his Country by an immemorial Custom, and confirmed in two numerous Synods held at *Iconium* and *Synnada*. As soon as S. *Cyprian* had received this Letter, he assembled a Synod at *Carthage*, in which the Letter he had writ to *Jubaianus* upon this Question was openly read, and all the Bishops gave their Suffrages in favour of S. *Cyprian*'s Opinion. Thus I have delivered in a few Words, the History of this famous Quarrel between two great Bishops, both of whom the Church still reverences as Saints.

However, if I may be allowed to make some Reflections upon their Opinions and Conduct, I shall not scruple to observe after S. *Austin*, that S. *Cyprian* shewed a great deal more Moderation in this Dispute, and that we can by no means excuse that Heat and Passion which so far transported *Stephen*: For though the first maintained his Opinion vigorously, yet he did it with abundance of Candor, and always

always declared he would leave other Bishops the Liberty to do as they judged convenient, and openly professed he would separate himself from the Communion of no Body upon the score of this Controversie, *Neminem separantes*, said he often, *aut a Communione submoventes.* Whereas on the other hand, Pope *Stephen* not only asserted his Opinion with a world of Heat and Rigour, but also treated those Bishops unworthily, who followed a Practice different from his own calling them false Christians, false Apostles and Seducers, and refusing their Deputies not only the Communion of the Church, but even Lodging and Hospitality. As for what respects the Merits of the Cause, though 'tis commonly believed that the Pope had the Truth on his Side, yet there is sufficient reason to doubt whether he did not in the heat of his Opposition to S. *Cyprian*, carry things too far on the other side, and whether the Opinion of S. *Austin*, which the Church has since embraced, That we ought to receive those Persons without Baptism, who have been baptized by Hereticks in the Name of the Trinity, and to re-baptize those who have not been baptized according to that Form: Whether this Opinion, I say, does not steer the middle Course between *Stephen*'s, *(f)* who seems to have maintained, that all those who had been baptized by Hereticks should be received without Re-baptization, which way soever they were baptized, *a quacunque hæresi*, and S. *Cyprian*'s, who asserted that all such ought to be re-baptized. Be it as it will, 'tis certain *(g)* that S. *Cyprian* never altered his Opinion; that the Greek Churches were for a long time after him *(h)* divided upon this Question; that the Council of *Arles* *(i)* first decided it in the West; that it is not unprobable that this was the Council which S. *Austin* *(k)* calls the *full Council*, which first decided this Controversie; that S. *Austin* followed its Decision, and proves it at large in his Books against the Donatists; that the Western Church has embraced this Opinion, and that though *(l)* the Eastern Churches have not agreed with her absolutely in this Point, yet they always made a distinction between Hereticks, and differently received them. It would be no difficult matter to justifie all this; but as this is no proper place to discuss this Question, so it would carry us too far from our Subject. The Reader need only consult our Annotations, to be better satisfied. S. *Cyprian*

To compleat what remains of S. *Cyprian*'s Life, it would be necessary here to transcribe the ancient Acts of his Passion, and what his Deacon *Pontius* has related concerning it; but the Description of his Martyrdom does not concern the Subject or Design of this Work; and therefore I shall only observe, that towards the beginning of *Valerian*'s Persecution, in the Year 257, on the 30th of *August*, he was banished to *Curubis*, a City about ten or twelve Leagues distant from *Carthage*, by the Command of *Aspasius Paternus*, the Proconsul; that after he had tarried there eleven Months, he was

(f) *Between that of* Stephen, *who seems to have maintained.*] What induces us to believe that *Stephen* was of this Opinion, is, in the first place, because he makes no distinction at all, but says plainly, *a quacunq; Hæresi.* Secondly, Because S *Cyprian* and *Firmilian* take *Stephen*'s Words in this sense; now who can imagine that they would have engaged themselves in a Dispute, without so much as knowing the Opinion of their Adversary? Thirdly, There were scarce any Hereticks before *Stephen*, who Baptized in the Name of the Trinity, so that it had been only a Chimerical Question about a thing which had never been practised, to dispute whether it were necessary to Re-baptize those who had been Baptized in the Name of the Trinity by Hereticks, since there were almost no Hereticks that used to Baptize after that manner. Fourthly, The ancient Author of a small Book written against the Opinion of S. *Cyprian*, makes no mention of this Distinction of Hereticks, but generally approves all Baptism whatever given in the Name of Jesus Christ. Fifthly, S. *Augustin* never cites *Stephen*'s Decree for his Opinion; on the other hand, he opposes the Opinion of *Stephen* and S. *Cyprian*; and in his sixth Book *de unico Bapt.* c. 14. he tells us, *Stephen* maintained that no Body was to be Re-baptized, *in nullo iterandum Baptisma.* There are several other Reasons which I pass over in silence.

(g) *S.* Cyprian *never altered his Opinion.*] There is not the least probability that S. *Cyprian* altered his Opinion. In the time of the Council of *Arles*, the *Africans* still continued this Practice, and in *Optatus*'s time they distinguished between Hereticks and Schismaticks, receiving the latter without Baptism, but Re-baptizing the former.

(h) *Divided upon that Question.*] *Denis* of *Alexandria* in *Eusebius* testifies that the Eastern Churches were divided upon this Question. S. *Athanasius* rejects the Baptism of Hereticks. S. *Basil*, in two Canons of his Letter to *Amphilochius*, examines the different Customs of several Churches about this Question, and inclines to the Party of those who reject the Baptism of Hereticks as invalid.

(i) *First decided it in the West.*] The Council of *Arles*, 1. c. 8. *De Afris qui propria lege utuntur ut Re-baptizent.*

(k) *Calls the full Council.*] This Question has been discussed with mighty Heat in our time, though it be but of small Importance. It is certain that the Council of *Arles* has decided it agreeably to the Opinion of S. *Austin*, and that the *Africans* gave the Name of a full Council to Councils consisting of more than one Province, as was that of *Arles*. However it is, the Council of *Nice* has not decided this Question, but only ordained that the *Paulianists* should be Re-baptized. Now it is not certain whether they Baptized in the Name of the Trinity or no: And St. *Athanasius* himself seems to affirm the contrary; besides that, though they had not Baptized in the Name of the Trinity, yet we cannot say that this Council has determined the Question.

(l) *The Eastern Churches.*] Those of the East did not make use of S. *Austin*'s Distinction either in the Council of *Constantinople*, or in the Council that was held in the Emperour's Palace; but they distinguished between three sorts of Hereticks. Those that were to be Re-baptized, as the *Paulianists*, add the ancient Hereticks, together with the *Eunomians* and *Sabellians*, who did not observe three Immersions. Secondly, Those that were to be anointed, such as were the *Arians*, the *Macedonians*, the *Novatians*, the *Quarto decimani*, and the *Apollinarians*: And lastly, those who had nothing more to do than barely to make an Abjuration, as the *Eutychians*, the *Nestorians*, the *Severians*, the *Acephali*, and the *Monothelites*.

re-called by the Proconsul *Galerius Maximus*, who confined him to his own Gardens near *Carthage*; S. *Cyprian.* that being informed that the Proconsul had sent some Soldiers to seize and carry him to *Utica*, he retired into a private Place, that he might not suffer Martyrdom out of his own Church, or after any other manner than in the Presence of his own People; and that at last being come back again to his Gardens, after the Proconsul's return to *Carthage*, he was apprehended, and carried before him; where after he had generously made Profession of the Christian Faith, he had his Head cut off in a Place called *Sexti*, near the City of *Carthage*, on the 14th of *September*, in the Year 258, under the Consulship of *Tuscus* and *Bassus*.

The first (*m*) Letter which S. *Cyprian* writ to *Donatus*, contains a Relation of a Conference he had with that Friend a little after his Baptism: Wherein, after he has spoke of the marvellous Effects of that Sacrament, he eloquently lays open the Perils we run in this World, the Crimes and Injustices that are there committed, and afterwards shewing the Excellence and Happiness of those Persons who consecrate themselves to the Service of God; he exhorts his Friend to live a retired Life, to renounce the World, and to apply himself diligently to Reading and Praying. This Letter, which we are to consider as the First-fruits of S. *Cyprian*'s Works, is written in a very gay florid Style, by no means suitable to the Matter in hand, as S. *Austin* observes in his Book *of the Christian Doctrin*; adding, That this Martyr did not follow the same manner of Writing in his other Letters, but that he took up a more masculine and graver way of Writing, and which was more becoming a Christian. These Letters are divided according to the Order of Time (*n*) into five Classes: The first comprehends those which he wrote in his first Exile. The second those which he wrote under the Pontificate of the two Popes, *Cornelius* and *Lucius*. The third, those which he wrote under the Pontificate of *Stephen*. The fourth those which he wrote during his last Exile, towards his latter End. The fifth, those of which we cannot set down the precise time when they were written, which are but few. But besides this general Order, which it is to observe, we are to take notice what Letters follow each other immediately, and this indeed has been attempted by *Pamelius*, but with very little Success. The Order he has followed, has been reformed by a Learned Person, who has translated S. *Cyprian*'s Letter into our Language, in the Preface which he sets before his Translation. And lastly, He that published a new Edition of S. *Cyprian* in *England*, has disposed them in a new Order, according to the Series of Time. We shall follow either of them as we see convenient.

The first of those Letters that were written in the first Exile of S. *Cyprian*, in all probability is that which is the fourth in *Pamelius*'s Edition, addressed to his Clergy, that is to say, to his Priests and Deacons, wherein he exhorts them to acquit themselves in his Absence of their own Functions and his, so that nothing may be defective in relation to Order and Discipline: He recommends to their Care those Christians who were imprisoned for the Religion of Jesus Christ, to assist them in their Necessities, and to advise the Christians not to go in Multitudes to the Prisons, for fear of provoking the Pagans; that the Priests, who went *to offer the Sacrifice of the Altar* in Prison, should go thither each in their Turns, along with a Deacon; and lastly, that the Christians should accommodate themselves to the Times, and take care, as much as in them lay, to soften the Rigour of the Persecution.

[What *Du Pin* renders *to offer the Sacrifice of the Altar* in S. *Cyprian*, is only *to offer*. It is well enough known that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was called *a Sacrifice*, the Lord's Table, *an Altar*, and the Administration *Offering* in S. *Cyprian*'s Time; and it has been as often proved by all that have given an Account of the Belief of the Fathers in this Matter, That their Opinion was widely distant from that of the Church of *Rome* in this Point.]

This Letter was soon followed by another, mentioned by him in his sixth Epistle, wherein he commends the Confessors for their Courage, and exhorts them to do nothing unworthy of such glorious beginnings. Monsieur *Lombert* is of Opinion that it is lost, whereas the Editor of the *English* pretends that it is the eighty first Letter which *Pamelius* supposes to have been written during his last Exile; but it is more probable that this Letter was written in his first, because he there excuses his Absence, which he would never have done in his last, where he was (*o*) detained against his Will.

It happened at this time, that a Subdeacon of *Carthage*, named *Clementius*, who had gone to *Rome* towards the beginning of the Persecution, came back to *Carthage*, bringing two Letters with him from the Clergy of *Rome*, during the Vacancy of that See by the Death of *Fabian*: One of them was

(*m*) *The first Letter.*] 'Tis rather a Treatise than a Letter, but all S. *Cyprian*'s Works were called Letters, as it appears by *Ruffinus* in his Apology. S. *Pacian* calls the Book *de Lapsis*, a Letter, *Ep* 3. *ad Sempronianum*. S. *Austin* likewise not only calls the Treatise to *Donatus*, but the Book *of Unity*, the Treatise *of Zeal and Envy* by this Name; and in some other places he gives the Title of the Book to the Letters. It is an easie matter however to distinguish the Letters from the Treatises; We leave the Treatise to *Donatus* among the Letters, though it is a Treatise.

(*n*) *Into five Classes.*] In the English Edition before the other Letters of S. *Cyprian*, we find four that are said to have been written before his Retirement, but they bring no Proofs or Conjectures strong enough to support this Opinion, and therefore we had better own that we cannot tell when they were written.

(*o*) *Detained against his Will.*] The five and thirtieth Letter is placed after this, in the Edition lately put out in *England*, but it seems to me to have been written towards the end of the Persecution, because he there speaks of his Return. We are to pass the same Judgment upon the Sixth, and Seventh, and the Fifth, which were all written at the same time.

directed

directed to S. *Cyprian*, and gave him Intelligence of the Martyrdom of *Fabian* Bishop of *Rome*; the other was addressed to the Clergy of *Carthage*, exhorting them to take care of the Flock of Jesus Christ in the Absence of their Pastor, and encouraging the Faithful to continue stedfast in the Faith of Jesus Christ, and to raise up those who had the Misfortune to fall; to look after the Prisoners, the Needy, the Widows, and Catechumens; to reconcile the relapsed Penitents at their Death to the Church, and to bury the Bodies of the Martyrs. It reproached the Pastors who abandoned their Flock in the time of Persecution; which Passage seems indirectly to condemn S. *Cyprian*'s Retreat. This Letter is the second in the Order of *Pamelius*. S. *Cyprian*

S. *Cyprian* answered this Letter of the *Roman* Clergy, by congratulating them for the glorious Martyrdom of S. *Fabian*; and having received a Copy of the Letter which the Clergy of *Rome* had writ to his, though it was both without Inscription and Subscription, yet he sent to *Rome* to know whether this Letter was really writ by the Clergy of that City, giving them to understand that he was concerned at their seeming to disapprove his Retreat: This is the third Letter. Some time after this, the Proconsul coming to *Carthage*, persecuted the Christians after a cruel manner, causing some of the Prisoners to be put to Death, and among the rest, *Mappalicus*, who suffered Martyrdom on the 17th day of *April*. S. *Cyprian* being informed of this, made use of their Example to encourage the other Confessors to imitate their Constancy and Generosity; and this he did in the 8th Letter. At the same time also he writ the 36th, addressed to his own Clergy, to whose Care he recommends the Confessors that were in Prison, requiring them to inter the Bodies of those who died there, to reverence them as Martyrs, and to send him word of the Day of their Death *that he might offer Sacrifices* in remembrance of them. Some of the Christians being then returned home from their Exile, without receiving Orders to do it, S. *Cyprian* writ a Letter to them, which is the 8th according to *Pamelius*'s Account, wherein he takes occasion to blame their Conduct.

[Mr. *Dodwell*, in his 5th Dissertation upon S. *Cyprian*, tells us what kind of Sacrifices these are: They could not be offered as Propitiations, because the Church believed the Martyrs were already Blessed. They were only Anniversary Celebrations of the Memory of the Martyrdom of those who suffered so gloriously for the Faith. Thus all the Saints were also remembred in the Diptychs of the Church: Thus the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and the Blessed Virgin her self, though no Man ever thought they could stand in need of the Prayers of the Faithful. But the Christians were careful, even in the most Primitive Times, to pay all possible Honours to the Memories of those who made a glorious Confession of the Faith. The Acts of S. *Polycarp*'s Martyrdom, which are the oldest we have, shew how solicitous the Christians of *Smyrna* were to have his Ashes, not to worship them, as they themselves declare, but by paying the last Respect to them that was possible, to shew how willing they should have been to suffer in the same Cause, if they had had an equal Call. Nay, all Christians that dy'd in the Communion of the Church, had in those early Ages some Honours paid to them after their Death. Therefore S. *Cyprian* commanded that no Honour should be paid to *Geminius Victor*, because he had left *Geminius Faustinus*, a Priest, his Executor by his Will: And so *Du Pin*'s Words, when he speaks of this Business afterwards, are to be understood; for the same Phrases are used, when he speaks of the Commemoration of Martyrs Aniversaries, and of this of *Geminius Victor* there forbidden.]

The Persecution that still continued, as it augmented the Number of Martyrs, so it augmented the Number of the *Lapsed*, that is to say, of those Christians who were so weak as to deny the Faith of *Jesus Christ*, and offer Incense to Idols, or else such as, to avoid Persecution, got Certificates or Attestations under the Hands of some Judge, to certifie that they had sacrificed. Now those who had once fallen away, being thrown out of the Church, and excluded from Communion, addressed themselves to the Martyrs, whose Credit and Authority in the Church at that time was extraordinary, who gave them Tickets, wherein they desired that they might be admitted to Reconciliation. They writ to S. *Cyprian* on the same account, praying him to take this their Desire into consideration, and to receive these Persons whom they recommended, whenever the Church should be in Peace. But some of them happening to abuse these Tickets of the Martyrs, demanded to be reconciled immediately, and addressing themselves to *Felicissimus*, and some other Priests, who were Enemies to S. *Cyprian*, received Absolution from their Hands. S. *Cyprian* being informed of these irregular Proceedings, after he had continued some time in silence, writ a Letter full of Zeal and Earnestness to his Priests and Deacons (this is the ninth) wherein he severely reproves the Priests, who forgetting their Rank, and the Duty they owed their Bishop, had rashly absolved those who had fallen into Idolatry. He reproaches them with deceiving the Faithful, inasmuch as they reconciled them before they had done Penance for their Transgression: He remonstrates to them, that if in Sins of less Scandal and Consequence, it is necessary to undergo publick Penance for some considerable time, before the Party offending is re-admitted into the Church, by Imposition of Hands from the Bishop and Clergy, it is a strange perverting of Discipline, to admit these to the Communion, who, though they have shamefully denied the Faith of Jesus Christ, and sacrificed to Idols, yet have undergone no Penance for their Crime, nor received the Imposition of Hands of the Bishop and Priests; that as for the Martyrs, they were excusable, because they did not know the Law; but that those who gave them this false Reconciliation were highly to be blamed: That it was a scandalous thing for Ecclesiasticks to abuse the easie Temper of the Martyrs, whom they rather ought to have dissuaded, in case they requested any thing which was contrary to the Discipline of the Church, but that indeed the Martyrs had demanded nothing like it, since they only writ to him to grant the Favour of Reconciliation to those, to whom they had given Tickets, when the Persecution should cease. At last he threatens some of his Clergy

S. Cyprian. Clergy who had shewn themselves rash, indiscreet and presumptuous upon this Occasion, if they continued in their Obstinacy, to forbid them to Offer, till such time as they gave an account of their Behaviour before himself, and the Confessors, and the Congregation of the Faithful. He writ likewise at the same time to the Confessors, to advise them not to be so free of their Tickets, or give them to all Petitioners, but to inform themselves better of the Character of those Persons, to whom they designed this Indulgence; and then dissuades the People from soliciting their Admission into the Church with so much precipitation, by making them sensible that a rash Absolution was so far from appeasing God's Anger, that it would rather draw his Vengeance down upon them. These Letters are the Tenth and Eleventh.

His Clergy returning him no Answer, obliged him to write a second Letter to them, wherein, after he has complained of their Silence, he gives the Priests and Deacons leave to reconcile those, who having fallen into Idolatry, had received Tickets from the Martyrs when they were dying; and orders them to Baptize the *Catechumens* that were in danger. This Letter is the Twelfth in *Pamelius*'s Order, and was written towards the beginning of the Summer, 250. His Clergy sending him word, that they did not fail to advise those that had fallen, not to be over hasty, but to undergo Penance; and yet, notwithstanding all the Remonstrances they made, there were some among them who daily pressed them; he answered as he did before in his former Letter, that they ought to reconcile those who had received Tickets from the Martyrs, when they were dangerously Sick; but that others, though they had received Tickets, ought to wait till the Bishops could assemble to fix this Business by common Consent. This Letter is the Thirteenth.

About this time having received Information, That the Letter, a Copy whereof he had by him, without any Subscription, came from the Clergy of *Rome*, he writ to them to justifie his Retreat, and give them an Account of the Pastoral Care he had of his Flock, all the while he was absent. This he does in his Fourteenth Letter, wherein he at large acquaints the Clergy of *Rome* with all that had passed upon the Occasion of the Lapsed; and tells them of the Resolution he had taken conformable to theirs, not to give Absolution to those that had fallen, except they were in danger of Death, till such time as several Bishops could meet to deliberate upon the Affair, by communicating the same to other Churches.

At the same time (*p*) *Celerinus*, a Confessor at *Rome*, writ a Letter to *Lucian*, a Confessor at *Carthage*; wherein he desires him to pray to God for his Sister, who having fallen away in the Persecution, was enjoyn'd Penance: This is the Twentieth. *Lucian* sends him word again, that he had reconciled all those who had fallen, pursuant to the Order he had received from the Martyr *Paul*, but upon condition that they would apply themselves to their Bishop, and do publick Penance for their Fault: This is the Twenty first Letter; and indeed this *Lucian* had given Tickets in the Name of *Paul* and *Mappalicus*, to all the Lapsed, who presented themselves before him, after he was informed of the Penance they had done after their Fall, and had writ to S. *Cyprian*, desiring him to acquaint the Bishops with it: This Letter is the Fifteenth. S. *Cyprian* having received it, sent word immediately to his Clergy, that since the Demand of the Confessors concerned all the Bishops, he durst not prevent them, or take upon himself the Decision of a Matter, wherein all his Brethren had a Share; that therefore he would not reconcile the Penitents till Peace was restored to the Church, and he had the Advice of the rest of his Brethren: This Letter is the Seventeenth. At the same time he sent a Copy of a Letter of a certain Bishop named *Caldonius*, who was of the same Opinion with himself, as to the Reconciliation of those that had fallen, together with his own Answer to it. These Two Letters are the Eighteenth and Nineteenth. At this Juncture arrived Letters from *Rome*, one from the Clergy, the other from *Moses*, *Maximus*, *Nicostratus*, and the other Confessors.

The first is addressed to the Clergy, the second to *Sturninus*, *Aurelius*, and some other Persons. The Scope and Design of both, is to exhort those that had fallen into Idolatry, not to use over much haste in getting themselves reconciled, but to wait a sufficient time to undergo a true Penance. These Letters, that were full of an Evangelical Spirit, rejoyced S. *Cyprian* exceedingly, and secured him from the Complaints that were made against him. He thought himself therefore obliged to thank the Clergy and Confessors of *Rome* in two Letters, which he wrote to them. In that directed to the Clergy, the 22d in order, he gives them an Account of all that had happen'd in *Lucian*'s Affair, he complains of the Rashness of that Man, and tells them very properly to this Subject, *That the Martyrs don't make the Gospel, but the Gospel the Martyrs.*

In the other, which he sent to the Confessors (the 24) he commends their Zeal exceedingly, and tells them, That to be true Martyrs, we ought always to observe an inviolable Sanctity in our Words, and not to destroy the Precepts of JESUS CHRIST, when we pretend to die for him. He ordained *Saturus* a Reader, and *Optatus* a Sub-deacon to carry these Letters, because it was the Custom of Bishops in those Days to send their Letters by none but Clergy-men. He acquainted his Clergy with this Ordination in his 25th Letter, and sent them a Copy of the Letters he writ to *Rome*, and excused himself for being obliged to do this Business in the Absence of his Clergy. The Clergy of *Rome* being fully informed of S. *Cyprian*'s Conduct, sent him a Letter of *Novatian*'s composing, full of Esteem and Respect, which was brought him by *Optatus* and *Saturus*. They acknowledged, that though S. *Cyprian* being assured by the Testimony of his own Conscience, was therefore under no

(*p*) Celerinus *the Confessor.*] These Letters are placed in this Year, because it is not unlikely that they were written some time after the Persecution was begun. This of *Celerinus* was written after *Easter.*

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great Necessity to justifie himself; yet he deserved, however, abundance of Commendation, for desiring that his Actions might be approved by his Brethren; that if he had communicated his Resolutions to them, it was not because they were his Judges, but only that they might partake the Glory of it with him, by supporting and authorizing them, as they do in the 30th Letter, wherein they declare that they were of S. *Cyprian*'s Opinion, That it was necessary to tarry till Peace were restored to the Church, that so the Advice of the Bishops, Priests, Deacons and Confessors, who continued firm to the Church might be consulted, before they regulated a Matter of that great Importance: That as for themselves and their Neighbours, they would determine nothing till they had a Bishop: That in the mean time they deferr'd to give those Persons Absolution who were able to tarry; but as for those who were in danger of Death, and had given sufficient Marks of a sincere Repentance and unfeigned Sorrow, they looked upon themselves obliged to relieve them in that Necessity, leaving to God the Judgment of those Persons. This Letter is writ with a World of Elegance and Politeness, and abounds with admirable Thoughts upon the retarding of Absolution, and also upon that Penance that is necessary to satisfie God. " Let those People, say they, who, by reason of their Crimes, have " deserved to be ejected out of the Church, knock at the Gates, but not break them open; Let them " come to the Church-Porch, but let them go no farther: Let them demand Peace and Absolution, but " let it be with Modesty, Humility, Patience and Submission: Let their Tears and their Sighs inter- " cede for them, and testifie the real Sorrow they have for their Sins. S. *Cyprian*.

The Confessors of *Rome* likewise returned an Answer to S. *Cyprian* at the same time. Their Letter, which is the 25th, though not so polite as the former, is equally Learned. They thank S. *Cyprian* for the Letter he sent them, and assure him they received no small Satisfaction and Comfort from it; they looked upon the Condition of those Persons who had suffered Martyrdom to be extreamly happy, since they went directly to Heaven, and thought themselves to be unfortunate, because they were deprived of that Blessing. They commend S. *Cyprian* for his great Vigilance over his Flock, tho' he was constrained by Necessity to be absent from it. In short, they were of Opinion, that Penitents ought not to be admitted to Reconciliation, before the Church was in a State of Tranquility, shewing how necessary Repentance is to blot out our Transgressions, and how dangerous it is to close up a Wound before it be throughly healed.

These Letters being mighty advantagious to S. *Cyprian*'s Affairs, he dispatched a Copy of them to his Clergy, with Orders to shew them to the Faithful of *Carthage*, and to the Bishops that were Strangers, as we find in the 31st Letter: But notwithstanding all this Advice, the *Lapsi*, in a full Body, writ a Letter to S. *Cyprian* in the Church's Name, wherein they demanded of him to grant them Reconciliation, as being a thing they might justly claim, pretending that *Paul* the Martyr had given it to all of them before he died. S. *Cyprian* sent them Word, in the 26th Letter, that the Church consisting only of the Bishop and Clergy, and all the Laicks who continued firm and stedfast, he wondred how they durst be so bold, as to write to him in the Name of the Church, and demand Reconciliation of him as a thing that was their Due, instead of writing to him after a submissive manner, as some had done before, who, though they had received Tickets from the Martyrs, yet humbly signified to him, that they acknowledged their Fault, that they were heartily sorry for it, and were by no means urgent to receive the Peace of the Church: That he desired them therefore, for the time to come, to let him know precisely what they requested, and to send him their Names, that he might know what to do. He wrote also the 27th Letter to the Clergy, to inform them, that if any of his Priests and Deacons, or else any Stranger should be so presumptuous, as to communicate with the *Lapsi*, before that Affair were solemnly decided, he declared him to be cut off from Communion. He commends them for separating themselves from *Caius* a Presbyter of *Didda*, and his Deacon, who communicated with Apostates, though they had been twice reprimanded by the Bishops; and declares, That he will not judge the Cause of *Philumenus* and *Fortunatus* the Deacons, and of *Favorinus* the *Acolyth*, who had withdrawn themselves in the Heat of Persecution, but that they must tarry till his return before he examined their Cause, not only with his Collegues, but also with the People; that in the mean time he would have them deprived of the Distribution that was given to the Clergy, though in such a manner, as should not do any Prejudice to the Merits of their Cause. He afterwards, in his 28th Letter, acquaints the Clergy of *Rome* with all that he had regulated and done about those that had fallen; and they, for their part, return him a very obliging Letter, wherein they commend his Stedfastness, and condemn the Precipitation of those that were so eager to be reconciled to the Church; but at the same time they excused the Martyrs, who sent them to their Bishop. Towards the end of the Letter, they thank him for the Information he had given them concerning *Privatus* of *Lambesa*, and assure him that they think themselves obliged to shew, that they are not indifferent in those things which relate to other Churches, because " Pastors ought to watch in common for " the Body of the whole Church, the several Parts of which are extended in many Provinces. This Letter is the 29th. Towards *October*, *Celerinus* of *Africa*, after he had generously confessed the Christian Faith at *Rome*, came back to *Carthage*; and going to find out S. *Cyprian* in his Retirement, comforted him exceedingly, by letting him know what an Affection *Moses*, and the other Confessors of *Rome* bore unto him. This obliged him to write another Letter to them, to acquaint them how sensibly he received their Good-will, and to encourage them to persevere in the Resolution they had taken upon them to die for JESUS CHRIST. This is the 17th Letter in the Order of *Pamelius*. It contains an admirable Commendation of Martyrdom; he observes in it, that it was almost a full Year since they were in Prison; but then endeavours to satisfie them, that their Recompence would be proportionable to the length of their Sufferings, and that immediately after their Martyrdom, they would

would receive the Happiness of enjoying *GOD*. These Confessors, animated by this eloquent Let-
S. *Cyprian.* ter, suffered Martyrdom soon after the Receipt of it,

In *December*, S. *Cyprian* ordained the Readers, *Aurelius* and *Celurinus*, both of whom had confessed the Faith of *JESUS CHRIST*, and signified this Ordination immediately after to his Clergy and People, in his 32d and 33d Letters, wherein he excuses himself for having Ordained them before he had consulted his Church, because we need not stay for the Testimony of Men, when we have that of *GOD*. He gives them both an extraordinary Character for their Virtue, and the great Constancy they shewed in suffering for the Christian Faith. He says, they deserved to be advanced to the highest Dignities of the Church, but that he judged it more convenient to Ordain them only Readers, because they were so very young: That in the mean time he designed to make them Priests; and therefore ordered them to give them their Distributions, as if they were so already. At the same time he associated *Numidicus* the Priest to his Clergy, who was as illustrious for the Strictness of his Virtue and Faith, as for the Glory of his Confession; for after he had, by his Exhortations, sent a great Number of Martyrs to *GOD* before him, who were either burnt or stoned to Death, and saw his Wife, whom he entirely loved cast, among several others, into the Fire, with Joy, he himself was half burnt, bruised with Stones, and left for Dead. This is related in the 34th Letter, which was writ in his Favour.

In the beginning of the Year 257, the Confessors that were in Prison at *Carthage*, being set at Liberty, some of them were licentious in their Behaviour. S. *Cyprian* being informed of it, writ two Letters, one to his Clergy, and the other to the Confessors. In the first, which is the 5th according to *Pamelius*'s Order, he sends his Clergy word, that he earnestly desired to come back to *Carthage*; but that the time not permitting him to do it, he conjured them to supply his Absence, to have a particular Care of the Poor, and to exhort the Confessors not to lose the Honour of their glorious Confession by their Sins, but to suffer themselves to be governed by the Priests and Deacons; that as for himself, he could not regulate the Affairs of his Church alone, having obliged himself, when he was first made Bishop, to do nothing of his own Head, without the Advice of his Clergy, and the Consent of the People.

In the Letter which he writ at the same time to the Confessors, he advises them to a strict Observance of the Discipline of the Church, lest otherwise they should seem to renounce *JESUS CHRIST*, by their irregular way of Living, whom they had confessed before with their Tongues. He commends those who behaved themselves discreetly, and vigorously reprehends the rest; he exhorts all Christians to live soberly, and to forsake all Vices, that so they may be perfectly changed, and become perfect, when Peace, which *GOD* promises to send in a short time, shall be restored to the Church. He gives the same Advice to his Clergy in the 7th Letter, where he tells them, that as the Persecution had been occasioned by the Corruptions of the Manners of the Christians, so it would be impossible to obtain a Cessation of it from *GOD*, by any other Means, than offering up Prayers to him in the Spirit of Union, and living a Vertuous Life. Soon after he writ the 35th Letter to his Clergy, wherein he assures them, that he passionately desired to come and see them, but that he was obliged to have Regard to the Peace of the Church; and he was afraid that his Presence might exasperate the Pagans; that as soon as ever they sent him word that all was calm, and *GOD* should inform him of it, he would speedily to repair them. In the mean time he recommended the Poor to their Care, and sent some Mony to *Rogatianus* the Priest, to supply their Necessities; as also to relieve Strangers, and those that were Sick.

S. *Cyprian* being not in a Capacity at that time to go to *Carthage*, dispatched two Bishops, whose Names were *Caldonius* and *Fortunatus*, to relieve the Poor with Mony, and to examine those Persons who were thought worthy to be chosen into Ecclesiastical Offices. *Felicissimus*, who had always caballed against S. *Cyprian*, and asserted, that it was necessary to admit those that had fallen into a Reconciliation, hindred these Alms and Examinations, as much as lay in his Power, and threatned to separate himself from those that should receive any thing, and obey their Bishop. After this, he retired to a Mountain, with those of his own Party, and declared himself their Head. S. *Cyprian* being informed of this Defection, writ to the two Bishops, signifying, That since *Felicissimus* had threatned to communicate no longer with those who were in his Place, he would deprive him, and all the rest of his Faction, from the Communion of the Church, and that, setting this Crime aside, he deserved to be Excommunicated for the Rapines, the Cheating, and Adulteries of which he was accused. This Letter is the 37th. He writ likewise the 39th Letter to his own People, wherein, after he had represented what a Grief it was to him, that this Disturbance retarded his Return, he remonstrates with some Vehemence, that as there is but one Church, so there is but one Chair in every Church, whereof the Bishop is Master; that we cannot set up Altar against Altar, nor establish a new Priesthood; and that those who revolt from their Bishop, and separate themselves from his Communion, are out of the Church. In short he threatens, at the same time, to exclude those for ever, who should join themselves to *Felicissimus*. *Caldonius*, *Fortunatus*, and the rest of S. *Cyprian*'s Clergy had no sooner received these Letters, but they excommunicated *Felicissimus*, and those of his Cabal, and acquainted S. *Cyprian* with it in the 83d Letter. And thus I have given the true Order, as well as the Subject of all those Letters that were written to S. *Cyprian*, during the time of his first Banishment.

The Order of the Letters written after his Return is less perplexed and confused in *Pamelius*'s Edition than that of the former. The 40th and 41st Letters are first in this second Order, and are addressed to *Cornelius*. S. *Cyprian* had sent him word of all that had passed in *Africk*, upon the Difference

Difference he had with *Novatian*, and informed him (*q*) of the Faction *Felicissimus*. At the same time also he writ the 43d Letter to the Confessors of *Rome*, to dissuade them from *Novatian*'s Party, and gave *Cornelius* Information of it in the 42d Letter, wherein he acquaints him, that he had given Orders to his Subdeacon *Metius*, who carried it, to shew it to him, lest he should suspect him to entertain a Commerce with the Schismaticks. In the mean time, *Primitivus* the Priest, who had carried S. *Cyprian*'s first Letter from *Carthage*, being returned thither, brought him a Letter from *Cornelius*, in which he complains that the Letters that were sent him from *Adrumetum*, were not directed to him, but to his Clergy, ever since *Juvenalis* and S. *Cyprian* were arrived there. To this S. *Cyprian* answers in the 44th Letter, that the Reason of this was, because they had acquainted the Christians of that Colony with a Decision lately made in *Africk*, which, by reason of their Bishop's Absence, they were ignorant of, *viz.* That they should neither write to *Novatian* nor *Cornelius*, but to the Clergy of *Rome*, till they had received certain News from *Caldonius* and *Fortunatus*; and that since *Cornelius*'s Ordination was now approved of by all the World, he himself in particular had writ about it to all the *African* Bishops. Towards the end of this Letter he he prays, That *GOD*, who chose and established Bishops, would not only vouchsafe to protect and defend them, but give them Grace and Knowledge necessary to repress the Licentiousness of Offenders with Vigor, and to manage the good Inclinations of the Penitents with Gentleness and Clemency. S. *Cyprian*.

In the mean time the Confessors of the Church of *Rome* returning from their Error, and being received by *Cornelius* in an Assembly of the *Roman* Clergy, where five Bishops made their Appearance; *Cornelius* communicated this News to S. *Cyprian* in the 45th Letter, which he sent to him by the Hands of *Acolyth Nicephorus*, wherein he gives him a particular Account of whatever had passed in relation to the Confessors, and how they had acknowledged their Fault, and desired to be publickly pardoned, owning that they had been abused by the Perfidiousness and Artifices of *Novatian*; and that, though they had communicated with him, yet they were always in their Hearts united to the Church, and acknowledged at the bottom, That as there was but one God, one Christ, and one Holy Ghost, so there ought to be but one Bishop in a Catholick Church: That after this solemn Profession, they had been received with the Approbation of the People; and that they had granted the Favour to *Maximus* the Priest, to keep his Rank and Dignity. The Person that carried this, brought S. *Cyprian* another Letter from *Cornelius*, wherein he informs him of the Departure of *Novatus* and his Companions, *Nicostratus* the Deacon, *Evaristus* the Bishop, *Primus* and *Dionysius*: This is the 47th Letter. S. *Cyprian* having received these two Letters, answered them by two others. In the first, which is the 46th, he rejoyces with *Cornelius* at the Return of the Confessors. In the second, which is the 48th, he paints *Novatus* in his true Colours, and accuses him of several Crimes. He tells him, it was he, who by his Caballing had got *Felicissimus* to be ordained a Deacon in *Africk*; and that coming to *Rome* afterwards, he had been the Cause of *Novatian*'s being Ordained; but that it was no wonder that this Man could not continue in the Church, who had violated all the Laws of Christian Morality, and Ecclesiastical Discipline; that he had plundered the Orphans and Widows; that he had cheated the Churches, by laying out the Mony to other Uses; that he had suffered his own Father to die of meer Poverty; and that he had been the Cause of his Wife's proving abortive, by Kicking and Ill-using her; that he ought not only to be deprived of the Priesthood, but also of the Communion of the Church, for his Crimes; and that he had prevented the Judgment which the Bishops ought to have passed against him by his voluntary Separation. At the same time likewise, the Confessors of *Rome* writ to S. *Cyprian*, signifying, that after they had deliberated among themselves, concerning the Welfare and Peace of the Church, forgetting what had passed, and leaving the Judgment of it to God, they had reconciled themselves to *Cornelius*, to the Clergy, and all the Church of *Rome*. S. *Cyprian* congratulated them upon their Return, in such a manner as sufficiently testified the Joy he had at such welcome News; as also the Sorrow he had formerly entertained at their falling away. These Letters in *Pamelius*'s Edition, are the 49th and 50th.

Towards the beginning of the year 252, *Antoninus* an *African* Bishop, who had been of *Cornelius*'s Side, having received a Letter from *Novatian*, to acquaint him, that *Cornelius* had received *Trophimus*, and several other Persons who had offered Incense to Idols, was a little staggered at it, and writ to S. *Cyprian*, praying him to inform him what was *Novatian*'s Heresie, and why *Cornelius* had received *Trophimus*, and the other Apostates. S. *Cyprian* perceiving him to waver, endeavoured to confirm him by a long Letter; wherein, after he has justified the Conduct that was observed at *Rome* and in *Africk*, concerning those that were fallen, he defends *Cornelius*, and demonstrates the Validity of his Ordination. He begins it with making a sort of Reproach to this Bishop for his Inconstancy, telling him, it by no means became discreet Persons, who had built their Judgments upon solid Grounds, to suffer themselves to be carried away with every Wind, and to be always changing their Opinions. After this he proceeds to justifie the Measures that were taken with those that had fallen into Idolatry, whether by taking Certificates, or Sacrificing to Idols. He tells him, as long as the Persecution lasted, he had been of Opinion, that it was their Duty to deny them Reconciliation, to encourage them the better to suffer Martyrdom; but that after Peace was once restored to the Church, and after a mature Deliberation upon this Affair, in a numerous Assembly of Bishops, it was thought convenient to keep a Temper, not by taking away all Hopes of Pardon from those that had

(*q*) *The Cabals of* Felicissimus.] These Letters were carried by *Metius* the Subdeacon as well as the one and fortieth.

S. *Cyprian.* fallen, for fear they ſhould live as Pagans, when they ſaw themſelves entirely ſhut out of the Church, but by obliging them to undergo a long Penance before they could be reconciled; that this had been regulated in Councils of ſeveral Biſhops, held in *Africk* and at *Rome*. He afterwards comes to the Perſon and Ordination of *Cornelius*, and tells him, that he had not all on the ſudden arrived to the Epiſcopacy, but that he had formerly paſſed through all the Eccleſiaſtical Dignities; that he had neither deſired it, nor ſtickled for it, but that he had received it with all Humility; that, in a Word, he had uſed no manner of Violence, as ſome have done, to get himſelf made a Biſhop, but that he had ſuffered it rather in receiving the Epiſcopacy againſt his Will, *Non ut quidam vim fecit, ut Epiſcopus fieret, ſed vim paſſus eſt ut Epiſcopatum coactus acciperet*; that he had been elected Biſhop by ſeveral Biſhops, who happened to be then at *Rome*, in expectation of the Choice of the Clergy, and the Suffrages of the People, and with the general Approbation of all Churches, the See being at that time vacant by the Death of *Fabian*; that after this Ordination, which was approved by all the Biſhops in the World, whoever would get himſelf ordained in the See of *Rome*, muſt neceſſarily be out of the Church; that no Credit was to be given to the ſecret Calumnies that were publiſhed againſt him; that his Collegues, after they had diligently examined the Accuſations of his Enemies, found him to be innocent; that he had never received any Certificates from the Magiſtrates, nor communicated with thoſe Biſhops that had Offered Incenſe to Idols, but that he had followed the Regulations which the whole Church had made concerning Apoſtates; that as for *Trophimus*, he had only received him for the Good of the Church, and to procure the Return of ſeveral Chriſtians, whom he had brought along with him back again to the Church; that for this Reaſon he had been received, but on this Condition, to be in the Number of the Laity, and not as the *Novatians* had reported, in Quality of a Biſhop; that ſince the Benefit of Reconciliation was allowed to Adulterers and Robbers, he ſaw no reaſon why Idolaters ſhould be totally excluded; that amongſt theſe, ſome were more to be blamed than others, that the *Libellatici*, [Thoſe who had Certificates of their having Sacrificed, though they had never done it,] were more excuſable than thoſe that had ſacrificed to Idols; that the firſt of theſe had been reconciled immediately, and that it had been determined, that Abſolution ſhould not be refuſed the latter upon the Point of Death, becauſe there was no Repentance in Hell, with Exception always to thoſe who deferred to do Penance till they were in Danger. After this he largely proves and demonſtrates the reaſonableneſs of this Conduct.

He obſerves that ſome of his Predeceſſors formerly had abſolutely refuſed Abſolution to Adulterers, but that they had not therefore condemned their Brethren, who acted indifferently, nor torn the Church, by making a Separation; that no body ought to be alarmed at what *Novatian* taught, ſince he was out of the Boſom of the Church; that he could not be Biſhop of *Rome*, ſince the Roman See was filled by *Cornelius*, who had been legally ordained, and whoſe Ordination had been approved by all the Biſhops in the World; that the Church being a Body whoſe Members were ſpread over all the Earth after the ſame manner, there was only one Epiſcopacy diffuſed in the Perſon of ſeveral Biſhops united together; and that though *Novatian* had been rightly Ordained, yet he forfeited that Dignity by ſeparating himſelf from his Collegues, and diſturbing the Repoſe of the Church, and that there were no hopes of Salvation for him, being out of the Church. In ſhort, S. *Cyprian* ſhews that it is cruel and unreaſonable to oblige Sinners, as *Novatian* had done, to undergo Penance, and yet refuſe them the Favour of Reconciliation, to exhort them to make Satisfaction for their Sins, and yet deny them that Cure which their Satisfaction deſerves; to ſay to them, Weep and Sigh Night and Day, Waſh your Sins in your Tears, endeavour to efface them by your good Works, and yet at the ſame time add, you muſt die out of the Church; do all you can to procure your Peace, though you ſhall never be able to obtain the Peace you ſo earneſtly deſire.

But *Cornelius* did not defend S. *Cyprian* at *Rome* with the ſame Reſolution and Conſtancy as this Saint defended his Party in *Africk*; for *Feliciſſimus* arriving there with a Company of factious Perſons, to get the Ordination of *Fortunatus* approved, whom he had cauſed to be Ordained in Oppoſition to S. *Cyprian*, *Cornelius* at firſt rejected him, and turned him out of the Church, without vouchſafing ſo much as to hearken to him, and writ to S. *Cyprian* about it. But ſeeing no body came from S. *Cyprian*, and that he had ſent him no Directions about it, whereas on the other hand it was openly diſcourſed, That *Fortunatus* had been ordained by Twenty five Biſhops; that S. *Cyprian* favoured the Party of the *Novatians*, and that if the Church of *Rome* refuſed to receive the Letters which they brought againſt him, they would read them in Publick. The Pope was not a little affrighted at the Menaces, and wrote a ſecond Letter to S. *Cyprian*, wherein he acquaints him that he was ſenſibly concerned at theſe Accuſations, and wondred why he would omit to give him Satisfaction in this Affair. S. *Cyprian* ſurprized at the Boldneſs of *Feliciſſimus*, and the Weakneſs of *Cornelius*, returns him a generous Anſwer, in which he tacitly reprehends him for all this Procedure. He tells him, that if the Inſolence of Wicked Men renders them terrible to Biſhops, and that if they can obtain by Menaces and Violence what they could never pretend to get by Reaſon and the regular Courſe of Juſtice, then there is an end of Epiſcopacy. As for himſelf, he declares, that he feared not the obloquies of his Enemies; that Diſcipline muſt not therefore be laid aſide, becauſe we are reviled with Calumnies, and ill-affected Perſons endeavour to affright us by their threatning Speeches; that the Original of Hereſies and Schiſms is ſolely owing to the Diſobedience ſhewn to the Biſhop, whom God has eſtabliſhed; and becauſe People don't conſider that there is only one Biſhop and Judge in a Church, who for that time ſupplies the Place of Jeſus Chriſt; that a Biſhop being once Canonically Elected, and acquitting himſelf worthily in the Functions of his Miniſtry, whoever ſeparates from him, does actually withdraw himſelf from the Church; that we ought not to impute this Loſs to the

Biſhop,

Bishop, but to themselves, who voluntarily chose it; that the Reason why Bishops are obliged to have so great a Care in the Discharge of their Consciences, is that no body might pretend to leave the Church for their ill Administration; that his own Election was without any Blemish, as having been substituted in the room of a deceased Bishop, Elected by the Suffrages of the People in the Time of Peace, protected by God in his Persecution, united inviolably to his Collegues, approved by the vigilant Administration of his Office for four years, demanded often in the Cirque and Amphitheatre to be exposed to Lions, and that very lately too upon the occasion of a publick Sacrifice He informs him at last with all that had passed in *Africk* concerning the false Bishop *Fortunatus*, who was set up by the Faction of *Felicissimus*, and ordained by *Privatus* of *Lambesa* a Heretick, particularly marked out in the Letters of *Fabian* and *Donatus*, and condemned in a Council of Nine Bishops. He tells him, that he forbore to write to him concerning this Matter, because he supposed he knew him well enough, since he was one of the Five Priests who had separated themselves from his Church a long while ago, and because he himself had ejected *Felicissimus*, the Chief of that Faction, out of the Church; that *Novatus*'s Party had likewise chosen one *Maximus* an *African* Bishop, and that he had scarce troubled himself to write about these Matters now; but since *Fortunatus* boasted that he was Ordained by Twenty five Bishops, he assures *Cornelius*, that except the Heretick *Privatus* of *Lambesa*, there was only four Bishops, and those too all Apostates, that assisted at his Ordination. After this, he accuses *Felicissimus*, and those of his Faction, for reconciling those that had fallen in the Time of Persecution, without staying till they had done Penance for their Crime, contrary to the Decree of the *African* Council. He likewise describes the furious Excesses of this Cabal, and adds; "After all "these Irregularities, after having Elected an Heretick to be a Bishop, they have still the Impudence "to go to *Rome*, and carry Letters from Schismaticks *to the Chair of S.* Peter, *to that chief Church, "which is the Spring of Sacerdotal Unity.* But what can their Design be, since they are still resolved "to persevere in their Crimes? Or what Benefit can they expect in going from *Rome*? If they re- "pent of their Faults, they ought to understand that they must come back again hither to receive "Absolution for them, *since it is an Order established all the World ever, and indeed but reasonable, that "every ones Cause should be Examined where the Crime was committed. Every Pastor has received a part of "Jesus Christ's Flock to govern, and shall render an Account of his Actions to God alone.* Upon this ac- "count it is not to be allowed, that those Persons who are under our Charge, should run to and fro, "and sow Dissention amongst Bishops by their Temerity and Artifices; but on the other hand, it is "necessary for them to defend themselves in that Place, where they may be confronted by their Ac- "cusers, and the Witnesses of their Crimes. Their Cause has been examined, Sentence has been pro- "nounced against them, and it would be below the Gravity of Bishops to be justly reproached with "being Wavering and Inconstant. He concludes all with laying open the Method which he used with Schismaticks, that were desirous to come back again to the Church. He says that he is extreme- ly indulgent to those who acknowledge their Fault, and are heartily concerned for it; that his People complain of his Clemency, and that he rather offends by being too mild than too severe, but that at the same time he continues inexorable to those that pretend to enter the Church by Menaces and Force. They ought to be perswaded, *says he*, that the Church shall be always shut against them. He adds, That he was not in the least apprehensive of their Threats, and that a Bishop who conforms himself to the Rules of the Gospel, and keeps the Precepts of *Jesus Christ*, may perhaps be murdered, but can never be overcome. At last, he warns and conjures *Cornelius* to order this Letter to be read to his flourishing Clergy that presided at *Rome* together with him, that so if these malicious Reports, that were industriously spread about him, had left any ill Impression, it might be entirely effaced by the Reading of this Letter. It was writ four years after his Election to the Bishoprick, that is to say, in the Year 252. S. *Cyprian.*

(r) About *April*, in the very same year, S. *Cyprian*, who had been consulted by *Fidus* an African Bishop, upon the occasion of a Priest, whose Name was *Victor*, to whom his own Bishop *Therapius* had granted Reconciliation, and upon the Baptism of Infants, proposed these Questions in a Council of Sixty six Bishops, who were come to *Carthage* at the Festival of *Easter*, according to the Custom. They were surprized to hear that *Therapius* had so strangely slighted the Authority of a Decree which

(r) *About* April *in the same Year.*] The Author of the Annals of S. *Cyprian*, in the English Edition, believes that this Synod was not held till the end of the Year 253, after the Persecution of *Gallus*, and *Volusian* was ended: But if it was assembled at that time, the Bishops ought not to have blamed *Therapius* for giving the Peace to *Victor*, since they themselves had freely granted it to all People before the Persecution of *Gallus*; and indeed so far was he from doing any thing against the last Decree, that he rather seems to have put it into Execution; for it is not true that S. *Cyprian* makes any mention in this Letter of the two Decrees of the preceeding Synods; he only speaks of the first, whereby it was ordained that the Peace should not be given to those that had fallen, unless they fell into any dangerous Disease, or in case of Extremity. S. *Cyprian*'s Words are these, *Quæ res satis nos movit recessum esse a Decreti nostri auctoritate, ut ante legitimum & plenum tempus satisfactionis, & sine petitu & conscientia plebis nulla infirmitate urgente, ac necessitate cogente pax ei concederetur.* He speaks only of one Decre, *Decreti nostri*, and not *Decretorum*, and he does not distinguish between two, for *infirmitate urgente* and *necessitate cogente* signifie the same thing. And though *Terapius* the Bishop had reconciled *Victor* before the Persecution, and his Conduct ought for that reason to be blamed, yet it could never be doubted after the Persecution was over, whether this Reconciliation were valid; besides there is no great probability that *Fidus* should ever be so ill advised as to accuse *Therapius* for giving Absolution to *Victor* long after, and at a Juncture too, when all Bishops gave it to those that were fallen. 'Tis infinitely more proba-

S. *Cyprian.*

ble that this Council was held after the firſt Council of *Carthage*, which prohibited the giving Abſolution to thoſe that had fallen, unleſs in caſe of extream Sickneſs, and the ſecond which granted the Peace to all that had fallen. 'Twas likewiſe in this Interval, that the 52 Letter was written, but after this Council, which in all probability was held about *Eaſter*, in the Year 252. For if Abſolution had beed granted to all the lapſed, the Queſtion of the Biſhops concerning thoſe Perſons who yielded only through the Violence of their Torments, and S. *Cyprian*'s Anſwer had been impertinent; and what is more, it was written three years after the Perſecution of *Decius*. Therefore this could not happen but at the beginning of the year 253, and conſequently the Synod of *Carthage* which granted the Peace, was held in the ſame year, and not in 252, as Biſhop *Pearſon* ſays. Thus if we would be exact in our Chronology, we ought to place the firſt Synod of *Carthage* about *Eaſter*, in the year 251, the ſecond at *Eaſter* 252, which is that of the Sixty ſix Biſhops, and the third at *Eaſter* in the year 253.

they had Synodically paſſed the Year before; but nevertheleſs, after they had maturely weighed every thing, they were of Opinion that the Reconciliation he had received from his Biſhop was not to be reverſed, and ſo they permitted him to enjoy Lay-Communion, contenting themſelves with Admoniſhing their Collegue, and adviſing him to do ſo no more for the time to come. As for what concerned the Baptiſm of Infants, they declared that it was neceſſary to Baptize them immediately after their Birth, and that there lay no Obligation upon Chriſtians to tarry till the 8th day. S. *Cyprian* returns this Anſwer to *Fidus* in his Fifty Eighth Letter.

Soon after, S. *Cyprian* being conſulted by ſome of his Brethren, who were aſſembled at *Thapſus* to ordain a Biſhop, about the Caſe of ſome Penitents in the City of *Thapſus*, who having generouſly confeſſed Jeſus Chriſt, had at laſt yielded to the Violence of their Torments, but had done Penance for it three years afterwards; he anſwers them in the Two and fiftieth Letter, that in his Opinion, they ought by no means to refuſe Pardon to ſuch ſort of Perſons; that their generous Confeſſion ought to attone for the Infirmity of the Fleſh, and that, ſince it had been judged expedient to grant Reconciliation at the Hour of Death, to all thoſe that had fallen, we ought to ſhew greater Indulgence to thoſe who had maintained the Combat a long time, than to thoſe who had yielded merely through Cowardiſe: Nevertheleſs, ſince this was a Queſtion of great importance, he promiſes to propoſe it to the Synod that was to meet about *Eaſter*.

About this time alſo he writ againſt *Fortunatianus*, who had been Biſhop of *Aſſuri*, his Sixty third Letter, directed to *Epictetus*, who was Elected in his Place, and to the People of that City. This *Fortunatianus* had the unhappineſs to fall into Idolatry, and was upon that account diveſted of his Biſhoprick: After his Deprivation he laboured earneſtly to re-poſſeſs himſelf of it, and to perform his reſpective Functions as formerly. S. *Cyprian* condemns theſe Proceedings in this Letter, wherein he demonſtrates how neceſſary a thing Sanctity is to make our Sacrifices acceptable, and adviſes the People not to ſuffer him to exerciſe his Office, but to ſeparate from him, in caſe he continued in his Deſign. Towards the end of this Letter, he exhorts the Penitents that were amongſt them, not to be impatient at the length of their Penance, but to endeavour to ſatisfie God, and to continue knocking at the Gate of the Church: Which Paſſage evidently diſcovers, that it was writ before the Decree of the Council of *Carthage*, which granted Abſolution to all Penitents.

The Council was held in the Year 253, about the time that the Emperors *Gallus* and *Voluſian* diſpatched Letters to all Parts, to oblige the People to Sacrifice to Idols: So that the Chriſtians had reaſon enough to apprehend a general Perſecution. Now to encourage them the more to fight againſt the Enemies of their Faith, the *African* Biſhops thought it convenient to grant Reconciliation to thoſe who were in a State of Penance ſince their Fall, and having accordingly determined it in this Aſſembly, they writ a Letter to *Cornelius*, which is the 53d amongſt thoſe of S. *Cyprian*, to acquaint him with their Decree, and to adviſe him to do the like: They repreſented to him, that though they had reſolved to prolong the Penance of Apoſtates, and not to reconcile them till the Hour of Death, yet ſince they were informed that the Church was going to be perſecuted, they judged it expedient to ſtrengthen the Chriſtians, that ſo they might the better bear the Attacks of their Enemies, and to animate them to the Combat, by giving them *the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt*, which would inſpire them with Vigor to ſuffer Martyrdom couragiouſly. That if there were any Biſhops who thought themſelves obliged to do otherwiſe, it would certainly lye at their Doors to render an Account to God of ſo ill-timed a Severity; that as for themſelves, they had only done what they owed to Charity, as well as to their own Conſciences, by declaring, that the Time of Perſecution drew near, and not hiding that which God had revealed to his Servants. A little after this Decree, S. *Cyprian* writ an excellent Letter to the *Thibaritans*, which is the 55th in *Pamelius*'s Order, wherein he exhorts them in a very vigorous and moving manner, to ſuffer undauntedly for Jeſus Chriſt.

Some time after, S. *Cyprian* being informed that *Cornelius* was ſent into Baniſhment with many of the Faithful of *Rome*, he writ immediately to him to congratulate him upon the account of his Conſtancy, which he had ſo viſibly ſhewn by being the firſt of his Church, that confeſſed the Name of Jeſus Chriſt: He extols his Action, and from thence takes occaſion to triumph over *Novatian*, ſaying, That the Confeſſion of *Cornelius* had evidently diſcovered which of thoſe two was the true Biſhop; and that the Conſtancy of thoſe who had fallen away in *Decius*'s Perſecution, ſufficiently proved, that there was good reaſon to reconcile them to the Church. At laſt he exhorts *Cornelius* to paſs Night and Day with all his People in Faſting, Watching and continual Praying, becauſe the Day of Combat and Triumph was at hand.

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It was perhaps at this Time, that is to say, towards the end of the Reign of *Gallus* and *Volusian*, that the Empire being invaded on all sides by the *Barbarians*; and several Christians happening to be taken Captives by them in *Numidia*, the Bishops of that Country contributed to redeem them, and wrote to S. *Cyprian*, desiring him to assist them in that Conjuncture. S. *Cyprian*

S. *Cyprian* intimates to them in the 59th Letter, that he was extremely afflicted at the Misfortune that had befallen his Brethren, that Christians, being all Brothers one to another, ought to be concerned at the Captivity of the Faithful, who were carried away Prisoners, as much as if it were their own Case: That their Sufferings ought to represent to them the Person of Jesus Christ, who made himself a Captive to deliver us from the Captivity, wherein we were inthraled: That the extreme Peril of the Virgins, who were consecrated to God, and had reason to apprehend the loss of their Virginity, was a convincing Motive to hasten their Delivery. He tells them therefore, that he returns them his Thanks, because they were willing to let him have a Share in their Works of Charity, and for giving him a fertile Field to cast his Seed in, that so he might one Day reap a plentiful Harvest out of it: That all the Christians of his Church had readily and liberally contributed to raise a Sum of Mony upon this Occasion: That he had sent them this Sum, which amounted to an Hundred thousand, Sesterces, that is to say, the 7500 Livres, to distribute it as they should think fit, and together with it the Names of those who had contributed towards it, that so they might remember them in their Prayers and Sacrifices.

Lucius, who was Elected Bishop of *Rome*, after the Death of *Cornelius*, being now returned from his Exile, where he had been sent immediately after his Election; S. *Cyprian* writ the 57th Letter, wherein he congratulates him at the same time, both upon the Score of his Banishment and his Return; as he had before writ a Letter to him, to Compliment him for (*s*) his Election and glorious Confession.

About the same time *Pupienus*, an *African* Bishop, giving Credit to the Calumnies which *Felicissimus*, and the Enemies of S. *Cyprian* had published against him, writ him a very disobliging Letter, wherein he assured him, That he could not with a safe Conscience communicate with him, because he did not look upon his Ordination to be lawful; and upon that he accuses him of Pride, and of being the Occasion of the Divisions that were in his Church. S. *Cyprian* answered him in the Sixty eighth Letter. That he wondred extremely how he came to call his Ordination in question, after he had been elected Bishop of *Carthage*, by the Consent of the Clergy and People, that is to say by the Judgment of God himself, and had exercised that Function for the space of six years, which shews, that this Letter was writ in the Year 254. That it had been approved by all the World, and acknowledged even by the Pagans themselves; That an infinite Number of Prelates, Martyrs, Confessors, and holy Virgins had owned him for their lawful Bishop; that after this, he desired *Pupienus* to judge in his Favour, and to ratifie the judgment of God, and of Jesus Christ; That he had done him wrong in listning to scandalous Calumnies, and such too as were justly punishable, against his Brother and against a Bishop; That even the Pagans were sensible of the Effects of his Humility, and that *Pupienus* had formerly known him when he communicated with him; That there were no Divisions in his Church, because all his People lived in a wonderful Union with him; and that those only continued without the Church, who deserved to be ejected out of it, if they had been within. After this, he exhorts *Pupienus* to repent of his Rashness and Pride, and promises to communicate with him, provided he is sorry for his Crime, and endeavours truly to satisfie God. He tells him, that God had informed him in a Vision, That whosoever would not believe in Jesus Christ, when he established a Bishop, should believe him against his Will, when he came to take Vengeance upon him; That he very well knew, that the World made these Visions and Dreams pass for ridiculous, ill-grounded Imaginations, but that the same thing had been said of *Joseph*'s Dreams. At last, he concludes with these Words: *You have my Letter, and I have yours; they will both be read on the Day of Judgment, before the Tribunal of Jesus Christ.*

Towards the beginning of Pope *Stephen*'s Pontificate, S. *Cyprian* was consulted by the Bishops of *France* and *Spain*, about two Affairs of great Consequence. To give the Reader a short Account of that which related to *France*, he is to know, That the Heresie of *Novatian* having spread it self in that Country, *Marcianus*, Bishop of *Arles*, being infected with it, joyned himself to *Novatian*, and brought over several Persons to his Party. And because he was not excommunicated by Name, he arrogantly insulted over his Brethren. *Faustinus*, Bishop of *Lyons*, and the other Bishops of that Province, writ to *Stephen* and S. *Cyprian* about it, earnestly desiring that they would concur with them in excommunicating *Marcianus*. *Stephen* neglecting to send them any Answer, *Faustinus* writ the Second Time to S. *Cyprian* about it, (*t*) who advised *Stephen* in the Sixty sixth Letter, to satisfie the Desires of the *Gallican* Bishops, and dispatch Letters into *Provence*, and principally to the Inhabitants of the City of *Arles*, wherein he should declare *Marcian* Excommunicated, and give them notice to elect another

(*s*) *His Election and glorious Confession.*] The English Annalist says, that this Letter was written before the Death of *Gallus* and *Volusian* in 252, because S. *Cyprian* there speaks of the Persecution as not being quite over, or at least as being still to be feared: but this does not prove that *Lucius* returned before their Death, but only that though these Emperors were dead, there was reason still to apprehend a Persecution, and he actually suffered Martyrdom soon after, at the beginning of the Empire of *Gallienus*, or under *Emilian*.

(*t*) *Who advised* Stephen *in his 66th Letter.*] *Baronius* and some others have made use of this Letter to advance the Authority of *Rome*, but with small success; for first of all S. *Cyprian* only advises *Stephen* to do what he himself might do, and what he had really done. Secondly, The *Gallican* Bishops writ to S. *Cyprian* as well as to *Stephen*. Thirdly, They addressed

addressed themselves to them, because *Marcianus* had alledged in his own Defence, that these Bishops had not excommunicated him. Fourthly, S. *Cyprian* does not write to him to Cite or Depose *Marcianus*, but only to declare him separated from the Communion, and to advise the People of *Arles* to Elect an other Bishop, because he was notoriously Excommunicated and Deposed, for joyning himself to *Novatian*, who was then out of the Church. Fifthly, He does by no means ground the Necessity of *Stephen*'s writing into *France* upon his Authority, but only upon a Motive of Charity, whereby Bishops were obliged to assist one another, and upon the Unity of the Episcopacy. Monsieur *Launoy* has endeavoured to bring the Truth of this Letter into question, and has proposed some Conjectures to shew that it is spurious, but they are weak and ill grounded, and scarce any body has been induced to embrace his Opinion, because this Letter is really S. *Cyprian*'s Style, which has a peculiar Character, as S. *Austin* well observes, by which it may be easily known. The first Difficulty relates to the time of this Letter, but this is easily answered, by saying that it was written at the end of the Year 255, and that the Quarrel between *Stephen* and S. *Cyprian* began not till the Year 256. The second is taken from the Silence of the Ancients, but we ought not to be surprized that this particular Fact was not taken notice of, since that of *Basilides*, and *Martialis*, which are not questioned by Monsieur *Launoy*, were also as much forgotten. Add to this, that S. *Austin*. Lib. 6. *de Bapt. contra Donatist.* Ch. 15. makes mention of a Letter of S. *Cyprian* to Pope *Stephen*, which takes no notice of the Question about Baptism, and cannot be any other than this. The Third Objection of Monsieur *Launoy* is, that it is not to be found in several Manuscripts, as in that of the *Vatican*, and above twenty more, according to the English Edition; but then it is to be found in three ancient ones, as *Rigaltius* has observed, and there are several Letters of S. *Cyprian* that are wanting in some Manuscripts. The Principal and Last is taken from the History of *Trophimus*, who came not to *Arles*, of which place he was Bishop (if we may believe the ancient Author of the Life of S. *Saturninus*, quoted by *Gregory* of *Tours*) till the time of *Decius*, which is four or five Years before this Letter of S. *Cyprian* was written, though it appears by this Letter that *Marcianus* was Bishop of *Arles*, and not *Trophimus*, and the Christian Religion had been a long time established in that City. This we confess to be the greatest Difficulty, but we may answer it by admitting the Epocha of *Sulpitius Severus*, who tells us, that *Trophimus* came some Years before *Decius*, and that it is not the Author of the Life of *Saturninus*, but *Gregory* of *Tours*, who upon occasion of what this Author says, that *Saturninus* was Bishop of *Thoulouse* in the time of *Decius*, adds seven other Bishops of *France*, amongst whom is *Trophimus*, and it is possible that he might reckon some who came some time before. The fifth Epistle of *Zosimus*, which *Quesnellus* has defended against the Conjectures of Monsieur *Launoy*, confirms our Opinion, for there it is said: Trophimus *being sent to* Arles *by the Holy See, was as it were the Spring of all those Rivers that run through the whole Body of* France. Which Passage shews, that it is probable that he came some years before the Empire of *Decius*, though it were a long time after the Times of the Apostles, and several years after the Martyrdom of S. *Irenæus*.

S. *Cyprian.*

Bishop in his Room. He remonstrates to him, that since this Bishop had joyned himself to *Novatian*, who was notoriously excommunicated, there was no necessity of having a new Judgment against him; that all Bishops were obliged to take care that Admission into the Church should not be denied to Penitents; that the numerous Body of Bishops being united to one another, by a Bond of mutual Charity, they were all bound, in case any one should make himself Chief of an Heresie, or the Flock of Jesus Christ, which they feed in common, should be attacked or carried away, to come to their Relief, and to re-unite the Sheep of Jesus Christ, like the good Shepherds that truly love their Flock.

The Bishops of *Spain* likewise had recourse to S. *Cyprian*, about an Affair of the same Nature, *Basilides* and *Martialis*, one the Bishop of *Leon*, the other of *Astorga*, having been publickly proved to have taken Certificates of their having Sacrificed, and convicted of several other Crimes, were deposed, and *Felix* and *Sabinus* elected in their Places. *Basilides* owning his Crime, had voluntarily quitted his Bishoprick, and was placed in the Rank of *Penitents*, where he thought himself over happy, if he could but communicate as a Laick: Nevertheless, these two Bishops being afterwards pushed on by their Ambition and Envy, used their utmost Endeavours to regain their Sees; and finding they could not compass their Designs there, they went to *Rome*, not to demand their re-establishment from *Stephen*, but only that he would be pleased to admit them to his Communion, which they said would be very serviceable to them to procure their Re-establishment. They acted their Parts so dexterously, that *Stephen* granted them what they requested; so upon this they went back to *Spain*, where they became more insolent than ever, and would by all means re-possess themselves of their Sees by Force. The Clergy and People of *Spain* writ to S. *Cyprian* about it, and deputed *Felix* and *Sabinus*, who were ordained Bishops in the Room of these two Apostates, to go to him, to know what they were to do in this Exigence. But *Felix*, Bishop of *Saragossa*, whom S. *Cyprian* calls a great Defender of the Faith, writ to him likewise in particular. The Saint judging this to be an Action of no small Importance, read the Letters sent him from *Spain*, in a Synod of the *African* Bishops, who, after they had diligently examined the Matter, came to this Resolution, That the Deposition of *Basilides* and *Martialis* ought to stand good, as well as the Ordination of *Felix* and *Sabinus* in their Place. They writ a Synodical Letter concerning it to the Clergy and People of *Leon* and *Astorga*, which is placed the 67th, amongst those of S. *Cyprian*, and sent them word, that they had no reason to suffer *Basilides* and *Martialis* to re-enter upon their Episcopal Functions, after they had been found guilty of such enormous Crimes, and *Basilides* himself had acknowledged so much; that since the People had Power to elect good Bishops, and to reject the bad, they would appear culpable before God, if they communicated any longer with them; That the Ordination of *Felix* and *Sabinus* was lawful, since it was made with the Consent of the People by the Neighbouring Bishops; That it ought not to be reversed, though *Basilides* had surprized *Stephen*, who, by reason of his great distance from the Place,

could

could not exactly inform himself of the Truth of Affairs; that this Conduct was so far from effacing their Crimes, that on the other hand it augmented their Guilt, because though *Stephen* was in some sort excusable for suffering himself to be deceived merely out of Negligence; yet we ought to have a Detestation for those Persons, who had so maliciously imposed upon his Easiness; That they extremely commended their Faith and Zeal, and desired them to maintain a Correspondence no more with Bishops of such a profligate Character, who were notorious for so many Crimes. S. *Cyprian.*

(u) The same Year another Synod of Bishops was held in *Carthage*, who being consulted by *Januarius*, and the rest of the *Numidian* Bishops about the Baptism of Hereticks, returned them this Answer, that it was necessary to re-baptize all those who had been Baptized by Hereticks, according to the ancient Regulation made by *Agrippinus* in *Africk*.

S. *Cyprian* writ the same Year to one *Quintus*, a Bishop, who had ordered the same Question to be put to him by *Lucian* the Priest. This Letter is the 71st, as *Pamelius* has ranged them. He assures him, that some of his Brethren were of a different Opinion from him in this Affair, who pretended that it was the ancient Custom before *Agrippinus*, not to re-baptize Hereticks after they had been once admitted into the Church. To weaken the Authority of this pretended Custom, he lays it down for an undoubted Truth, that we are not to be determined by any Customs of that Nature, but to examine whether they will bear the Test of Reason; That S. *Peter*, in his Dispute with S. *Paul* upon the Business of Circumcision, did not treat that Apostle with Arrogance and Pride; That he never alledged his Primacy, or told him that the new Disciples of *Jesus Christ*, as S. *Paul* was, who had likewise been a Persecutor of the Church, ought blindly to obey him, and not to question his Decisions, but gave him the Hearing, and humbly received the Counsel of Truth which S. *Paul* gave him, and readily submitted to the powerful Reasons of that Apostle, teaching us by that Behaviour to be Peaceable and Patient, and not to espouse our own Opinions with Heat and Obstinacy, but to embrace the advices of our Brethren, whenever they are useful and agreeable to Truth.

Some time after this, S. *Cyprian* assembled at *Carthage* a Council of Seventy one Bishops, as well of the Province of *Africk* as *Numidia*, who confirmed all that had been determined by the preceding Synod, concerning the Baptism of Hereticks, and decreed, that all Priests and Deacons who were ordained amongst them, or who, after having been some time of their Party, returned to the Church, should be received only in the Quality of Laicks: And after this, to maintain that Honour and Friendship which Bishops owed to one another, they acquainted Pope *Stephen* with these Constitutions, by a Synodical Letter, which is the Seventy second amongst those of S. *Cyprian* in *Pamelius*'s Order, and towards the end of it represented to him, that since the things they had ordained were conformable to the Christian Religion, and to Truth, they hoped he would make no difficulty to approve them; That nevertheless they knew there were some Bishops in the World, who could be hardly perswaded to change their Opinions, and yet though they kept up their own particular Customs, would never break the Laws of Peace and Charity; that after the same manner they would not pretend to prescribe Laws, or constrain any Persons, since they were satisfied that every Bishop was free to behave himself, as he saw expedient in the Administration of his own Church, for which he was accountable to God alone.

About the same time likewise, S. *Cyprian* immediately after this Council, writ a long Letter to *Jubaianus* a Bishop, who had also consulted him about this Question, wherein he urges abundance of Reasons, and Texts of Scripture to support his own Opinion; and after he has answered the Objections that were brought against it, concludes with this new Protestation, that he had not the least Design to impose Laws upon any of his Collegues, or to fall out with them upon this Occasion, but inviolably to preserve Faith and Charity, the Dignity of the Priesthood, and Concord with his Brethren. *Stephen* having answered S. *Cyprian* very roughly, *Pompey* Bishop of *Sabra*, a Maritime City of *Africk*, desired him to let him know what *Stephen* had writ to him. So he sent him a Copy of the Letter, with another of his own, wherein he bestows a particular Answer upon the Pope's Letter, which is the Seventy third, as *Pamelius* has placed them. In it he principally opposes the Truth of the Gospel, and the first Traditions of the Apostles, both to the Custom and Tradition which Pope *Stephen* had alledged for himself. He sent likewise by *Rogatianus* the Deacon, another Copy of *Stephen*'s Letter to *Firmilian* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, and to the other Bishops, giving them an Account of what had been determined in *Africk* upon this Question, and desiring them to acquaint him with the Opinion of their respective Churches. He could not have expected a more favourable Answer than what he received from *Firmilian*, for that Bishop openly condemns, and that in Terms severe enough, the procedure of *Stephen*; extols S. *Cyprian*'s Conduct, declares himself entirely in favour of the last, proves it by several Reasons, and assures him it was the ancient Custom of the Asiatick Churches; and that it had been regulated many Years before in two numerous Synods held at

(u) *In the same Year another Synod of Bishops was held.*] This Synod must of necessity have been assembled in the Year 255, as what followed sufficiently shews. It is different from that which was held upon the account of *Basilides* and *Martialis*, at least the Names that are to be seen at the Head of two Synodical Letters, are different. Hence it follows, that there must have been more than one held that very Year, and we are not to wonder at it, because it was the Custom of the *Africans* to hold two every Year, one in the Spring, and the other in Autumn. This might be assembled in the Month of *September*, in the Year 255, the next in the Spring 256, and the last in the Month of *September* in the same Year.

Synada

Synnada and *Iconium*. This Letter of *Firmilian*, which is the 74th among those of S. *Cyprian*, (x) was written in Autumn in the Year 256.

S. *Cyprian*.

Before this Letter came to S. *Cyprian*'s hands, he writ to *Magnus*, who had asked his Opinion about the Baptism of the *Novatians*, whether these Hereticks were to be excepted out of the Number of those who were to be re-baptized, since they owned the same Faith as the Catholicks did in relation to the Trinity, and Baptized after the same manner. He answers him, I say (y) in the Seventy fifth Letter, that they ought to be re-baptized as well as the rest, forasmuch as there was no true Baptism out of the Church. In this Letter he answers another Question, proposed to him by *Magnus*, concerning the Baptism of *Clinicks*, that is to say, of those that were Baptized in their Sickness, that there was no reason to doubt of the Validity of this Baptism; That the Sacrament was equally efficacious, whether the Person was plunged in the Water, or had it sprinkled upon him. He concludes with repeating his usual Protestation, that he would give Laws to none, but leave them an entire Liberty of doing what they thought convenient, and that every one must give an account of his Conduct to GOD alone.

Thus we have given an exact Account of all the Letters extant in S. *Cyprian*'s Works, that treat of the Baptism of Hereticks. To these we ought to add the Acts of the last Council of *Carthage*, consisting of Eighty seven Bishops, who assembled there the same Year in the Month of *September*. In the first place, the Letters of *Jubaianus* to S. *Cyprian*, and those of S. *Cyprian* to that Bishop, were read in the Council. After that S. *Cyprian* proposed to all the Bishops that were present, to deliver their Opinions freely, but yet so as not to condemn or excommunicate those that were of a different Judgment. "For none of us, says he, ought to make himself a Bishop of Bishops, or pretend to awe "his Brethren by a Tyrannical Fear, because every Bishop is at liberty to do as he pleases, and can no "more be judged by another, than he can judge others himself. But all of us ought to wait and "tarry for the Judgment of Jesus Christ, who alone has Authority to set us over the Church, and "to judge our Actions. After this Proposition the Bishops gave their Opinions, and concluded all in Favour of S. *Cyprian*.

The Persecution of *Valerian*, that was raised against the Church in the Year 257, put an end to the Controversie about the Baptism of Hereticks. This Emperor, who was pushed on by *Marcianus*, a professed Enemy to the Christians, and a great Protector of the *Ægyptian* Superstitions, declared himself against the Christians, and published an Edict against them in *July* that very Year, whereby he prohibited them to meet in the Cœmeteries, or any where else upon Pain of Death. Pope *Stephen* having been found in a Cœmetery, contrary to the Emperor's Prohibition, suffered Martyrdom for it on the Twentieth of *August* the same Year, and (z) *Xystus* was Elected in his Place.

On the 30th day of the same Month, S. *Cyprian* generously confessed the Christian Faith before *Paternus*, the Proconsul, and was banished to *Curubis*. At the same time the Præfect of *Numidia* condemned several Christians to the Mines, and among the rest many Bishops and Priests of his Province, after he had put some of them to Death, and order'd others to be scourg'd. S. *Cyprian* from the Place of his Exile, sent them a Letter, which according as *Pamelius* has distributed them is the 76th, and is the first of the 4th Part of S. *Cyprian*'s Letters. In it, with wonderful Eloquence he heightens the Glory of their Confession, and encourages them to suffer with Constancy. He comforts them in their difficulties, and principally the Priests that were not able to offer Sacrifice in those Places, by representing to them that they themselves continually offer'd up their own Bodies as living Sacrifices to the Lord. He excites them at last to use more fervency in their Prayers, that so God may give Grace to all the Confessors, to finish their Course couragiously, in order to be crowned with everlasting Glory. He sent this Letter to three different Places, where these Holy Confessors were dispersed, and remitted some Mony to them to supply their present Extremities. It appears by the Answers they made him, what Consolation and Joy this Letter gave them in the midst of their Sufferings. These Answers are the 77th, 78th, and 79th Letters, written from three several Places, in which they return him their Thanks for his great Charity and Kindness in a simple and unaffected Style, and assure him, that this Letter had raised their declining Spirits, heal'd their Wounds, and rendred their pressures more light, and supportable to them.

(x) *It was written in the Autumn, in the Year* 256.] We are told in this Letter, that it was written about Twenty two years after the Empire of *Alexander*, who died in the year 235, and that it was composed in haste, because *Rogatianus* was obliged to return by reason of the approaching Winter. It could not be written in 257, because S. *Cyprian* was banished at the end of that Year.

(y) *In the* 75*th Letter.*] The English Annalist thinks that this is the first Letter which was written concerning the Question of Baptism, because it does not plainly and openly make mention of the Synods that were held in *Africk* upon that Occasion. It appears more probable to me, that it was written afterwards, because it supposes the general Question to be decided, and the Author clearly speaks of some of his Collegues that received the Baptism of Hereticks. He says he knew no reason why Christians should take the Part, if he might so say, of Antichrists, which induces me to believe, that it was written after his Quarrel with *Stephen*; besides, it is more natural to imagine, that this Question, which regards the Exception of the general Rule, was made after the Decision. For *Magnus* proposes it to him as a new difficulty. *You demand of me*, says he, *whether those that come from* Novatian's *Party, are to be baptized as well as other Hereticks.*

(z) *S.* Zystus *was Elected in his Place.*] This Persecution lasted forty two Months, according to S. *Denis* of *Alexandria*, and *Valerian* was taken by the *Persians* in 261, so it began about *July* 257.

The

The 80th Letter which is directed to the Confessors in Prison, was rather writ in his first Exile, than in this, as we have observed after the Author of the *English* Edition. The 81st was writ at the beginning of the year 258, after the Death of Pope *Xystus*, and the return of S. *Cyprian*. It is addressed to one *Successus*, a Bishop, and in it he sends him word, That he was informed by some Letters he had received from *Rome*, that *Valerian* had directed a Rescript to the Senate, by which he ordered all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons to be put to Death without delay, and that the Senators, the Roman Knights, and all other Persons of Quality, who were Christians, should be deprived of their Offices and Estates, and that if they continued, after this Edict, to make Profession of the Christian Religion, they should be condemned to Die; That the Ladies should not only forfeit all their Fortunes, but be Banished, and that those of *Cæsar*'s Houshold should be sent to Prison. He adds, that this Emperor had dispatched Letters to the Governours of Provinces, wherein he enjoyn'd them to Punish the Christians with all Rigour and Severity, who daily expected to see these Orders put in Execution against them; That Pope *Xystus* had suffered Martyrdom on the sixth day of *August*, and one *Quartus* along with him; That the Præfects of the City of *Rome* were very violent against the Christians, causing some of them to be executed every day, and that they confiscated the Goods of all those that were presented before them. In fine, he desires this Bishop to communicate the news to the rest of his Brethren, that all Christians might prepare themselves the better for the Combat. S. *Cyprian*.

The last Letter of S. *Cyprian* is that which he writ a little before his Martyrdom, when he withdrew from his Gardens where he was ordered to Reside, because he received information, that the Proconsul had sent some Soldiers to carry him away to the City of *Utica*, and he was not willing to suffer Martyrdom in a place distant from his own Church and People. But lest this retirement should be interpreted to proceed from a fearful degenerous Spirit, he acquainted his Clergy and People with the reasons that moved him to preserve himself; and at the same time conjures them not to raise disturbances, but to preserve Peace and Unity, and that no body should be permitted to present himself of his own accord to the Gentiles, since it was sufficient to speak courageously when they were apprehended by them.

Besides these Letters of S. *Cyprian*, the time of whose writing we know, there are five others that respect some points of Discipline, and have no certain Date. The Author of the *English* Edition has placed four of them at the head of all the Letters, and affirms that they were written by S. *Cyprian*, before his first Banishment in the Year 246. The first, which is the Sixty Sixth in *Pamelius*'s Order, is directed to the Clergy and People of *Furni*, and is writ againg one *Geminius Victor*, who by his Will had nominated a Priest called *Geminius Faustinus* to be Guardian to one of his Relations. He sends them word, That both himself and his Collegues were extreamly surprized when they were informed of it, because it had been prohibited long before by a Council of Bishops to name any Clergyman in a Will to be a Guardian or Executor, since those that were honoured with the Priesthood, and had undertaken the Office of Clerks, ought only to serve at the Altar, and the Holy Sacrifices, and should not take any other employment than that of Praying to the Lord. He shews them that for this very reason the Laity supplied them from time to time, with all things necessary for Life, as in the time of the Old Testament they paid Tithes to the Levites and Priests. He concludes, that since *Victor* had violated a Constitution made some time ago by a Council, they ought not to *Pray for him after his Death*, or suffer his Memory to be honoured in the Prayers of the Church.

The second, which is the Sixty first in *Pamelius*'s Order, was writ upon the occasion of an Actor upon the Stage, who after he had turned Christian, continued to follow his Profession. S. *Cyprian* tells *Eucratius*, who had consulted him to know whether he should let him stay in the Church, that it was below the Divine Majesty, the Evangelical Discipline, and the honour of the Church, to permit a Man that exercised so infamous a Profession to be in her Communion; That if the Law forbid Men to put on Female Habits, it certainly forbad them much more to Personate the Gestures and Postures of Women, and to represent unseemly and lascivious Actions; That though this Actor had forborn to appear on the Stage himself, yet he was no less Criminal in teaching his scandalous Art to others: That if he pretended in his own excuse that he was Indigent, and had no other way left to maintain himself, he should be relieved as the other Poor belonging to the Church were, provided he would be content with that little Subsistence the Church allowed him, and did not believe, that this was given him by way of recompence for sinning no more, since he alone reaped the benefit of it.

The third, which is the Sixty fifth in *Pamelius*'s Order, was writ to *Rogatianus*, against one of his Deacons, who forgetting the respect he owed to his own Bishop, had treated him after an undutiful manner. S. *Cyprian* and his Brethren, to whom this Bishop had writ about the Matter, answered him that he might have punished him immediately for his Boldness, if he had been so pleased, and that his writing to him about it was only an Effect of his Humility. They enlarge upon the Respect and Obedience that is due to Bishops, affirming, that the Original of all Schisms and Heresies proceeded from the Contempt that was shewn to them. At last they advised this Bishop, in case his Deacon still continued to provoke him with new Injuries, to make use of his Episcopal Authority, and to Excommunicate him, together with the other who had joyned himself with him; hoping nevertheless that he would give him full Satisfaction, *Because*, say they, *we had rather overcome the Evils we receive, by Patience, than revenge our selves by the Sacerdotal Power.*

The Fourth Letter, which is the Sixty second in *Pamelius*'s Edition, was writ in the Name of a Council to *Pomponius* a Bishop, who had consulted S. *Cyprian*'s Advice about some Virgins, who having made a Resolution to keep their Virginity, had been too familiar with some Persons, and particularly with a Deacon. He commends this Bishop for depriving the Deacon, and the rest that had

S. *Cyprian.* lived with them, of the Communion. As for what concern'd the Case of the Virgins, it was ordained, that those who had lost their Virginity should do publick Penance for their Crimes a considerable time, as being Adultereſſes in respect of Jesus Christ their Spouse, and that if they would not quit the Company of those Persons, with whom they had maintained this Criminal Correspondence, they should be for ever turned out of the Church, without hopes of Pardon and Salvation, since it is impossible to be saved out of the bosom of the Church. And then as for those who had not lost their Virginity, he judged it expedient to admit them to the Communion of the Church, but with this warning, That if they still continued to live in the same House with those Persons, they should be punished after a more severe manner, and must no more expect to be pardoned so easily. Thus I have briefly run over these four Letters, which the Author of the Annals of S. *Cyprian* has placed at the head of his English Edition, and pretends to have been written before any of the rest; because S. *Cyprian* (yz) makes no mention of any Persecution either present or past in them, as he does in almost all the rest. [The Reader ought to consult Mr. *Dodwell*'s Learned Dissertation upon this Letter to *Pomponius*, wherein he will see what gave occasion to those Virgins to live in so Scandalous a manner with the Deacons, fully explained.]

There remains nothing now but the 63 Letter, which the Author of the Annals in the English Edition, (*aa*) affirms to have been written in the year 253, in the time of the Persecution under *Gallus* and *Volusian*. It is addressed to *Cæcilius* and condemns the Error, or rather the Abuse of some Priests, who offered only Water in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. He confronts this ill Custom, which was introduced in some places, with the example and precept of Jesus Christ, and shews that we ought to offer in the Chalice nothing but Wine mingled with Water. He speaks of this after such a manner as may encline us to believe that it was absolutely necessary in his Opinion to mingle Water with the Wine, for he tells us, that as the Body of Jesus Christ could not be only of Meal unless it were tempered with Water, so likewise the Blood of Jesus Christ could not be of Wine alone, if it is not mingled with Water. But besides that, in the Explication of these Words, we may understand them of the Body of Jesus Christ taken in a Mystical Sense, we ought not to wonder that the Fathers speak often thus of Customs established in their own time when they are Ancient; such as this is, which came from the example of Jesus Christ, and the Tradition of the Apostles; we are not at all to wonder, I say, if they speak of them as of necessary things, without scrupulously examining whether they are of absolute necessity, taking them in the rigorous sense. He observes in this Letter, that they used in his time to Celebrate the Sacrifice of the Mass in the Morning; and that Baptism was a necessary preparation for the Eucharist. He speaks of this Sacrament in such terms, as plainly shews, that he believed it really contained the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; and yet he lays down several Mystical Reasons to explain why they made use of Bread, and Wine mingled with Water. He tells us, that *Jesus Christ* is figuratively represented by the Wine, and that the Water which is mingled with it signifies the Union of the People with *Jesus Christ*. Upon these grounds it is that he says, that if we offered pure Wine, the Body of *Jesus Christ* would be without us; and that if we offered only Water, we should be without *Jesus Christ*; and lastly, That as several grains of Corn ground and kneaded together make one Loaf, so after the same manner we are one and the same Body in *Jesus Christ*, who is that Cælestial Bread. [See here the Power of Prejudice! The extract which M. *Du Pin* has given of this Letter, demonstrates that S. *Cyprian* understood the Institution of the Eucharist to be only Mystical; *Cæcilius* desired to know what S. *Cyprian* thought of a Custom newly taken up of using Water alone in the Morning when they administred the Lords Supper; it was in dangerous times, when by their Breaths the Christians might have been discovered, if they should have drank Wine so Early: This Innovation of theirs does not seem to have proceeded from a wilful Contempt of the command of Christ, but from the Notions they had always been instructed in, concerning the Eucharist. They believed that the Lord's Supper was only a commemorative Sacrifice; and so they thought the Death of *Jesus Christ* could equally be remembred by Water in a Morning, as by Water and Wine together in an Afternoon. The Question then is, whether if S. *Cyprian* had believed that *Jesus Christ* was Corporeally present in the Sacrament, he would have used such Mystical Arguments to perswade them to break off so unwarrantable a practice. He ought according to Roman Catholick Principles to have confuted their Error by a right Explication of the Nature of the Eucharist: He ought to have shewed them that it was not a Mystical but a Real Sacrifice, and that *Jesus Christ* is literally offered up in that Sacrament as he was upon the Cross; and especially he ought to have told them, that Water could not have served instead of Wine, because upon Consecration it could not have been Transubstantiated into the Blood of Christ, and so by consequence it had been no true Sacrament for want of that real Presence, since *Jesus Christ* had never given his Ministers a Power to turn any thing besides Wine into his Blood, upon Pronouncing the words of the Institution. Whereas here S. *Cyprian* owns the Eucharist to have been a Mystical Sacrifice, and gives this as a principal Reason why Water alone without Wine is ineffectual, because there was a positive Institution from which the Church had no Warrant to recede.

(yz) St. *Cyprian.*] The Principle Reason is, because he does not speak of any Persecution in his Letters, though this reason is not absolutely convincing.

(*aa*) *Pretends to have been written in the Year* 253.] Because it appears that S. *Cyprian* was then a Bishop. *Cum mediocritatem nostram semper humili & verecunda moderatione teneamus:* Besides that, there he speaks of the Persecution, and says, that this was the cause why some of the Faithful abstained from offering Wine. [This rather, as I intimated above, was the true Reason of this Innovation.]

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This is further confirmed by his secundary Arguments; In the first place he says there must be Wine, *Quia non potest videri Sanguis ejus, quo redempti & vivificati sumus, esse in Calice; quando Vinum desit Calici, quo Christi sanguis ostenditur:* S. Cyprian. *Because,* says he, *his Blood by which we are redeemed and quickned cannot seem to be in the Cup, if the Wine that represents the Blood of Christ be not in the Cup.* If S. *Cyprian* had believed Transubstantiation he ought to have said, *That the Blood of Christ is not in the Cup, unless Wine had been put into it.* But he says, *It cannot seem to be there, i. e.* cannot be Typically represented by Water, so well as by Wine. This is no force upon his Words; because he afterwards brings several Texts out of the Old Testament to prove that the Blood of Christ was *represented* by Wine, and not by Water, and that *Baptism* only was typified by Water by the Prophets. This Reasoning does not agree with modern Glosses; no Man ever searches for a mystical Reason when he can give a plain one. Wine after Consecration is not a Figure of Christ's Blood, but the Blood it self, according to the Church of *Rome.* And it is improper to say, that the Blood of Jesus Christ *could not seem to be in the Cup if the Wine did not represent it,* if the Wine were believed to be the real Blood: *To be,* and *to be Represented* are very different things. And though S. *Cyprian* calls the Eucharist a Sacrifice, yet since he describes it as a Commemorative one, by which we are Mystically united to *Jesus Christ,* by Faith in him, it is impossible to gather from thence, that he believed any other Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament, than that which is taught by the Church of *England.*]

Hitherto we have not been willing to interrupt the order of the Letters, by mingling them with his other Books, according to the Series of the time they were written in, because we could not possibly have made an Abridgment of them without breaking the Continuation of the Letters, but nothing hinders us now from doing it: We shall carefully set down the years wherein they were composed, and this will be full as well for the Chronology of them, as if we had introduced them among the Letters.

It is probable that S. *Cyprian*'s first Book, I mean after his address to *Donatus,* is, *(bb)* That small Treatise, Intituled, *The Vanity of Idols,* wherein he refused the Pagan Religion which he had lately quitted. This Treatise may be divided into three Parts. In the first, he proves that the Deities of the Heathens are not true Gods; in the second, he shews that there is only one God; And lastly, in the Third, he shews that *Jesus Christ* is the word of God, who was sent to bring Salvation to Men. The two first parts are almost word for word taken out of *Minutius Felix,* and the last out of *Tertullian.*

(cc) The first Books of the *Testimonies to Quirinus* were also in all probability writ by S. *Cyprian* before he was Bishop, when he wholly employed himself in Reading and Studying the Holy Scriptures. These Books are a Collection of several Texts out of the Bible, and principally the Old Testament upon different Matters. In the first Book he cites those passages that prove, that the Jewish Law was to be only for a time; that it ought to be Abolished, and the Jews to be rejected; That *Jesus Christ,* was to come to establish a New Temple, and New Sacrifices, a New Priesthood, and a New Church; That the Gentiles ought to believe in him, and through his means to obtain Remission of their Sins. In the second he urges those places that concern the Mystery of the Incarnation of *Jesus Christ,* and particularly those that shew that *Jesus Christ* is the Wisdom and Word of God, who took our Nature upon him, to redeem Mankind, with the Prophecies wherein it is foretold that he was to be born of the Race of *David* in the City of *Bethlehem*; That his first coming was to be without Glory; That the Jews were to Crucifie him; That he should rise the Third Day, and come at last to Judge the World. *(dd)* The third Book was Composed after these, upon a quite different Subject.

It is a Collection of several Testimonies, taken as well out of the Old as the New Testament, containing many Precepts of Morality, that either have a relation to Christian Virtues, such as are the Fear and Love of God, Patience under Sufferings, Martyrdom, and Virginity; or that dissuade from Vices, such as Anger, Evil Speaking, Pride, the superfluous Ornaments of Women, and the inordinate

(bb) A small Treatise intituled of the vanity of Idols.] This Book is cited by S. *Jerome, Epist.* 84. *ad Magnum. Cyprianus, quod Idola Dii non sunt, quæ brevitate, quæ historiarum omnium scientia, quo verborum & sensuum splendore perstrinxit.* It is probable that it was written in the year 247.

(cc) The first Books of the Testimonies to Qurinus.] These Books are not only cited by *Bede,* and by *Gennadius,* but also by S. *Jerome, adverss. Pelag.* and by S. *Austin, lib. contra duas Epist. Pelag. c.* 8. & 10. who testifies that *Pelagius* the Heretick had made a Collection of several Testimonies out of the Scripture, to imitate, or rather to compleat the Work of S. *Cyprian.* S. *Jerome* cites the third Book. He and S. *Austin* have drawn some passages out of it, so that though they are not to be found in several Manuscripts, yet we are not in the least to doubt of them. *Quirinus,* to whom this Work is addressed, was in all probability a *Neophyte,* when it was written to him; for S. *Cyprian* calls him his Son, and tells him in his Preface, that he sent him these Testimonies to give him the first Tincture of the Faith, and that he presented him with a little Water drawn out of the Divine Fountains, which he might make use of till he could go to drink of them himself at the Spring-Head.

(dd) Has been Composed since these.] In the Preface of the first Book he only speaks of two Books, and the third is not to be found in some ancient Editions: but it is cited, as we have observed by S. *Jerome* and S. *Austin, Retract. lib.* 2. *c.* 1. *adverss. Pelag. c.* 9. *de Prædestin. Sanct. c.* 3. and 'tis properly speaking, a work by it self: For the two first were written to instruct *Quirinus* in the first grounds of the Christian Faith, and the design of this is to teach him the precepts of Morality. Some few Texts of Scripture may have been since added to it, which follow the Vulgar Latin. This Treatise might perhaps be written in the year 249.

love of Riches: Or Laſtly, thoſe that lay down the manner how Chriſtians ought to behave themſelves towards their Superiours; ſo that we may juſtly ſay of this Treatiſe, that it is a very uſeful Collection of all the Morality in the Holy Scriptures. S. *Cyprian.*

The Book of *the Diſcipline, or the Conduct and Apparel of Virgins* ſeems to be the firſt Work that S. *Cyprian* compoſed, (*ee*) after he was ordained Biſhop. The Deſign of it is to inſtruct the Virgins, with the care of whom he was intruſted, to preſerve in their Habits, and the whole tenour of their Life a truly Chriſtian Modeſty. He begins with recommending Diſcipline, that is to ſay, a good conduct; as being the Guardian of Hope, the Anchor of Faith, and the Guide to the way of Salvation. He ſhews by ſeveral Texts of Scripture that it is of great neceſſity; and afterwards addreſſing himſelf to the Virgins, and extolling their Condition, he exhorts them to maintain this Diſcipline with the greateſt of exactneſs, as having more need of it than any Perſons beſides. He convinces them, that Chriſtian Continence can by no means ſuit with profane Ornaments; that their Wealth did not excuſe this Vanity of Dreſſing; that God gave 'em Riches not to throw away upon idle Superfluities, but to employ them to good uſes, to feed and relieve the Poor; that a great Fortune, unleſs employed after this manner, does only become a great Temptation; that although theſe Ornaments that Virgins made uſe of, did not of themſelves deſtroy them, yet they ought to abſtain from them, ſince they had proved the ruin of others, by drawing the Eyes of young Men after them, and by that means kindling the fire of Love in their Hearts; that rich attire and care in Dreſſing only became Proſtitutes, and that the Scripture always ſpeaks of them after this manner; that they abuſed the works of God to ſet themſelves out, and that they diſfigured the Image he made by the Painting and Curling, and abundance of other Ornaments. After this he adviſes the Virgins, carefully to avoid all thoſe things that might injure their Chaſtity, and ſeverely reprehends thoſe who were not aſhamed to go to publick Baths, though they did it without entertaining the leaſt ill deſign. In ſhort, after having given theſe Inſtructions to the Virgins, he takes occaſion to ſpeak of the great advantages of Virginity, and he tells them it was the neareſt State to that of Martyrdom; that Virgins avoid the Curſe pronounced againſt the firſt Woman; that they are equal to the Angels; that Virginity is not of abſolute neceſſity, but that it is a great deal more excellent than any other Condition. At laſt he concludes with deſiring the Virgins to remember him when they ſhould receive the Recompence of their Virginity. *Tantum mementote tunc noſtri, cum incipiet in vobis Virginitas honorari*: Words which make it appear that in S. *Cyprian*'s time they believed that the Saints interceded for us before God.

The Treatiſe concerning thoſe that had fallen away in the time of Perſecution, and that of the Unity of the Church were compoſed in the year 251, immediatly after the Perſecution of *Decius*. This laſt was writ upon the occaſion of the Schiſm of the *Novatians* and the Faction of *Feliciſſimus*; and the firſt was writ againſt thoſe of the Faction of *Feliciſſimus* that raſhly granted the Grace of Reconciliation to all that had fallen into the Perſecution. He Read both theſe Books in an African Council held that very year, and aferwards ſent them to *Rome*, as he teſtifies in his Fiftieth Letter according to *Pamelius*'s Order.

In his Treatiſe concerning thoſe who had fallen away during the Perſecution, he begins with giving Thanks to God that Peace was reſtored to the Church, and makes an honourable Elogium of the Holy Martyrs and Confeſſors. He deplores the lamentable Fall of thoſe Perſons that had Apoſtatized, and obſerves that GOD never permits a Perſecution but to puniſh the Corruptions and Vices of the Chriſtians. He deteſts the crime of thoſe who had preſented themſelves before the Magiſtrates to deny the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, and carried their Children to the Altars of their Gods to make them, if it were poſſible, partakers of their Crimes, and cauſe them to loſe, as one may ſay, the Grace of Baptiſm. He obſerves that a Love for the World, and an Inclination to Earthly Things occaſioned the Fall of greateſt part of thoſe Perſons who had Apoſtatized, and even hindered them from flying to avoid the Perſecution: He affirms that the fault of thoſe who were overcome by the extremity of their Torments was a great deal more excuſable; but that thoſe who had fallen away merely out of fear of Suffering, before they ever did ſuffer, could alledge nothing in their own defence. After he has ſhewn the greatneſs of the crime of theſe Apoſtates, he paſſes to the Remedies, and greatly blames thoſe that admitted them to a raſh and over haſty Reconciliation. He maintains that a Prieſt of GOD ought by no means to deceive Chriſtians by a pernicious Complaiſance, but to heal them with wholeſome Remedies, herein imitating a skilful Chirurgeon, who makes deep Inciſions that ſo he may perfectly heal up the Wound, and never harkens to the Complaints and Crys of his Patient, who will certainly thank him for it as ſoon as he is healed; that the liberty ſome Perſons had aſſumed to themſelves to grant Reconciliation unadviſedly to thoſe that had fallen, was a new calamity that ſucceeded the Perſecution; that this falſe Peace was pernicious, as well to thoſe that gave it as fatal to thoſe

(*ee*) *After he was Ordained Biſhop.*] He was then a Biſhop, for he ſpeaks to them, as having Authority over them, and calls himſelf their Father. *Pontius* inſinuates, That it was not compoſed till after his Retirement; for, to prove that S. *Cyprian*'s Retirement was of great advantage to the Church, becauſe of the Books he wrote, during his Solitude, he places the Book *about the Conduct of Virgins* in this number. *Who is it*, ſays he, *who has taught the Virgins to preſerve Diſcipline, to wear modeſt Apparel, agreeable to their Condition?* But *Pontius* in this place enumerates the works of S *Cyprian*, like a Rhetorician, ſince the firſt he mentions is the Epiſtle to *Donatus*, which was certainly written before his Confinement, and in all appearance the Luxury of Women, the uſe of frequenting Baths, and the other Irregularities he reprehends in that Treatiſe, better agree with a time wherein the Church had long enjoy'd Peace. Be it as it will, *Pontius* always places the Book *of the Conduct of Virgins* firſt.

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that received it; that a Sinner ought to have time sufficient to expiate his Sin by a true and lawful satisfaction; that it was abominable Sacriledge to approach the Holy of Holys, and to receive the body of Jesus Christ, while their hands were still polluted with sacrificing to Idols, and had scarce digested the meats offered to false Gods; that this in effect is to drink the Cup of the Lord, and the Cup of Devils, to eat at the Table of the Lord, and at that of the Devil, and to offer violence, as one may say, to the body and blood of Jesus Christ; that they deceive themselves who think that the Reconciliation which is given them before they have expiated their Crime by a publick Penance, and purified their Conscience by Sacrifice and Imposition of Hands from the Bishop, is a true Reconciliation; that is rather a War, a new Persecution, a new Temptation, whereof the Enemy makes use to consummate the destruction of those that fell, by taking away from them the Spirit of Repentance; that they ought not to flatter themselves because they were absolved by the Martyrs, since Jesus Christ only can pardon Sins; that the Merits and Works of the Martyrs can indeed do much, but that only for the day of Judgment, and that it is downright rashness to believe that they can without distinction grant Remission of Sins to all the World, against the express command of Jesus Christ; that if what the Martyrs ordain is just and lawful, it ought to be granted at their request; but if what they demand is against the Law of GOD, and the Gospel, it is not reasonable that it should be granted; besides, that it is not to be presumed that those who are Martyrs for the Gospel, would attempt any thing in derogation to it. After this to strike terrour into those who had fallen, he relates several Examples of Persons, whom God had severely punished for being so bold as to receive the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ after their Apostacy. Then he addresses himself to those who had taken Certificates from the Magistrates, which testified that they had sacrificed, tho' they had really done no such thing, and advises them not to flatter themselves, as if there was no necessity of repenting, since to confess that one has committed a crime, is effectually the same thing as to commit it, and that this Declaration was a solemn renouncing of the Christian Religion; that tho' this crime did not appear very shameful in the Eyes of Men, yet it was heinous before God, who knows the most secret motions and inclinations of our hearts. At last he mightily extolls the Piety of those who had neither offered Sacrifice, nor taken Certificates. However, since they had a desire to do it, he exhorts them to confess themselves largely and with sorrow before the Priests of GOD, discovering the Secrets of their Conscience, to quiet their Consciences, and to search out a remedy for their Wounds, tho' they appeared to be slight and insignificant; and he persuades those that were conscious to themselves of this fault, not to be ashamed of discovering it, and to do Penance for it, that so they may obtain Pardon. He concludes all with an exhortation to Sinners, to renounce the Pleasures and Vanities of the World, and to satisfie the Divine Justice by a long and sincere Repentance. S. *Cyprian.*

(ff) In his Treaty of *The Unity of the Church* he begins with advising all Christians to joyn Prudence to Simplicity, and to take diligent care to keep themselves from the secret Attacks of the Devil, as Heresies and Schisms, whereby he draws Christians, before they are aware, to separate themselves from the Unity of the Church. After this, he demonstrates, by several Reasons, That the Church of Jesus Christ is essentially One, and that there cannot be more. He tells us, *That for a visible mark of this Unity, Jesus Christ had built his Church upon S.* Peter; *and that he gave the Power of his Keys only to him, tho', after his Resurrection, he gave equal Power and Authority to all his Apostles*; that as the Church is One, so there is One only Episcopacy, a part whereof every Pastor truly and really possesses; that such as are out of this Church, have no Salvation to hope for; that a Man may be killed indeed out of the Church, but that he could not be crown'd unless he were actually in the Church; that Schism and Heresie are the most enormous Crimes a Man can be guilty of, which God has always punished with the greatest Severity; that the example of a few Confessors ought not to stagger or scandalize any one; for besides that, we are not to imitate them in the faults they may commit; there was still a very great number of them that continued stedfast in the Unity of the Church. At last, he exhorts all Christians whatsoever, to return to it again, to promote Union by their joynt endeavours, and to have no manner of Commerce with Schismaticks.

[In the Account which our Author gives of this Discourse of S. *Cyprian*, he seems not to be so fair as he is at other times. He says from S. *Cyprian*, *That for a visible mark of this Unity of the Church, Jesus Christ had built his Church upon S.* Peter, *and gave the Power of the Keys only to him; tho', after his Resurrection he gave equal Power and Authority to all his Apostles.* S. *Cyprian's* words are these, *Loquitur Dominus ad Petrum, ego tibi dico, inquit, quia tu es Petrus, & super istam Petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, & portæ inferorum non vincent eam, &c. & iterum eidem post Resurrectionem suam dicit, Pasce oves meas. Super unum ædificat Ecclesiam suam. Et quamvis Apostolis omnibus, parem potestatem tribuat, & dicat, si cui remiseritis peccata, remittentur illi: Si cui tenueritis, tenebuntur: tamen ut unitatem manifestaret, unitatis ejusdem originem, ab uno incipientem sua auctoritate disposuit. Hoc erant utique & cæteri Apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi & Honoris & Potestatis, sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur, ut Ecclesia una monstretur.* 'The Lord said unto *Peter*, I say unto thee, says he, that 'thou art *Peter*, and upon that Rock I will build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail 'against it, *&c.* And again, after his Resurrection, he says to the same S. *Peter*, 'Feed my Sheep. He builds 'his Church upon one. And tho' he gives equal Power to all the Apostles, and tells them, whose Sins

(ff) In the Treatise of the Church.] *Pontius* mentions this Treatise. It is cited by S. *Austin* in his second Book, *Contra Crescon.* and by *Facundus, lib. 1. cap. 16.* under the name of the *Treatise of Unity*; and in some ancient Editions, it is Entituled, *A Treatise of the Simplicity of Pastors.*

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S. Cyprian. 'ye retain, they shall be retained, and whose Sins ye forgive, shall be forgiven; yet that he might 'make that Unity manifest, he ordered by his own Authority, that the Original of that very Unity 'should begin from one. For the other Apostles were the same as he, equally Partners of Honour 'and Power, but the beginning springs from Unity, that the Church may be shew'd to be but one.

Here is no distinction made of different Powers granted before and after the Resurrection. S. *Cyprian* seems to have designed to obviate this Objection; and lest any Man should think, that any Primacy, except that of being named first was intended, he says, that the other Apostles were S. *Peter's* equals, both in Honour and Power. But this Passage has had foul dealing shew'd to it long ago; *Manutius* published it at *Rome* with Interpolations in his Edition in 1563. *Rigaltius* was ashamed of it, and so Printed it in his Notes faithfully. The wonder is, how Mr. *Du Pin* should say, *That Jesus Christ gave the Power of the Keys to S.* Peter *only*, when he had the *Oxon* Edition before him, and all the other Editions that preceded *Manutius's* of which he has given us a Catalogue. One sees the Reason now, why he desires afterwards that some Catholick Divine (as he calls them) would Reprint S. *Cyprian*, and Illustrate him with Catholick Commentaries. This is the Reason why the *Oxon* Edition could not satisfie him: Bishop *Fell's* Notes are too candid and sincere for any one of that Communion; so that tho' he could not omit speaking honourably of it, lest his judgment should have been questioned, yet the want of *Catholick Commentaries* was so very deplorable a thing, that he thought by this sly insinuation to depreciate so valuable an Edition of so great a Father: For S. *Cyprian* alone cannot be put into all Mens hands without danger; and it is an unanswerable Argument how little Antiquity favours their Cause, when the Father who wrote more and more earnestly for Catholick Unity, and the support of Ecclesiastical Discipline against Schismaticks, and Disturbers of the Peace of the Church, than any Man before the Council of *Nice*, cannot be brought to speak as they would have him, without using the most palpable misrepresentation, and the most unjust dealing that can be shewn to the Writings of any Author whatever.]

The Treatise about the Lord's Prayer immediately follows that of the Unity of the Church, in *Pontius* the Deacon's Catalogue, and it is probable, that it was composed soon after, towards the beginning of the Year 252. In this Book he highly recommends Amity and Concord, which shews, that he writ it soon after the former, when he had his Head full of the same thoughts, and at a juncture when it was necessary to inforce them the second time on the World. We may divide it into seven Parts: In the first, he demonstrates, that the Lord's Prayer is the most excellent and efficacious Prayer, since Jesus Christ himself composed it for our use. In the second, he sets down Rules how we ought to Pray, and tells us we must do it with a World of Reverence and Modesty; that the tone of our voice ought not to be high; that when Christians assemble together to celebrate Divine Sacrifices with the Bishop, it is convenient that they should remember to be moderate, and not to make a confused noise with their Voice, because it is not the Voice, but the Heart which is to be elevated to Heaven; that we must pray with great Humility, which he confirms by the example of *Hannah*, the Mother of *Samuel*, and of the Publican mentioned in the Gospel. In the third part, he instructs us what things we are to Pray for; and taking occasion to explain the Lord's Prayer, he observes in the first place, that we do not say, *My Father*, but *Our Father*, because the Prayer of every Christian is a common Prayer, who does not pray for himself alone, but for the whole Congregation of the Faithful, which make up but one body; that we invoke God by the name of Father, because we are made his Children by Baptism; that we beseech him that his name may be sanctified in us, that is to say, we pray him to sanctifie and purifie us continually to the end of our Life; that the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, which we expect, is the recompence we hope to receive in the other Life, at the day of Judgment; that when we pray to God that his *Will may be done*, our meaning is not, that he would do whatever pleases him, but that he would work in us what he would have us to do, that is to say, that he would make us accomplish his Will, which no body is able to do by his own strength alone, without the assistance of God's Mercy; that this Will of God, which we are required to fulfil, is no other than what Jesus Christ has done and taught, that is to say, Humility, Stedfastness in the Faith, Prudence, Justice, Mercy, a good Deportment, to do wrong to none, to preserve Peace with our Brethren, to love God with all our Heart, and to prefer nothing before Jesus Christ, since he himself preferred nothing before us; that when we pray that this *Will may be done in Earth as it is in Heaven*, we mean (according to his Explication) in our Body, and in our Mind, or rather in the Unbelievers as well as the Believers. After this he says, that the *daily Bread* we pray for in the Lord's Prayer, may be understood either of Spiritual or Corporeal Bread; that the Spiritual Bread we beg for is the Body of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, which the Christians who are truly devoted to Jesus Christ desire to receive, daily fearing to be separated from it by some great Sin; that if we understood it of Corporeal Bread, the meaning is, that we are not to beg of God what is necessary for our Sustenance every day, unless we carry our desires farther: That in praying to God that he would *Forgive us our Trespasses*, we acknowledge that we Trespass continually, and impose upon our selves at the same time a Law not to obtain remission, but only upon condition, that we forgive our Brethren the Trespasses they have committed against us: When we desire of God that he would not permit us to *fall into Temptation*, we intimate, that our Enemy has no Power over us, if God does not give him leave to tempt us, and that he never gives him leave but for two Reasons, either to punish us for our Sins, or else to try us: That the Lord's Prayer concludes at last with a Petition, which is a sort of an Abridgment of all the rest; for when we beseech God to deliver us from all Evil by his Almighty Power, nothing more remains for us to ask.

In

In the fourth part he tells us, that Jesus Christ has instructed us to pray as well by his Example as by his Words; and since he who was without Sin pray'd often, certainly we who are Sinners are to pray continually. In the fifth, he recommends vigilancy and attention in our Devotions, exhorting us to think upon nothing but only him to whom we address our selves, and to banish all carnal Thoughts out of our Hearts. To impress the greater Authority upon this Exhortation, he takes notice of the Prayer which the Priest repeated at that time, when he celebrated the Eucharist, saying, *Sursum corda, Lift up your Hearts*, and observes, that the People answer'd, *We lift them up to the Lord.* S. *Cyprian.*

In the sixth part, he advises all Christians not to content themselves with vain barren Prayers, but to joyn Alms-giving, and other Actions of Piety to them. And lastly, in the seventh part, he discourses of the time of Prayer, after he has taken notice, what are the most solemn hours to Pray in. He concludes with affirming, that Christians ought to Pray to God at all times; and since the serious performance of these duties will procure for them one day, everlasting Happiness, they ought, even now, to begin to thank God. This Treatise of S. *Cyprian* was so highly approved by S. *Austin*, that he recommended it to the Monks of *Adrumetum*, to whom he addressed his Book about Grace and Free-will, to read it over carefully, and to learn it by Heart; and he observes, that this Saint speaks after such a manner in this Treatise, as shews, that he was perswaded we ought to pray to God to give us his Grace to perform what he commands us to do in his Law. And indeed, amongst all the Treatises that were composed in the first Ages of the Church, perhaps there is not one that ascribes so much to the Grace of Jesus Christ as this does, or contains more formal Passages to prove the efficacy and necessity of it.

The Exhortation to Martyrdom, directed to *Fortunatianus*, at a time when the Christians expected the Persecution of *Gallus* and *Volusian*, was writ in the Year 253. 'Tis a Collection of Texts of Scripture, to excite all Christians to confess the Name of Jesus Christ Courageously, and to suffer Martyrdom for the Truth. In the first Chapter he cites those places, that discover the vanity of Idols. In the second, those that shew, that we must only Worship God. In the third, those that mention the severe Punishments wherewith God threatens to visit those that Sacrifice to Idols. In the fourth and fifth, those that declare, that God will not easily pardon Idolatry, but punishes those with Death who counsel others to adore Idols. In the sixth, he urges those Texts that may induce us to consider, that since we have been redeemed and enlivened by Jesus Christ, we ought not to prefer any thing before him, since he himself prefer'd nothing before us. In the seventh, those that represent to us, that since we have once escaped the Snares of the Devil, and the Ambushes of the World, we ought to take heed that we fall into them no more, but make the best use of that delivery. In the eighth, those that recommend Perseverance in the Faith, and all other Virtues. In the ninth, those that shew, that Persecutions and Afflictions are sent only to try us. In the tenth, those that give us Consolation, and teach us not to be afraid, since God is more powerful to Protect us, than the Devil to Overcome us. In the eleventh, those that prove, that it was foretold, that the World would hate us, and stir up Persecutions against us; and that good Men always suffered. In the last, there is a Collection of Texts to encourage Christians to suffer Martyrdom, out of hopes of finding a sufficient recompence in Heaven. Here is an Abridgment of this Treatise made by St. *Cyprian* himself, which he sent at the end of his Letter to *Fortunatianus*, to whom he Dedicates this Book. He observes in this Letter, that it is the duty of the Bishop to train and exercise those Soldiers, whom Jesus Christ has committed to his Charge; and that Observations drawn out of the Holy Scripture, are the best Arms he can give them.

The Treatise of Mortality was composed (gg) upon occasion of a certain Pestilence that afflicted the Roman Empire, but principally *Africk*, the Year after the Death of *Gallus* and *Volusian*. He shews in his Treatise, that Christians ought not to be afraid of Sickness or Calamities, but that they rather ought to wish for them, since they furnish them with an opportunity to exercise their Patience, and to merit the Rewards of Heaven; that they ought not to fear Death, but rather to desire it, since it delivers them from all the miseries of this Life, and unites them to Jesus Christ for ever; that we ought not to be surprized, that the Pestilence seizes Christians as well as Pagans, since all the miseries of the Flesh are equally common to both, nay, that a Christian ought to suffer more than the other; that the difference that ought to be between him, and one that does not know God, is, that the latter complains and suffers his Evils with impatience, whereas a Christian shews his Faith at such a juncture, by being not afraid of Death, and his Vertue in bearing every thing patiently, and his Charity in helping his Neighbour; that though the Good dye as well as the Bad, yet their end is very different, because the Good after their Death, are sent into a place of Refreshment, whereas the Wicked are thrown headlong into a place where they are Tormented for ever; that the first dye to be put into a better state of security, and the last to be more severely punished: That Sicknesses prepare us for Martyrdom, and make us Martyrs of Jesus Christ; that for this reason we ought not to be afflicted, because they deprive us of the glory of Confession, since not to mention, that it does not depend upon our selves to be Martyrs, and that it is the Grace of God to let us dye with a Will of suffering Martyrdom, God will crown us as if we had really suffered it: That it would be to no

(gg) *Upon the occasion of the Infection.*] It had its rise in *Arabia*, then spread it self in *Ægypt* and *Africa*, from whence it passed into all the West. It was an Epidemical Distemper, a great deal worse than a common Pestilence. It began under the Empire of *Gallus* and *Volusian*, and lasted several Years; it raged with twice the violence, under the Empire of *Galienus*, as we have already observed. This Treatise was written in the Year 253, or 254.

purpose

S. *Cyprian.* purpoſe to beg of God, that his Kingdom may come, if the Captivity wherein we are does ſtill pleaſe us: That we ought not to bewail thoſe of our Brethren, whom God has taken to himſelf, ſince we have not loſt them, and they have only gone a Journey before us, which we are all to make one time or another: That we do in ſome ſort diſtruſt the promiſes of Jeſus Chriſt, if we concern and afflict our ſelves at the Death of our Neighbours and Friends, as if they were no more, and that we ought rather to rejoyce that they are paſſed into a better Life, and enjoy a ſtate of repoſe and tranquility that will never end. At laſt he exhorts all Chriſtians heartily to wiſh for the happy day of their Death, which will free them from the exile of this Life, and give them admiſſion into the Kingdom of Heaven, which is their Country, where they will be everlaſtingly in the Company of the Saints, and with Jeſus Chriſt.

His Treatiſe to *Demetrianus (hh)* a Judge in *Africa*, was likewiſe compoſed during the rage of this Peſtilence, immediately after *(ii)* the Death of *Gallus* and *Voluſian*. He there refutes a Calumny, which the Pagans frequently formed againſt the Chriſtians for being the cauſe of thoſe Wars, Famines, Plagues, and other Calamities that waſted the Roman Empire. He ſhews, that thoſe misfortunes that daily happen in the World, which grows old every day, ought to be rather attributed to the Crimes and Impiety of Men; and that the Chriſtians were ſo far from being the occaſion of them, becauſe they did not adore falſe Gods, that the Pagans rather drew down all theſe heavy Viſitations upon Mankind, becauſe they did not worſhip the true God, and Perſecuted thoſe that Worſhip'd him: That all this was the immediate hand of God, who to revenge himſelf for the contempt they ſhew'd of him, and of thoſe that ſerved him, puniſhed Men after this rigorous manner, and made them feel the weight of his diſpleaſure: That the Gods of the Pagans were ſo far from being able to exerciſe this Revenge, that they were fettered and ill uſed, as I may ſay, by the Chriſtians, who ejected them by force out of the Bodies of thoſe Perſons, whom they had poſſeſt: That the Chriſtians ſuffered patiently, as being aſſured that their Cauſe would be ſoon revenged, that they endured the ſame Evils which the Pagans did in this World, but that they comforted themſelves, becauſe after their Death they ſhould poſſeſs everlaſting Joy, whereas the Pagans at the day of Judgment would be condemned to everlaſting Torments. He exhorts them at laſt, with great zeal and ardour, to quit their Errors, and to repent of them while they are in a condition to do it; becauſe after this Life is once over, there is no room for Repentance, and afterwards the Satisfaction is uſeleſs, ſince it is here upon Earth, that every Man renders himſelf worthy or unworthy of everlaſting Salvation: That neither Age nor Sins ought to hinder any one from ſuffering himſelf to be Converted, ſince, as long as we are in this World, there is ſtill time for us to Repent, the Gate of the Divine Mercy being never ſhut to thoſe that diligently ſearch the Truth. *Though you were,* ſays he, *at the point of Death, if you pray'd to have your Sins forgiven, and implored the goodneſs of God, you would obtain remiſſion of your Crimes, and paſs from Death to Immortality. Jeſus Chriſt has procured this favour for us by conquering and triumphing over Death on the Croſs, by redeeming thoſe that Believe with the price of his Blood, by reconciling Man to God, and communicating a new Life to him by a celeſtial Birth. Let us follow them all if it is poſſible, and receive this Sacrament, and his Sign,* &c.

It is probable, that the *(kk)* Treatiſe of *Mercy and Alms-giving* was writ when S. *Cyprian* gathered conſiderable Alms to redeem the Chriſtians, who had been taken Priſoners by the Barbarians, towards the Year 253. He demonſtrates in this Book, by ſeveral Authorities of Scripture, and many Convincing Reaſons, the neceſſity of giving Alms; he refutes the frivolous excuſes, and vain pretences uſed by Rich Men to avoid the doing ſuch acts of Charity; and obſerves, that in his time every one brought a Loaf at the Celebration of the Euchariſt, [which was always once a day, in the Morning before it was Light, and often at Night after Supper.]

S. *Cyprian* tells us himſelf, in his Letter to *Jubaianus*, that he compoſed his Book of *Patience*, upon the occaſion of a Queſtion concerning the reiteration of the Baptiſm of Hereticks, to ſhew that we ought to preſerve Charity and Patience in all Diſputes with our Brethren. So this Treatiſe was compoſed, at the beginning of the Year 256, and S. *Cyprian (ll)* ſent it as ſoon as it was finiſhed to one *Jubaianus* a Biſhop, together with the Letter which he writ to him. In it he exhorts Chriſtians to Patience, by the Example of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Saints as well of the Old as the New Teſtament.

(mm) The Book *of Envy* was writ a little after that of *Patience*. In it he diſſwades Chriſtians from that Vice, which is the occaſion of all Miſchief, and exhorts them to the practice of Charity and Chriſtian Humility.

(hh) After the Death of Gallus *and* Voluſian.] This Treatiſe was written during the Plague, to ſhew that the Chriſtians were not the cauſe of it. He there ſpeaks of the late Fall of Kings, which is to be underſtood of the Death of *Gallus* and *Voluſian*, who were killed by their Soldiers.

(ii) Judge] It has been commonly believed, that he was Proconſul: But the Author of the Engliſh Edition has very well obſerved, that S. *Cyprian* does not ſpeak to him as to a Proconſul; and that what he ſays of him, *viz.* that he often came to him to diſpute with him, and that he drew ſeveral Perſons over to his Party, is by no means ſuitable to the Character of a Sovereign Magiſtrate of *Africk*.

(kk) The Treatiſe of the Works of Mercy and Alms-giving.] This Treatiſe is cited by *Pontius*, by S. *Jerome*, *Ep. ad Pamm.* by S. *Auſtin*, *contr. Jul. contr. Pelagianos & alibi*.

(ll) He ſent to Jubaianus *a Biſhop.*] *Ep. ad Jub. Teneatur a nobis patienter, & firmiter Charitas animi, Collegii honor, vinculum fidei, & concordia ſacerdotii; propter hoc etiam libellum de bono patientiæ, quantum valuit noſtra mediocritas, permittente Domino, & inſpirante conſcripſimus, quem ad te pro multa dilectione tranſmiſimus.* Pontius mentions it, S. *Jerome* cites it, *adverſ. Lucif.* and S. *Auſtin* in ſeveral places.

(mm) The Book of Envy was writ ſome time after that of Patience] It was written after the Book of *Patience*, becauſe when he writ to *Jubaianus*, he ſent him only the *Treatiſe of Patience*. It is cited by *Pontius*, by S. *Jerome*, *in Epiſt. ad Gal. c.* 5. and by S. *Auſtin* in many places.

Hitherto

Hitherto we have only mentioned those Works that unquestionably belong to *S. Cyprian*, I shall now speak a few Words of those that are falsly attributed to him, which are put by themselves in *S. Cyprian, Rigaltius*'s and the English Edition. There is a great number of these Books, some of which are really useful and ancient, tho' we don't know their Authors, some carry the Names of their Authors at present, and some are of a later date, and deservedly despised.

In the number of the first, we must place the following Treatises. That *against publick Shews*, the Books of *Charity*, and the Homily against *Novatian*, all which Works seem to proceed from one Author; and (*n*) might be attributed to *S. Cyprian*, if it were not for the difference that is so visible between the Style of this Father, and that of these three Books.

The Treatise or (*o*) Homily against *Gamesters*, is yet more different from *S. Cyprian*'s Stile than any of the former, being an intricate confused Book, and abounding with barbarous Words. The Scriptures are cited there after another manner than they are in *S. Cyprian*; and the Author mentions a Book, Intituled, *The Doctrin or Doctrins of the Apostles*, which, in all probability was composed since *S. Cyprian*'s time.

The Book of the *Cœlibacy of the Clergy* is extreamly useful: In it he proves, that Churchmen ought not to live with Women; some have attributed it to *S. Cyprian* upon the Faith of some MSS. others to *S. Austin*, others to *S. Jerom*, and lastly others to *Gaudentius Brixiensis*. However, it is certain, that it was never writ by *S. Cyprian*, as the difference of Style, and (*p*) the barbarous Words, sufficiently witness. Nor is it a Translation out of *Origen*, but the Work of some Latin Author: In short, it is neither (*q*) written in the Style of *S. Jerom* nor *Origen*.

The Author of the English Edition supposes that this Treatise was writ in the time of Venerable *Bede*, when the famous Question of the Cœlibacy of Churchmen was so warmly discussed in the West: But this is only a bare Conjecture, supported by no solid Reason; so that we can say nothing positive concerning the Author of this Work.

The Book *of the Twelve Abuses of the Age*, which is likewise attributed to *S. Austin*, was neither written by that Father, nor by *S. Cyprian*; for, besides that, it has not the least resemblance of their Style or manner of Writing, the Scripture is always cited there, after *S. Jerom*'s Version. *Pamelius* has ascribed it to one *Erardus*, whose Name he found in the Margin of this Treatise in a MSS. of *S. Austin*. Others again bestow'd it upon *S. Patrick* Bishop of *Ireland*, and some upon *S. John Climacus*.

To these Treatises we must join an Oration *in praise of Martyrdom*, and another *about double Martyrdom*, both which were composed by some Author who is not very ancient for his Diversion. The first is penn'd in an elaborate affected Style; and it seems probable, that the Person that made it, only tried how he could make an Harangue in form. He begins with an *Exordium*, as if he delivered it before an Assembly; the Periods are carefully wrought, his Thoughts are odd and uncommon, and the whole Turn is extreamly Stiff. The Oration *about double Martyrdom* is writ after a more negligent way by some young Author, who had a mind to imitate *S. Cyprian*'s Style. *Gravius* imagined that *Erasmus* was the Author of this Cheat; but in all probability, so able a Man as he was, would have carried on the Imposture better than it is managed in this Book: For though the Author pretends that he writ it 240 Years after Jesus Christ; yet he makes no scruple of telling us, that the Christian Religion was farther extended than the Empire. He speaks of the Persecution under *Diocleſian*, and *Maximin* or *Maximian*, of a War against the Turks, and makes mention of Monks and their Practices: And these are the Books falsly attributed to *S. Cyprian*, which may be of some use, whose Authors are not known.

The Treatise *of the Cardinal*, or *principal Works of Jesus Christ*, which was attributed to *S. Cyprian*, though it does not resemble his Style, has been restored upon the Faith of several Manuscripts, to *Arnoldus Bonævallis*, a Friend of *S. Bernard*'s, who addressed it to Pope *Adrian* IV. and who composed some other Treatises besides this, in the very same Style, *viz.* one *concerning the Sayings of Jesus Christ*, another *upon the Cross*, *the Work of the Six Days*, and *the Praises of the Virgin*, all which are Printed in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*; and lastly, a Treatise *of Meditations*, which was never Printed before, but has been added in the English Edition of *S. Cyprian*, to all the other Works of the same Author.

The Explication of the Apostles Creed belongs undoubtedly to *Ruffinus*. The Treatise of the *Baptism of Heretics*, Published by *Rigaltius*, but directly contrary to *S. Cyprian*'s Opinion in the matter, was writ by an ancient Writer who lived before *S. Austin*'s time, and perhaps was a Contemporary of *S. Cyprian*.

The other Treatises attributed to *S. Cyprian* are not only spurious, but are full of nothing else but Impertinencies and Errors. The first is a Treatise of the Mountains of *Sion* and *Sinai*, writ by some body who was wholly besotted with the dreaming Enthusiasms of the *Rabbines* and *Cabalists*. The *Supper* is a ridiculous impertinent Book. The *Revelation of* John Baptist's *Head* is a fabulous Story, writ after the time of *S. Athanasius*, *S. Cyril*, *Theodosius*, the *Vandals*, the *Chronicle of Marcellinus* and *Pipin*, whom it mentions. His Preface attributed to *Celsus*, upon the dispute of *Papiscus* and *Jason* ad-

(*n*) *Might be attributed to S.* Cyprian.] I say it might be, for besides the difference of Style, which is obvious to every Eye, they are not attributed to *S. Cyprian* in the Manuscripts, but only in the Printed Books.

(*o*) *The Treatise against Gamesters.*] It was writ by some Bishop, but we are not to conclude, that it was by a Bishop of *Rome*, because he calls himself the Vicar of Jesus Christ, for anciently that Name was given to all Bishops.

(*p*) *Barbarous Words.* Such as *Repulsorium*, *Constitutionarios*, *Vulgaritatis*, *Flumirorum*, *Probrositatis*, *Participiis*, *Adunari*, *Vanificat*, *Egestosam*, *Procurativa*, *Absentarii*, *Conjugaliter*.

(*q*) *In short, it is neither writ in the Style of S.* Jerom, *nor* Origen.] That which has given occasion to attribute it to *Origen*, is, because the Author seems not to condemn a Man's making himself an Eunuch; but *Origen* was at last of a contrary Opinion, and repented of his Action. There is only one Manuscript in the King's Library, that attributes it to *Origen*; as some Modern Authors think, after *Vincentius Bellovacensis*: But it rather resembles the Style of *Gaudentius Brixensis*, were it not, that in no Manuscripts or Printed Editions it is ever attributed to him.

S. Cyprian.

dressed to *Vigilius*, and the Treatise *against the Jews*, are two Books, wherein there is nothing regular or solid. The two Treatises directed *to the Martyrs*, and the *Confession* or *Repentance* of S. *Cyprian* the Martyr, are Books which the Modern Greeks have attributed to the Martyr *Cyprian*, who perhaps is the Bishop of *Carthage*, whose Life they have amplified.

The Secrets and Prayers of S. *Cyprian*, are Treatises full of Superstition and Impiety. There remains nothing behind but (r) a Calendar upon *Easter*, Printed under S. *Cyprian*'s Name in the English Edition. 'Tis the Work of an ancient Author, but the Stile is wholly different from that of S. *Cyprian*. I say nothing of the Poems that are attributed to him, because they go likewise under *Tertullian*'s Name, and I spoke of them when I gave an Account of that Author. [A Man must have a very nice taste of Styles, that can throw away a Book that is almost all Calculation, from any Author to whom it is attributed, if he has no other Reason to reject it.]

S. *Cyprian* is the first of the Christian Authors, that was truly Eloquent, as *Lactantius* has observed; and we may say, that there has been never another since him, * if we except *Lactantius*, who was Master of so much true, and noble, and genuine Eloquence. He professed Rhetorick with mighty Reputation, before he was Converted to Christianity; and what he writ afterwards is admirable in its kind. For as *Lactantius* adds, 'He had an easie, fertile, agreeable Invention; and what is more, a Spirit of 'Perspicuity reigns throughout all his Works, which is one of the best Qualities belonging to any Dis-'course. He has a great deal of Ornament in his Narration, an easie Turn in his Expressions, and Force 'and Vigour in his Reasonings, in such a manner that he had all the three Talents required in an Ora-'tor, which are to please, to teach, and to persuade; and it is not easie to say which of these three 'he possesses in the most eminent degree. As S. *Jerom* said, that his Discourse resembled a Fountain of pure Water, having a sweet and gentle Stream, so we may say, that it does likewise very often resemble an impetuous Torrent, that carries away with it every thing it meets, since he was capable of raising what Passions he pleased, and of persuading us to do whatever he had a mind to. Whether he gives Consolation, or whether he exhorts or dissuades, he does it with so much force, that one cannot possibly avoid being sensibly comforted or encouraged, or deterred by what he says. His Eloquence is natural, and far removed from the Style of a Declamer. There is no insipid mean Railery, no common Proverbs; in short, nothing that has the tincture of ordinary Literature in his Writings, but the Christian and the Bishop speak all along: A Man may see that his Tongue spoke out of the abundance of his Heart, and that as he had searched into the deepest Christian Truths, so he expressed them nobly and generously: Though we must at the same time own, that after all his endeavours to speak as distinctly and purely as was possible, there is something of the *African* Genius in him; and he could not forbear now and then to intermix (f) some harsh Terms. So difficult a matter it is to vanquish Nature, or to abstain from those words we daily hear from those with whom we converse.

* *This can only be understood of the Latins.*

His studying and reading of *Tertullian*, whom he looked upon to be his Master, might in some measure contribute to corrupt his Style: But then on the other hand we must acknowledge, that it furnished him with some Advantages, and that he has borrowed several Thoughts out of him, which he sets off and beautifies, though he was Religiously careful to avoid all his Faults and Errors. For, at the bottom, the Characters of these two Authors are exceeding different. *Tertullian* is harsh and obscure; S. *Cyprian* is polite and clear; *Tertullian* is hot and fiery; S. *Cyprian*, though he does not want all necessary force upon occasion that requires it, is soft and gentle: *Tertullian* reproaches his Adversaries, and insults over them in a bitter railing manner; S. *Cyprian* is infinitely more moderate, and if he is obliged at any time to speak some Truths that displease them, he takes care to soften them by the agreeableness of his Narration: *Tertullian* vents abundance of false Reasons, and teaches several Errors; on the contrary, S. *Cyprian* argues almost every where with a World of Justice and Solidity, and is exempt, I mean, not only from gross Errors, but even from those of small consequence, commonly found in the Fathers of the *Three first Centuries*: He says nothing concerning the Mysteries of the Trinity, or the Incarnation, that carries any difficulty with it, or stands in need of an Explication. He rejects the Error of the *Millenaries*, and that of the State of the Soul before the Day of Judgment. He is the first that spoke clearly of Original Sin and the Necessity of the Grace of Jesus Christ. He plainly distinguishes between Baptism and Imposition of Hands, as two different Sacraments. He speaks of the Eucharist as of a Sacrament, wherein the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ is received, and which requires great Purity and great Preparation to be worthily received. He establishes the matter of this Sacrament, but he urges the necessity of mingling Water with the Wine, with too much heat. He is the first that talked largely of Penance, and of the Power of the Priesthood to bind and unbind. He zealously demonstrates how necessary it is towards Salvation, to be within the Church: He discourses

(r) *A Calendar of* Easter.] It has been cited under S. *Cyprian*'s Name, by *Paulus Diaconus*. The Scripture is cited there according to the Version made use of by S. *Cyprian*, but there are some words in it that have nothing of the Purity of S. *Cyprian*, and the Turn of the Phrase is wholly different. To discover the Truth of this, we need only set down the very first Period. *Multo quidem, non modico tempore anxii fumus & æstuantes, non in sæcularibus, sed in sanctis & divinis scripturis quærentes invenire, quidnam sit primum diei, non mensis, in quo mense præscriptum est Judæis in Egypto XIV. Lunæ comedere Pascha.* *Cyprian* would never have used such a Turn as this is to express his Thoughts. This Author tells us, That Jesus Christ celebrated the Passover five times, and died the sixth, in the 16th Year of *Tiberius*, after he had Preached for the space of a Year only. This System is ancient.

(f) *Some harsh Terms.*] Such as *exambire*, *remissi*, *sanctificari*, *magnanimitas*, *mortalitas*, *confundi*, *abstinere* to excommunicate, *Dominicum*, &c. Words which are not Latin. He has likewise some harsh Turns; as for Example, he uses the Pronouns, *se*, *sui*, instead of *iste*, *istic* for *hic*, *quando* for *cum*, *quamdiu* for *donec*, *imo* for *potius*. He has also some Allusions and Antitheses proper to the Africans.

very

very advantageously of the Bishop of *Rome*, and looks upon the Bishop of that See to be the Superintendent of the first Church in the World. *But then he was of Opinion, that he ought not to assume any Authority over the rest of the Bishops that were his Brethren, or over their Churches: That every Bishop was to render to God an account of his own Conduct: That the Episcopal Authority is indivisible, and that every Bishop has his Portion of it.* That in case of necessity, all Bishops may assist their Brethren with their Counsels, though they are not under their ordinary Jurisdiction: That Causes ought to be determined in their respective Provinces, where the Accusers and Witnesses are to be found: That Councils or Assemblies of Bishops are extreamly useful: That the Keys were given to the whole Church in general, in the Person of S. *Peter*, to denote Unity. It may be proved out of his Writings, *That they used to offer Sacrifice for the Dead in his time; That they were persuaded that the Saints interceded for us, and that Sacrifices were offered in Honour of their Memory*; That they made use of Holy Water, that they had Virgins who made Profession of Virginity; and that this condition was mightily honoured among the Christians. I take no notice of abundance of other points of Discipline and Morality, which may be observed in the Abridgment we have made of his Works, where the Reader, as he peruses them, may collect them for himself; and indeed, they are of great importance to all People. S. *Cyprian.*

The 1st Edition of S. *Cyprian*, which appear'd a little after the Invention of Printing, neither bears the Name of the Printer, nor of the City where it was Printed. It is more Correct, and freer from Faults than the following ones.

The 2d Edition is that of *Spire*, by *Wendelinus*, in the Year 1471, in Folio. It is mighty full of Errors.

In the Year 1512, *Remboldus* caused this Author to be Printed at *Paris*, and was the first that divided the Letters into several Books. Afterwards *Erasmus* having Review'd and Corrected it, Printed it with a Preface and some Annotations, in the beginning in 1520, and 1525, for *Frobenius*. It was likewise Printed the very same Year at *Colen*. Afterwards at *Paris*, for *Langelier*, in 1541. At *Antwerp*, in *Octavo*, in the Year 1542. by *Crinitus*, and for *Frobenius*, in 1549. At *Lyons* for *Gryphius*, in *Octavo*, in 1544, and 1550. At *Basil*, according to *Erasmus*'s Edition, in *Folio*, for *John Hervagius*, in 1558. *Gravius* caused it to be Printed with some Notes at *Colen*; and it was also Printed at *Lyons*, in 1535, 1543, 1549 and 1556, in *Octavo*. At *Venice* in the same Volume, in 1547. After these Editions, which are none of the most Correct, *Manutius* caused it to be Printed at *Rome*, Corrected by several Manuscripts in 1563. in *Folio*, in a very neat Character, and augmented with a fifth Book of Letters. *Morellus*'s Edition at *Paris* in the Year following, is larger and more accurately done. It was Printed too at *Geneva*, in the Year 1593 with the Notes of *Goulartius* and *Pamelius*.

Pamelius, after he had taken pains with *Tertullian*, set himself to Publish a more exact Edition of S. *Cyprian*'s Works. He is the first that disposed the Letters according to the Series of Time, distributing them, as we have done into five Classes; but he has not been very exact in distributing those of the same Clas in their natural Order. He likewise writ S. *Cyprian*'s Life, and has made large Observations upon this Author, wherein he applies himself more to confirm the Doctrin and Discipline of our Times, than to explain the difficulties of his Author.

Pamelius's S. *Cyprian* has been Printed twice at *Antwerp*, in 1568, and 1589. And at *Paris* in 1607, 1574, 1616, 1632, and 1644. These Editions are compared with several ancient Manuscripts, and the former Editions. In imitation of him, *Rigaltius*, after he had Published *Tertullian*, undertook S. *Cyprian*, and without making the least alteration in the Order observed by *Pamelius*, he only Corrected the Works of this Author, upon the different Readings of two *Italian* Manuscripts, which Monsieur *de Monchal*, Archbishop of *Tholouse*, had Copied in the Margin of his S. *Cyprian*, and made some Notes to explain the most difficult places; and some Observations to enlighten the Discipline that was in vigour in this Saint's time. Some of these Observations seem to be bold, and he endeavours to excuse himself for them in his Preface. This Edition was Printed at *Paris* for *Dupuis*, in 1648.

In the Year 1666, *Dupuis* Reprinted the Works of this Saint, as he did those of *Tertullian*, that is to say, he added to the Text, which is conformable to the Edition of *Rigaltius*, the entire Notes and Observations of that Learned Man; together with some choice Observations of *Pamelius*, and join'd to this Author *Minutius Felix*, *Arnobius*, *Firmicus*, and the Instruction of *Commodianus*. In the Year 1681. *Frederic Reinard*, a *Minister* in *Germany*, put out S. *Cyprian*'s Letters at *Altdorf*. There is nothing particular in this Edition, but the great number of Manuscripts with which it was compared.

Monsieur *Lombert* having Translated the Works of S. *Cyprian* into *French*, and follow'd *Pamelius*'s Method in his Translation, has reformed some part of this Method in his Preface, and has given us, by the assistance of several judicious Men, a more accurate order of the Letters and Treatises of S. *Cyprian*, than that of *Pamelius*. [He is quoted with great respect by the Bishops of *Oxford* and *Chester*, in the *Oxford* Edition of this Father's Works.]

After all, two English Bishops, not long since, put out a new Edition of S. *Cyprian*, which is more correct and exact, and larger than all the former. The Text is here Printed in a very fine Character, Revised upon four new Manuscripts, and several different Readings, Copied out of other Manuscripts by very able Men. The Margin is all along charged with a very short and clear Summary of all that is contained in the Text. Just under the Text, the different reading of the Manuscripts and Editions are set down. At the bottom of the Page are placed the Notes, some of which are borrowed from *Rigaltius* and *Pamelius*, and the rest which are new are made by the Bishop of *Oxford*. Most of them are Theological. His Tracts precede the Letters in this Edition, and are disposed according to the Order wherein they are supposed to have been written. The Letters likewise are distributed after a new Method, but very exact. The Books that are falsly attributed to S. *Cyprian*, are Printed at the end in a smaller Character, with the Works of *Arnoldus Bonævallis* that carry his Name with a Book of Meditations never Printed before. The Calendar of *Easter* is at the end of

S. *Cyprian.* the Volume. At the head of all, there is an Advertisement to the Reader, containing the general Design of this Edition; S. *Cyprian*'s Life, by *Pontius* his Deacon; some Testimonies of the Ancients concerning S. *Cyprian*; a Table as well of the Books according to the different Editions, as of the Texts of Scripture cited in the Works of S. *Cyprian*, and the matter of them. This is followed with a Book written by Dr. *Pearson*, Bishop of *Chester*, Intituled, *The Annals of S.* Cyprian, because it contains the History of the Lives and Works of this Saint from Year to Year. [After all, there are some Dissertations of Mr. *Dodwell*'s upon difficult places, wherein he not only explains his Author, but makes large Digressions to clear some of the most considerable Questions in all Ecclesiastical Antiquity: And to illustrate those Matters of Fact, and Points of Discipline which are only alluded to in S. *Cyprian*, as things at that time perfectly known.]

I have been lately informed, That a Doctor of the Faculty in *Paris*, a Man of prodigious Learning, designs to oblige the World with a new Edition of S. *Cyprian*. It were to be wished, that this Design were put in Execution, it being a matter of great Importance, that S. *Cyprian* should be Published by a Catholick Divine, who is throughly versed in the Doctrin and Discipline of the Church, and who, in his Annotations would not depart from the Rule of Faith, nor condemn or disapprove the practice of the Church; that so by this means the Works of the Father might without any danger be put into the hands of all People.

PONTIUS.

Pontius. SAint *Jerom* reckons *Pontius* among the Ecclesiastical Authors, who writ the Life of S. *Cyprian*, whose Deacon he had been. Some Learned Persons, and *Rigaltius* in particular, seem to have doubted whether this Work was not Suppositious; and indeed, we must own, that it is written with so much affectation of Eloquence, that it might well be suspected to be spurious, if S. *Jerom* had not owned it as genuine. But, after the Testimony of that Learned Father, I don't think we ought to question the truth of it. This Life is not written, as *Rigaltius* has well observ'd, after an Historical manner, but in the Language of one that desired to be thought an Orator, and has more Rhetorical Ornaments, than Historical Exactness in it. The Narration which ought to be plain and single, is full of Rhetorical Figures; and the Style, which ought to be concise, is swelling. In short, as I have observed already, there is rather an affectation of Eloquence, than any true Eloquence in this Book.

CORNELIUS.

Cornelius. C*Ornelius* was ordained Bishop of *Rome*, towards the beginning of the Year 251. Soon after, *Novatian* got himself ordained by three Bishops, but his Ordination being Irregular, was Condemned, and *Cornelius* acknowledged to be the true Bishop of *Rome* by all the Bishops in the World.

He was sent into Banishment in the Persecution of the Emperor *Gallus*, and then receiv'd the Crown of Martyrdom, towards the end of the Year 253. after he had presided in the Roman Chair two Years and some Months.

There are two Letters of this Pope among S. *Cyprian*'s, and *(a) Eusebius* mentions three more.

In the first, he informs *Fabius*, Bishop of *Antioch*, of what had passed in the Synod held at *Rome* against *Novatian*, and sends him the Opinion of the *Italian* and *African* Bishops.

In the second, he gives a more particular Account of the Decrees of this Synod; and in the third, he describes the Manners and Actions of *Novatian*. *Eusebius* has preserved a long Fragment of this last Letter, wherein *Cornelius* describes the Artifices which *Novatian* had used, to get himself Ordained Bishop, by abusing the simplicity and easiness of three Bishops, one of whom having acknowledged his Crime, did Penance for it. He afterwards observes, that there were at that time in the Church of *Rome*, 44 Priests, 7 Deacons, and as many Sub-Deacons, 42 Acolyths, 52 Porters and Exorcists, without reckoning the Widows and Poor, upwards of 1500. and a *(b)* very great multitude of People.

He adds, That *Novatian* could never hope to arrive to the Episcopal Order, because he was Baptized in his Bed, and never received Imposition from the hands of the Bishop, that is to say, the Sacrament of Confirmation, and was afterwards ordained Priest only at the request of a Bishop, contrary to the Order of the Church, which Prohibits the Ordaining of those who had been Baptized after that manner: He reproaches him for denying his Sacerdotal Function in time of Persecution; as also for obliging those of his own Party, when he gave them the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ (instead of answering *Amen*, as was the custom of the Church) to Swear, that they would never return to *Cornelius*'s Party. Lastly, he informs *Fabius*, that the Confessors of *Rome* had left his Party, and that several Bishops, whose Names he sends him, were condemned in a Synod. This Letter, as well as the others sent by *Cornelius* to the East, were in all probability written in Greek. In the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, we find a very short Letter, attributed to *Cornelius*, directed to *Lupinicus*, Bishop of *Vienna*; but that Letter does not belong to this Pope, no more than the two others which go under his Name in the Decretals. For first of all it is not of the same Style with those we find in S. *Cyprian*. Secondly, the word *Mass*, which was unknown at that time, occurs there. And thirdly, it is unworthy of this Pope, and 'tis plain, it was counterfeited by some ignorant Impostor. The Style of *Cornelius*, as far as we are able to judge of it, by those few Letters of his that are still extant, is not very lofty; tho' he sets off whatever he says, turning every thing to his own advantage, and does not spare his Enemy in the least.

(a) Eusebius mentions three more.] S. *Jerom* reckons Four Letters, but he is mistaken, and *Eusebius* takes notice only of three.

(b) And a very great multitude of People.] There were at that time several Churches at *Rome*, for they had but one Priest to one Church: And this is the Reason why *Optatus*, speaking of the Churches that were at *Rome* in the Time of *Diocletian*, says, that there were above forty of them.

NOVATIAN.

NOvatian, who had been a Philosopher before he was a Christian, was, as we have hinted already, Baptized in his Bed, being dangerously ill. He was afterwards ordained Priest of the Church of *Rome*, at the instance of his Bishop, who obtained this Favour for him from the Clergy and People, who would have opposed it. *Cornelius* accuses him for absconding in a Chamber during the Persecution, and for answering the Deacons, who desired him to go out and Baptize some *Catechumens*, That he would not be a Priest any longer, but that he would follow another sort of Philosophy. Being Master of a great deal of Wit, Knowledge and Eloquence, he might have been very serviceable to the Church, if his Ambition to be a Bishop, which was, in a manner, the sole occasion of the Apostacy of the first Heresiarchs, had not carried him to a Separation. After the Death of Pope *Fabian*, he wrote in the Name of the Clergy of *Rome*, a very Elegant Letter to S. *Cyprian*, which is the thirtieth among those of that Father, and he still continued in the Communion of the Church during the Vacancy of that See. But as soon as *Cornelius* was chosen in *Fabius*'s room, pushed forward by his Envy and Jealousie, he attacked his Ordination, accused him of several Crimes, and published a Libel against him. The principal Plea he made use of, was, That *Cornelius* admitted those who had been guilty of Idolatry to Communion; and to make the best advantage of this Accusation, he maintained, That we never ought to suffer those Persons to participate of the Communion, who had fallen into Idolatry. So he separated from *Cornelius*, and from those who believed, that the Church might receive them again. The greater part of those who had suffered Couragiously for the Faith of Jesus Christ, not being able to endure that others, who had not shewn the same Constancy and Resolution, should (if I may use the Expression) stand on the same level with themselves, embraced his Party, together with some Priests. *Novatus*, a Priest of *Afric*, who had raised great Feuds against S. *Cyprian* at *Carthage*, joined himself to *Novatian*, and brought with him those of his own Faction. (*a*) It was he who gave him that pernicious Advice to get himself Ordained Bishop. *Novatian*, the better to execute this design, sent two of his own Cabal to three simple ignorant Bishops, who lived in a small Province of *Italy*, and prevailed with them to come to *Rome*, under a pretence of accommodating Affairs, and putting a stop to some Divisions. As soon as these three Bishops were come to *Rome*, he shut them up in a Chamber, and caused himself to be ordained Bishop of *Rome* by them, about Ten a Clock at Night, and this, after he had made them drunk, if we may believe *Cornelius*. Immediately after his Ordination, he dispatched two Letters to the Bishops of the other Provinces, and sent some Deputies into *Afric* to get his Ordination approved. But the *African* Bishops rejected his Deputies, and ratified *Cornelius*'s Ordination. The rest of the Bishops also adhered to *Cornelius*: And one of the three who had ordained *Novatian*, acknowledged his Fault, and did Penance for it. The Confessors gave him up to *Cornelius*, who having got him condemned in a Synod of Sixty Bishops, wholly turned him out of the Church. He continued however still to teach this Doctrin, That the Church neither could nor ought to admit those to the Communion who had Apostatized: And as this Severity pleased abundance of People, so he became the Head of a Heresie, which disturbed the Peace of the Church for a very long time.

Novatian.

Besides, this Letter which he writ before his Separation in the Name of the Clergy of *Rome*, S. *Jerom* tells us, he composed the following Treatises, *viz.* of the *Passover*, the *Sabbath*, *Circumcision*, the *High Priest*, *Prayer*, *Jewish Meals*; of *Firmness of Mind* with relation to *Attalus*, and many more, together with a great Volume about the *Trinity*, which is, as it were, an abridgment of *Tertullian*'s Work, that has been by several Persons attributed to S. *Cyprian*; not that *Tertullian* made a Book expresly about the *Trinity*, but because he had borrowed whatever he says out of the Books of *Tertullian* upon the *Trinity*. We have none of these Works under the Name of *Novatian*, but 'tis extreamly probable, that the Treatise of the *Trinity*, and that of the *Jewish* Meats, that are to be found in *Tertullian*, are the same which S. *Jerom* attributed to *Novatian*.

And indeed, as for the Book of the *Trinity*, *Ruffinus* observes, that it was not composed by S. *Cyprian*, under whose Name it went, but by *Tertullian*. S. *Jerom*, who saw farther into this matter than *Ruffinus*, takes notice in the Apology which he has composed against him, that it was not written by *Tertullian*, but by *Novatian*. There are several Reasons which make it evidently appear, that the Book we now have, is the very same with that mentioned by S. *Jerom* and *Ruffinus*. For in the first place it carries the same Title. Secondly, it imitates *Tertullian*, and uses his Arguments. Thirdly, the Style of it is polite enough, and the Terms very pure. Fourthly, we find some Passages there against the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, a Fault which *Ruffinus* and S. *Jerom* observe to have been in the Book of the *Trinity*, which they cited, and which might have been inserted afterwards by the *Macedonians*. For this Author establishes very Orthodox Principles concerning the Mystery of the *Trinity*, which prove the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, as well as that of the Son.

It is very probable likewise, that the Treatise about *Jewish Meats*, attributed to *Tertullian*, belongs to *Novatian*, as well by reason of the conformity of the Style, as because the Author observes in the

(*a*) *It was he who gave him that pernicious Advice.*] S. *Cyprian* in his 41st Epistle tells us, That *Novatus* had ordained a Bishop of *Rome*, as one *Felicissimus* a Priest had done one at *Carthage*; not that he made them so himself, for he was no Bishop, but because he had made him so by his Counsels and Faction.

beginning

Novatian. beginning, that he wrote two Letters, wherein he demonstrated, that the *Jews* knew not what is the true Circumcision, or what is the true Sabbath. All which agrees with *Novatian*, who, according to S. *Jerom*, wrote two Treatises upon the same Subjects.

The Design of this Treatise is to shew, That the Animals forbidden to be eaten by the Mosaical Law, were not absolutely and in themselves impure. To demonstrate the Truth of this Assertion, he tells us, that the Fruits of Trees were the first Nourishment of Mankind; that afterwards they eat the Flesh of Animals; that the Law came in afterwards, which made a distinction betwixt those Creatures that might be eaten, and those that were prohibited; that under this Dispensation they were called Unclean, not because they were really so in their own Nature, since they were the Creatures of God, but first, to instruct Men to avoid the Vices that were figured, and (*b*) represented by these Animals; and in the second place, to serve as a Remedy against Intemperance; that Jesus Christ, who is the end and accomplishment of the Law, has given liberty to Men to eat of all sorts of Meats, provided they don't violate the bounds of Christian Sobriety; and from thence he takes occasion to reprove the Irregularities and Disorders of some Christians, who lived intemperately. He observes, that this is by no means fitting for those Persons who are to pray Night and Day. At last, out of the number of Meats that are permitted to be eaten, he excepts those that have been offered to Idols, from which the Primitive Christians abstained very Religiously; and he concludes all with these Words, that are an Abridgment of his whole Discourse: 'Having therefore shewn what is the nature of Meats, (for he had before discovered the Genius of the Mosaical Law, and explained the nature of the Evangelical Liberty) 'Let us live up to the Rules of Temperance, and abstain from things offered to Idols, giving 'thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ his Son, to whom be Praise, Honour and Glory for ever and ever. *Amen.*

Some think that *Novatian* writ this Letter during the Persecution of *Decius*, before he had separated from the Church; but his way of speaking, at the beginning, makes me rather believe, that it was composed after he became Chief of the Party, in the Persecution of *Gallus* and *Volusian*. This Author has abundance of Wit, Knowledge and Eloquence; his Style is pure, clean and polite; his Expressions choice, his Thoughts natural, and his way of Reasoning just: He is full of Citations of Texts of Scripture that are alway to the purpose; and besides, there is a great deal of Order and Method in those Treatises of his we now have, and he never speaks but with a world of Candor and Moderation.

(*b*) *Represented by these Animals.*] As for Example, he says, that the Prohibition of eating Swines-flesh is to intimate to us, that we are not to lead a Carnal Life: That when we are forbidden to eat Weasils, the meaning is, we are forbidden to Steal; that by Crows, Pleasures are signified, *&c.*

S. MARTIALIS.

S. Martialis SAint *Martialis* came into *France* with S. *Dionysius* (*a*) under the Emperor *Decius* towards the year of our Lord 250. Two Letters attributed to him, one written to the People of *Burdeaux*, the other to those of *Tholouse*, which were said to be found in the Vestry of (*b*) S. *Peter* of *Limoges* in the Eleventh Century, and have been since (*c*) frequently Printed, and inserted into the last *Bibliotheca Patrum*, though no Man questions that these Letters are Suppositious. For in the first place the Author tells us, that he lived with Jesus Christ, which can by no means agree with him who was Bishop of *Limoges* in 252. Secondly, in the Eighth Chapter of the Second Letter, he saith, that he Baptized King *Stephen*, and another Tyrant with his Noblemen. Now in the time of *Martialis* there was neither King nor Tyrant in *France*. Thirdly, he tells us, that in his time the Temples of the Gods were demolished, and that Churches were built by the Kings Authority, which does not agree with the time of S. *Martialis*. Fourthly, the Texts of Scripture quoted in these Letters follow the vulgar Translation, which was composed long after. Fifthly, the Author tells us, that he had eaten with Jesus Christ at the last Supper, though it is certain that none but the Apostles were there.

The Life of S. *Martialis*, Printed at the end of *Abdias*, which carries the Name of *Aurelian* Bishop of *Limoges*, is a spurious Piece, no less than the Epistles of that Bishop, and full as Fabulous as the History of *Abdias*, to which it is joined. The Author by a very gross Error supposes, that *Vespasian* succeeded *Nero* immediately. He tells us that S. *Martialis* received from Jesus Christ after his Resurrection, the same Power which the Apostles had; that he never suffered either Hunger, Thirst or Pain, and recounts several other Fables concerning him, which are no less ridiculous than those that are to be found upon the same Subject in the two Councils of *Limoges*, held in the Years 1029 and 1031.

(*a*) *Under the Emperor* Decius.] S. *Gregory* of *Tours* is the Man that fixes this Epocha of the coming of S. *Denis*, *Martialis*, and their Collegues into *France*. There is no Author extant, who is either more ancient or more worthy to be believed than S. *Gregory*, that has given us any Account of their arrival there any sooner.

(*b*) Peter of *Limoges.*] This Story is related by a Monk called *Gaufius*, in a Chronicle which is to be found in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, p. 288, 289. first printed in the Year 1521, with *Abdias*, and afterwards in 1571, and 1614.

(*c*) *Frequently Printed.*] They were first printed by *Badius* in the Year 1521, afterwards by *Bordes* in the Year 1573, with the Notes of *Elmenhorstius* at *Helmstad* in 1614. at *Basil* in 1655, at *Colen* in 1560.

SIXTUS *or* XYSTUS.

Sixtus.

IT is a long time ago, since under the name of Pope *Sixtus*, who presided in the *Roman* Chair in the Year 257. *Ruffinus* published a Book of a certain Pythagorean Philosopher named *Sixtus*, translated out of Greek into Latin. (*a*) S. *Jerom* often reproaches him with this Imposture; S. *Austin* suffered himself at first to be deceived by it, and has cited it in his Book of Nature and Grace, as if it had been composed by Pope *Sixtus*, but afterwards (*b*) he retracts his Error. *Gelasius* placed it among the Heretical Books, supposing it to have been written by some Christian. (*c*) It is still extant, being a Medley of Philosophical Sentences, useful indeed in themselves, and serviceable to the Truth, but having little of the Spirit of Christianity in them. There is no mention made in it either of Jesus Christ, the Holy Ghost, the Prophets or the Apostles; and it is full of the Errors of the *Pythagoreans* and the *Stoicks*. It renders Man equal to God, and affirms that he is made of a Divine Substance, and would have him be without Passion, according to the Principle of the *Stoicks*, and without Sin, pursuant to the Doctrin of the *Pelagians*. There are several other *Pelagian* Errors to be found in it.

(*a*) *S.* Jerom *often reproaches him with this Imposture.*] *Ep. ad Ctesiphont. contra Pelag. in Cap.* 22. *Jerom. in Cap.* 18. *Ezechielis.*

(*b*) *He retracts this Error.*] *Aug. lib.* 2. *retract. c.* 42.

(*c*) *It is still extant.*] In the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, but I cannot tell whether it was ever Printed by it self.

S. GREGORY THAUMATURGUS.

S. Gregory Thaumaturgus.

SAint *Gregory*, whose Name at first was *Theodorus*, and afterwards Surnamed *Thaumaturgus*, that is to say, the Worker of Miracles, by reason of the great number of Miracles he is supposed to have wrought both in his Life-time, and after his Death, was born in the City of *Neo-Cæsarea* in *Pontus*, descended of a Family that was very considerable as well for its Nobility, as for its great Possessions. He was educated in the idolatrous Worship, having a Father who was extreemly bigotted to Paganism. After he had lost him at the Age of Fourteen Years, his Mother would have him study Rhetorick to qualifie himself for the Bar. His Sister being married to a Lawyer, who was afterwards Governour of *Palestine*, and being obliged to follow her Husband, *Gregory* and *Athenodorus* her Brothers went along with her, intending to go as far as *Berytus*, and there apply themselves to the Study of the Laws in a Celebrated School of that City. But being arrived at *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, they there met *Origen*, who having exhorted them to study Philosophy, by little and little inspired into them the Principles of the Christian Faith, and soon after made them his Disciples. After they had been with him for the space of five Years, *Gregory* being willing to testifie the great Obligations he had to *Origen*, and besides, to give him some publick Marks of his Acknowledgment, as he took his leave of him, composed a very eloquent Discourse, which he recited before a numerous Assembly invited to that Solemnity. After his return to *Neo-Cæsarea*, he retired for some time, and lived a solitary Life, and was at last, contrary to his Inclinations, ordained Bishop of *Neo-Cæsarea* by *Phædimus* Bishop of *Amasea*, towards the Year of our Lord 240. At that time there were but very few Christians in that City, but the number of them was soon augmented by his vigilance and care, and by his Miracles, so that this Church became in a little time one of the most flourishing Churches in the World. He assisted at the first Council of *Antioch* held against *Paulus Samosatenus*, as *Eusebius* tells us in the Sixth Book of his History, *ch.* 23. and Died a little after in the Year 265. This is an Abridgment of this Bishop's Life, drawn out of his Discourse to *Origen*, out of *Eusebius*, S. *Basil*, S. *Jerom* and S. *Gregory Nyssen* in the Relation that he gives of the Life of this great Saint.

The Works of this Father (part whereof of *Zinus*'s Version were Printed at *Venice* in Latin in 1574, and at *Rome* in 1594.) were collected and Printed in Greek by *Gerrard Vossius*, at *Mentz* in *Quarto*, 1604, and afterwards in *Folio* at *Paris*, 1621, with some other smaller Fathers.

The first, as well as the most Eloquent Work he has composed, is the Harangue he made to thank *Origen*, which was separately Published by *Hoeschelius* at the end of his Edition of *Origen* against *Celsus* in 1605. He begins his *Exordium* with the difficulty of commending *Origen* as he deserved. Afterwards he tells him in what a strange manner the Providence of God conducted him to *Cæsarea*, the Conversations this great Man held with him and his Brother to exhort them to the Study of Philosophy, and to possess them with a Veneration for the Holy Scriptures and the Christian Religion; and afterwards he testifies the Regret he had to be obliged to quit a Master whom he so tenderly loved. This Harangue is very Eloquent, and we may say it is one of the most consummate pieces of Rhetorick that are any where extant among the Ancients. It was printed under the name of *Gregory Thaumaturgus* in Greek, and in Latin at *Antwerp* in 1613, in *Octavo*.

The Second Book mentioned by *Eusebius* and S. *Jerom*, as well as the first, is his Paraphrase upon *Ecclesiastes*. It was Translated by *Jacobus Billius*, who attributed it to S. *Gregory Nazianzen* upon the Credit of a Manuscript in the King's Library. But certain it is, that it belongs to *Gregory Thaumaturgus*

S. *Gregory Thaumaturgus.*

maturgus, not only because we read in *Eusebius*, and in S. *Jerom*, that he composed a Book bearing that Name, which we are nowhere told of S. *Gregory Nazianzen*, but also because we find there word for word a long Passage cited by S. *Jerom* upon the fourth Chapter of *Ecclesiastes*, as taken out of the Paraphrase upon *Ecclesiastes*, done by *Gregory* Bishop of *Pontus*. I have no more to say of this Book, but only that it is a Paraphrase which largely explains the Moral Reflections in *Ecclesiastes*.

S. *Gregory Nyssen* in his Life of this Father, takes notice of a Creed which, as he pretends, this Saint received from S. *John* in a Vision which he saw in the Night, and which was still preserved, being, as he says, written by the Hand of *Gregory Thaumaturgus*. This Profession of Faith is as follows: 'There is only One God the Father, who is the Father of the Living Word, his essential Wisdom, his 'Power, and his eternal Image; it is he who being Sovereignly perfect, has begotten a Son Sovereignly 'perfect as himself. He is the Father of the only Son. There is only one Lord, the only Son of the 'only Father, God begotten of God, the Character and Image of the Divinity, the efficacious Word by 'which all Creatures were formed, the true Son of the true Father, the invisible Son of the invisible Father, the Incorruptible of the Incorruptible, the Immortal of the Immortal, the eternal Son of him 'who is from all Eternity; and there is only one Holy Ghost, who proceeds from God, and was given to 'Men by the Son, he is the Image of the Son, and a perfect Image of him that is perfect. He is Life, 'and the Principle of Life to those that Live; He is the Holy Spring, Holiness it self, and the Author 'of Sanctification. By him God the Father is made manifest, who is above all things, and in all things, 'and God the Son, who is equally in all things. This is the perfect Trinity, which is not divided, 'but is One in Glory, in Sovereignty and Eternity.

The following Words, which some Persons do still attribute to *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, belong to S. *Gregory Nyssen*, who draws this Conclusion from the above-mentioned Profession. 'There is therefore no 'created Person or dependent Being in the Trinity, it admits into it nothing that is Foreign, nothing 'that has been out of it during a time, or which afterwards began to be there; the Father was never 'without the Son, nor the Son without the Holy Ghost, but the Trinity has ever been immovable 'and invariable.

There is likewise attributed to S. *Gregory Thaumaturgus* another Exposition of Faith, much longer, and translated by *Turrianus*, which some People might believe to be that which is cited by S. *Basil*, in his Sixty Fourth Epistle, directed to one whose Name was *Ælian*. But it is manifest, that this is different from that mentioned by S. *Basil*, and that it could not be composed by S. *Gregory Thaumaturgus*: For, in the first place, it is different from that S. *Basil* speaks of, which was addressed to *Ælian*. and made in form of a Dispute, wherein he says, That the Father and Son were one in *Hypostasis*, and only distinguished by abstraction of the Mind, the Words which the *Sabellians* abused; whereas in this which is neither addressed to *Ælian*, nor composed after the manner of a Dispute, the Error of *Sabellius* is clearly rejected; and it is formally said, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are Three *Persons*, and Three *Hypostases*. In the second place, it cannot be of the time of S. *Gregory Thaumaturgus*; for the Author expressly refutes the *Arians*, saying, That those who affirm, that the Son is created of nothing, are Enemies to the Faith of the Church, and that those who reject the Word *Consubstantial*, are out of the Church. Besides, when he explains the Mystery of the Incarnation, he speaks after a manner which makes it credible, that he had the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians* in view. *Canisius* attributes this Profession of Faith to *Apollinarius*, but it too plainly refutes the Error of that Heretick to be ever his. However it be, it was composed after the time of S. *Gregory Thaumaturgus*. We ought to pass the same Judgment upon the twelve *Anathema's*, which follow this Exposition, and are likewise composed out of the Errors of the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians*.

No Body doubts of the Canonical Epistle of this Saint, which is cited in the sixth Council, and is set down by *Balsamon*. It has all the Characters of Antiquity, which any one can desire in such Monuments. It was written after the *Goths* had ravag'd *Asia* under *Galienus*, and it is directed to a Bishop, whose Name we know not, to instruct him how he was to prescribe Penance to those who had fallen into any scandalous Crimes, during the Inundations of the *Barbarians*. In the first Canon he says, that those who having been taken Prisoners by the *Barbarians*, had eaten the Food which was given them, ought not, upon that account to suffer Penance, as well because the *Barbarians* did not sacrifice any Victims to Idols, as also because that which defiles the Man is not the Meat which enters into the Man, but that which goes out of the Man. That for the same reason those Captive Women who had been forcibly carried away by the *Barbarians*, were not to be blamed; but nevertheless, that those who had lived dissolute Lives before their Captivity, were not easily to be admitted to Communion.

In the second Canon, and the three following, which to speak properly are only one Canon, he detests the Avarice and Injustice of those Persons, who took the advantage of the Captivity of these miserable Creatures to plunder them of their Goods. He shews, that they are obliged to make Restitution, and that they cannot keep in their Possession the Goods of other Men. In the sixth, he endeavours to shew with what Horror the World ought to look upon the Cruelty of those Persons, who detained as Captives those who had freed themselves out of the Hands of the *Barbarians*. In the seventh he ordains, That such Offenders should not be received so much as into the number of Hearers (this was the first Degree of Penance) who joining themselves with the *Barbarians*, had fallen upon the Christians, either by Murdering them, or shewing the Infidels where they were fled for shelter. In the eighth, he decrees the same Punishment against those who should be convicted to have broken open any ones House during the Ravage of the *Barbarians*; but then he moderates this Rigour in favour of those who

who should make a voluntary Confession, and these he places in the third degree of Penitents. 'Tis also under this Class, that in the ninth Canon he ranges those who kept back the things which belonged to others, which they found in the midst of the Field, or in their Houses, as soon as they were convicted of it: But if they confessed the Fact, he believed them not to be unworthy to communicate at Prayers, which was the last degree of Penance. In the tenth, he exhorts those that were willing to restore their Neighbours Goods, to do it without making any sordid Gain, by exacting any thing for what they had discovered, kept or found, or for any other reason whatever it might be. The last Canon is in explication of the different degrees of Penance. Weeping and Groaning, says he, consist in standing without the Church Porch, where the Sinner ought to beg earnestly of those who go in, to pray to God for him, and this is the first degree. The second degree is that of Hearers, and is performed in the Church-porch, where the Sinner is to tarry with the *Catechumens*, and go out with them, after having heard the Holy Scripture, as being unworthy of Prayer. In the Substration, which is the third degree, the Party offending is admitted into the Body of the Church, but must go out with the *Catechumens*. Lastly, the fourth degree is that of standing up when the Person may tarry in the Church with the Faithful, without being obliged to go out of it with the *Catechumens*; and this is followed with the participation of the Sacraments. *Morinus* questions whether this last Canon belongs to *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, and conjectures, that it has been added by one of the Modern *Greeks*, to explain the Letter of this Saint. This Conjecture seems to be well grounded. S. *Gregory Thaumaturgus.*

There goes likewise, under the name of this Father, a Discourse about the Soul, addressed to one *Tatian*, which contains the Decision of several Questions concerning the Nature of the Soul, and follows the Principles of the *Peripatetics*, but in truth it has not the least resemblance of S. *Gregory*'s Style; and besides, it seems to be the product of the following Age, when *Aristotle*'s Philosophy began to be in some Reputation. To be short, it is rather the work of a Philosopher, than of a Bishop.

I am no less satisfied, that the Sermons which carry the name of S. *Gregory Thumaturgus*, do really belong to another Author; for besides, that none of the Ancients have ever mentioned them, they are altogether of a different Style, which is so far from approaching the Elegance and Politeness so familiar to S. *Gregory*, that it is mean and childish. Secondly, The Author of these Sermons speaks of the Mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation, in such terms as shew, that he lived after the rise of the Heresies of the (*a*) *Arians* and *Nestorians*. He often affects to make use of the word Θεοτόκος when he speaks of the Virgin *Mary*, and bestows excessive Praises upon her, which were not customary till after the Council of *Ephesus*. Lastly, it is evident, that these Homilies were composed when the Church enjoy'd Peace, and celebrated it's Festivals with great Solemnity.

The three Sermons upon the Annunciation resemble the Style of *Proclus* of *Constantinople*, as it has been observed by him who has made some Notes upon the Homilies of that Author. The last of the three has also been attributed to S. *Chrysostome*, but the difference of the Style shews that it is not his.

The fourth Sermon is upon the Baptism of *JESUS CHRIST*, which Festival was anciently celebrated on the day of *Epiphany*; it is more eloquent than the three preceeding ones, and appears to be composed by another Author, who nevertheless was not S. *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, for the very same reason we have offered before; there we find the term Θεοτόκος, and that of *Consubstantial.*

(*a*) *The* Arians *and* Nestorians.] For Example, in the first of these Homilies, it is said, that *JESUS CHRIST* is born of the Virgin, that he is God and Man without Confusion, and without Change, perfect in the Divinity, and the Humanity, like his Father in all, and consubstantial to us. In the second, there are extraordinary Praises of the Virgin, whom he calls Θεοτόκος, which was not begun to be commonly practised till after the Synod of *Ephesus*, The Trinity is there called *Consubstantial.*

S. DIONYSIUS *of* Alexandria.

Dionysius, (*a*) who had formerly been a Disciple of *Origen*, and Catechist of the Church of *Alexandria*, succeeded *Heraclas* in the Episcopal See of that Church, in the Third (*b*) Year of the Empire of *Philippus*, and 247 of the Nativity of our Saviour. He was one of the most Learned and most Illustrious Bishops of his Age; and being consulted from all parts upon matters of Religion, wrote a vast number of Letters to the most famous Bishops of the Church, besides several Works against the Hereticks, and some Treatises of Divinity and Discipline. S. *Jerom* has composed a Catalogue of all his Works, and *Eusebius* has enriched his History with several Passages that he has S. *Dionysius.*

(*a*) *Dionysius.*] He is Sirnamed the Great, by the Ancients. *Euseb.* S. *Basil. Ep. ad Amphil. Maximus* and *Metaphrastes* give him this Name. He had formerly been a Rhetorician, if we may believe *Maximus* upon the fifth Chapter of the *Hierarchia Cœlestis*. He was unquestionably descended of a good Family. See *Eusebius*, *Lib.* 7. *Ch.* 11. and the Notes of *Valesius.*

(*b*) *The third Year.*] 'Tis so set down in *Eusebius*'s History, *Lib.* 6. *Chap.* 35. and in his Chronicon 'tis the Fifth. But the Account of his History is the truest; for he supposes in his Chronicon, that *Philip* reigned Seven years, whereas he was Emperour but Five.

S. *Dionyſius.*

borrowed out of him. The Fragments that are yet extant in *Euſebius* and S. *Athanaſius*, make us greatly regret the Loſs of his Writings, as Works that would have been of infinite Advantage and Uſe in the Explication of the Doctrin of the Church. The Catalogue of them, as it is ſet down by S. *Jerom*, being without any order, we ſhall therefore endeavour to make another of all the Volumes of this *Dionyſius*, whereof we have any knowledge, according to the order of time in which they were written, not forgetting at the ſame time to take notice of thoſe Fragments that are to be found in *Euſebius* and in S. *Athanaſius*.

The firſt Letter which he wrote, is directed to *Fabius*, Biſhop of *Antioch*, immediately after the Perſecution of the Emperor *Decius*; that is to ſay, at the end of the year 250. *Euſebius* has preſerved two Fragments of it in the Sixth Book, *Chap.* 41. & 44. of his Hiſtory. In the firſt, he gives an Account of the horrid Cruelty of the Perſecutors that fell ſo ſeverely upon the poor Chriſtians of *Alexandria*, as well towards the end of the Empire of *Philippus*, as alſo after *Decius* had publiſhed his Edict againſt them; and he gives us a Narrative of the Martyrdom of ſeveral Perſons. In the Second, he relates the Hiſtory of an Old Man, whoſe Name was *Serapion*, who having fallen away in the time of Perſecution, was enjoyn'd a courſe of Penance, till being ready to die, he ſent a young Boy to fetch him the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, that he might die in the Communion of the Church.

He deſcribes the Perſecution of *Decius* in his Letter againſt *Germanus*, though it was not writ till long after; and he particulary relates what happen'd to himſelf; how, having been forcibly hurried away out of *Alexandria* by ſome Soldiers againſt his Will, he was conducted to a Town called *Taposiris*, where being reſcued by a Company of Country Fellows that fell upon his Guards, he was obliged to abſcond for a while, being only accompanied by ſome Prieſts.

(c) This is that Perſecution, which he mentioned in the Fragment of a Letter to *Domitius* and *Didymus*, related by *Euſebius* towards the end of the Eleventh Chapter of his Hiſtory, *Lib.* 6. It was alſo about the end of this Perſecution, when he was yet in Exile, that he wrote a Letter concerning Penance to the Brethren in *Ægypt*, wherein he delivered his own Opinion, as to the manner with which they ought to treat thoſe that had fallen away; and he there diſtinguiſhes between the different degrees of Offences. He likewiſe wrote at the ſame time a Book upon the ſame occaſion to *Conon* Biſhop of *Hermopolis*, a Letter to his Clergy at *Alexandria*, one to the Chriſtians of *Laodicea*, where *Thelymidres* was Biſhop, and one to the *Armenians*, over whom *Meruzanes* was Paſtor, which treated of *Penance*; and a ſmall Treatiſe of Martyrdom to *Origen*.

After peace was reſtored to the Church in the Year 251. *Dionyſius* having received a Letter from *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome* againſt *Novatian*, who had alſo written to him himſelf, he anſwered both one and the other. His Letter to *Novatian*, whom he calls *Novatus*, is taken notice of by *Euſebius* in his 7th Book, *Chap.* 45. He adviſes him, if he had a mind to perſwade the World that he was Ordained againſt his Will, as he publickly affirmed, to return back to his Duty, and uſe all his Endeavours to re-eſtabliſh Peace and Concord. His Letter to *Cornelius* is plainly what they called in the Language of thoſe times, a Letter of Communion. He informs him, that he was ſummoned to a Synod of *Antioch*, by *Helenus* Biſhop of *Tarſus*, by *Firmilian* of *Cappadocia*, and *Theoctiſtus* of *Palæſtine*, in which they reſolved to confirm the Diſcipline of *Novatus*; that word was ſent him, that *Fabius* Biſhop of *Antioch* was dead, and *Demetrian* elected in his room; that *Alexander* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* died in Priſon. To theſe Letters he added one to the Chriſtians at *Rome*, concerning Peace and Penance; and another to the Confeſſors to diſſwade them from the Faction of *Novatian*. Afterwards he wrote another to the *Romans*, which he ſent by *Hippolytus*, wherein he diſcourſes of the Duty and Function of Deacons; and two more to the Confeſſors of *Rome*, after they had entred into the Unity of the Church. Theſe are the Letters which he wrote under the Pontificate of *Cornelius*, and are mentioned by *Euſebius* in the laſt Chapter of his Sixth Book.

Under the Pontificate of Pope *Stephen*, that ſucceeded *Cornelius* in the beginning of the Year 255. *Dionyſius* wrote a Letter to him, in which he acquaints him, That all the Eaſtern Churches where at laſt agreed to condemn the rigorous Novelty of *Novatus*, and ſpeaks to him of the Queſtion concerning the Validity of the Baptiſm of Hereticks, that was in Agitation between him and S. *Cyprian*. After the Death of *Stephen*, which happened in the Year 257. he wrote another upon the ſame Subject to *Sixtus* his Succeſſor, and begs of him to conſider the Conſequence of that buſineſs, and not to purſue it with the heat of his Predeceſſor, who had written Letters to *Helenus*, to *Firmilian*, and to all the Biſhops of *Cappadocia*, and *Cicilia*, wherein he ſent them word, that he would not Communicate any more with them, becauſe they re-Baptized Hereticks; which, he ſays, was determined in the Councils of the Biſhops. In the ſame Letter he ſpeaks againſt the Error of the *Sabellians*, that aroſe in *Ptolemais* a City of *Pentapolis*; againſt which, as he tells him there, he had written a long Letter, or rather a Diſcourſe which he ſent him. He wrote likewiſe to *Dionyſius* and *Philemon*, Presbyters of the Church of *Rome*, about the Baptiſm of Hereticks. In his Epiſtle to *Philemon*, he tells him, That his Predeceſſor *Heraclas* cauſed the Hereticks to abjure their Errors, without Baptizing them a-new; that this was the Cuſtom of his Church; but nevertheleſs that he had been informed, that the *Africans* had for a

(c) *This is that Perſecution.*] *Euſebius* refers it to the Perſecution under *Valerian*; but the Circumſtances agree with what happened to him under the Perſecution of *Decius*, and not what he ſuffered under the Perſecution of *Valerian*, in which he was not carried away by Violence. One needs only conſulting the two Fragments of his Letter to *Germanus*, where he gives an Account of what befell him in theſe two Perſecutions, to be perſwaded in the matter.

long

long time observed the contrary, and that it was Established in the East in a very numerous Assembly of Bishops held at *Iconium* and *Synnada*, and in many other places; that matters standing thus, his Advice was, that their Customs and Decrees ought not to be reversed, since it is written, That we must not remove the Land-mark which our Fathers have given us. This is the true Opinion of *Dionysius* concerning this matter, and S. *Jerom* wrongfully accuses him to have been of S. *Cyprian*'s Party, since he tells us in express Terms, That we ought to follow the Judgment of the Church in this Point. He says the same thing in his Letter to *Dionysius*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Rome*, and delivers his Sentiments there very boldly against *Novatian*. Lastly, He wrote a Letter, which is the Fifth, to *Sixtus*, concerning the Baptism of Hereticks, in which he maintains, That if a Man has been Baptized amongst Hereticks, with Ceremonies wholly different from those of the Church, and comes at last to discover it, after he has continued in the Church a long time, participating of the Prayers, and Communicating as others, without having been Baptized, he needs not be Baptized anew, since he has received the Body of Jesus Christ several times, and answered *Amen* with the rest of the Faithful. *Eusebius* seems to mention a sixth Letter, written upon the same occasion to the same Pope; where, as he tells us, he has examined this Question more copiously, though perhaps it is not different from this last. S. *Dionysius*.

After *Sixtus*'s Death, *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* wrote a Letter concerning *Lucian*, to *Dionysius* that succeeded Pope *Sixtus*, towards the end of the Year 258. 'Twas in this, or rather in the following Year, that he wrote his Letter against *Germanus*; in which, after he has described the Persecution he suffered in the time of *Decius*, he relates what happened to him under that of *Valerian*; how the Prefect *Æmilianus* prohibited him to hold any more Assemblies of Christians; how having refused to obey his Orders, he was sent along with his Presbyters, to a Village near *Cephro* in *Lybia*; how these Proceedings did not hinder the Christians from holding their ordinary Assemblies. Lastly, how he preached the Gospel, and converted great Numbers of Pagans to Christianity, whilst he tarried at *Cephro*.

While he continued in this Exile, he wrote some Paschal Letters; that is to say, Letters in form of Homilies upon the Festival of *Easter*; in which, according to the ancient Custom, he ascertains the time of that Feast. He sent one of them to *Flavius*, another to *Domitius* and *Didymus*, which I imagine to be different from the first that is addressed to the same Persons; wherein he proves, That the Feast of *Easter* ought not to be celebrated till after the vernal Equinox. He composed a Canon or Table of Eight Years. He likewise wrote another to the Church of *Alexandria*, and to many others. Peace was no sooner restored to the Church, but he returned back to *Alexandria*; tho' he was immediately obliged to depart from thence, by reason of a Sedition that arose in that City (*d*).

It was during this Retreat, that he wrote a Letter to *Hierax*, a Passage out of which *Eusebius* has borrowed, that gives an Account of a Riot that happened at that time. He likewise wrote another Letter to his Church, which he sent to them on *Easter*-Day.

A Pestilence (*e*) that succeeded this War, obliged S. *Dionysius* to comfort and encourage his Congregation with another Letter, in which he describes that admirable Charity wherewith the Christians relieved and buried those that were seized with the Plague, in a very lively manner.

In short, during the whole time of his Retirement, he never ceas'd to write to his Brethren, and did them more good by his Letters, than he could have done by his Presence. *Eusebius* mentions another Paschal Letter of his concerning the Sabbath, and one concerning Spiritual Exercises, and a third to *Hermammon*, written in the Seventh Year of *Galienus*, which fell out in the Year 264. some Fragments of which he has preserved in *Lib.* 7. *c.* 1. 10. and 23. And yet S. *Dionysius* was not only content to exhort, or instruct the Faithful by his Letters; but he applied himself vigorously to confute and extinguish the Errors that sprung up in his time.

An *Ægyptian* Bishop named *Nepos*, understanding the Promises of the Gospel in a gross sense, and maintaining the Reign of Jesus Christ upon Earth for a Thousand Years, with an inflexible Obstinacy composed a Book which he Entituled, *A Confutation of the Allegorists*, where he endeavoured to prove his Opinion out of the *Apocalypse*. He brought over abundance of People to this Opinion in that part of *Ægypt* that was called *Arsinoe*, which unhappily proved an occasion of Schism and Division in those Churches. *Dionysius* happening to be there, judged it expedient to examine this Doctrin publickly: And because they generally set up *Nepos*'s Book as an unanswerable Treatise, he confuted it *Viva voce*, and afterwards wrote two Books against it, Entituled, *Of the Divine Promises*. In the First, he delivers his own Opinion upon this Question. In the Second, he answers all the Reasons urged by *Nepos*, and his Testimonies drawn out of the *Revelations*. Saying upon this last Head, That some Persons have rejected the *Apocalypse*, as being the Book of the Heretick *Cerinthus*, who admitted of no other Beatitude, but that which consisted in carnal Pleasures; that as for himself, he durst not entirely reject it, since it was esteemed by a great many Christians, but that he was perswaded it

(*d*) *Arose in that City.*] 'Tis undoubtedly that Commotion, that was occasioned by *Æmilianus*, Governour of *Alexandria*, who caused that City, and likewise all *Ægypt*, to revolt from the Emperor *Galienus*; as *Pollio* reports it. This *Æmilianus* was a different Person from him that took up Arms in *Mœsia*, and marched against *Gallus* and *Volusianus* some years before. These two *Æmilians* are distinguished in the Epitome of *Aurelius Victor*.

(*e*) *A Pestilence.*] This Pestilence began in the time of *Gallus* and *Volusianus*, but it broke afresh under *Gallus*; as is observed by *Aurelius Victor* and *Pollio*. *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* speaks of the latter Pestilence, and S. *Cyprian* of the former. Thus those Persons that imagined they spoke of the same Infection, are mistaken.

had a hidden meaning, which could not be comprehended by any body; that he acknowledged that Book to be written by an Author inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, though he did not believe it to have been written by S. *John* the Evangeliſt, but by another of the ſame Name; as he endeavours to prove by the difference of the Style and Thoughts. *Euſebius* has preſerved conſiderable Fragments of this Book, from whence we have drawn the above-mentioned Paſſages. See the Third Book of his Hiſtory, *Chap.* 28. and *l.* 7. *Ch.* 24. and 25.

S. *Dionyſius.*

Another Error, that *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* oppoſed and ſtifled, if I may uſe the Expreſſion, in its Cradle, was much more conſiderable. There were ſeveral Biſhops in *Pentapolis* that embraced the Error of *Sabellius*, who confounded the Three Perſons of the Holy Trinity. This Opnion was ſo deeply rooted and eſtabliſhed in thoſe Quarters, that the Son of God was ſeldom mentioned in their Churches. *Dionyſius*, to whom this Province belonged, by vertue of the Preheminence of the Patriarchal See of *Alexandria*, to preſide and watch over all the Churches of *Ægypt*, ſent his Legates to that place to undeceive the People that were in an Errour; but being not able to go thither himſelf in Perſon, he was conſtrained to write to them to confute this Hereſie. His firſt Letter was addreſſed to *Ammon* Biſhop of *Bercnice*, the Second to *Teleſphorus* and *Euphranor*, and the Laſt to *Ammon* and *Euporus*. The End which he propoſed to himſelf in writing theſe Letters, was to perſwade theſe People, who had not been very well inſtructed, that the Father was not the Son, and that He was not the Father, but the Son that was Incarnate, and Died for us. But that happened to *Dionyſius* in this Affair, that uſually happens to moſt Men; that while he oppoſed and attack'd one Error, he ſpoke very favourably of the contrary: Thus going about to prove, that the Son was a diſtinct Perſon from the Father, he chanced to ſay, That he was the Work of the Father; That he was with reſpect to the Father what a Vine is to the Vine-dreſſer, a Ship to the Builder. And laſtly, That the Son did not exiſt before he was made. Theſe expreſſions, that ſeemed to eſtabliſh an oppoſite Error to that of *Sabellius*, which afterwards was taken up by *Arius*, gave occaſion to ſome well-affected Catholick Perſons, to carry a Complaint to *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Rome*, againſt the Biſhop of *Alexandria*. But he being advertiſed of the matter, wrote Four Books which he preſented to the Pope; wherein he refutes not only the Error of the *Sabellians*, but alſo that which was attributed to himſelf; and having deſired the Pope to ſend him all the Objections that were urged againſt him, he wrote a Treatiſe which he called, *A Refutation and an Apology*; becauſe he refutes the Errors of other Men, and likewiſe Juſtifies himſelf. S. *Athanaſius*, from whom I have borrowed this Account, relates divers other Paſſages, that were extracted out of this Work, in a Book which he wrote about the Opinion of *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*; in which, he invincibly proves againſt the *Arians*, who had the Confidence to make uſe of his Authority, That his Notions of the Trinity were very conformable to thoſe of the Church, though he did not much approve of the term Conſubſtantial.

To conclude, *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* a little before his Death, defended the Divinity of Jeſus Chriſt againſt *Paulus Samoſatenus* Biſhop of *Antioch*: For, being invited to the Synod that was held at *Antioch* againſt that Heretick in the Year 264. and not being able to go thither, by reaſon of his Old Age and Infirmity, he wrote ſeveral Letters to the Church at *Antioch*, wherein he explains his own Opinion, and refutes the Error of *Paulus Samoſatenus*, whom he looked upon as ſo great a Criminal for advancing this Error, that he would not even condeſcend to Salute him in his Letter, conſidering him already as an Heretick, and one that was ſeparated from the Church; as we find it obſerved by the Fathers of the Council of *Antioch*, and by *Euſebius* after them, in his Seventh Book, *Chap.* 27. and 29.

Baronius thinks that this Letter of *Dionyſius*, is the ſame with that which *Turrianus* publiſhed, which is inſerted in the firſt Volume of the laſt Edition of the Councils, *P.* 850. But he is miſtaken; for that Letter which the Fathers of the Council of *Antioch* ſpeak of, was written to the Church of *Antioch*; whereas we find this is addreſſed to *Paulus Samoſatenus*, as appears by theſe firſt words: *We Anſwer what you demand of us, that we may oblige you to ſpeak your Thoughts plainly and openly.* From whence it is manifeſt, That this Letter, if it is not Suppoſititious, was written ſoon after the Firſt Synod of *Antioch*, when *Paulus Samoſatenus* promiſed to renounce his Opinion; and in all appearance ſeem'd to have chang'd it effectually. But it's probable enough, that this Letter, which is cited by ſome of the Ancients, and which was unknown to the World before *Turrianus*'s time, was never writen by *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*. For in the firſt place, The Fathers of the Second Council of *Antioch* tell us plainly, That *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* would by no means ſalute *Paulus Samoſatenus*: What reaſon is there therefore to imagine, that he wrote to him twice, as this Letter ſuppoſes? Secondly, The Style of this Letter is extreamly different from that of the other Letters writ by *Dionyſius*. In the third place, the Author of this Letter approves of the Word *Conſubſtantial*, and expreſly tells us, That the Fathers called the Son of God by that Name. Now it is certain, that both *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, and the Synod of *Antioch*, diſallowed that term; and in the time of S. *Dionyſius*, a Man could not ſay, that the Fathers commonly made uſe of it. And if S. *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* had ever uſed it, is it to be believed that S. *Athanaſius* would have forgotten or omitted ſo memorable a Paſſage, when he was writing in his Defence?

It is not to be imagined, that we have given a Catalogue of all the Works of *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*; for he compoſed ſo great a Number, that notwithſtanding all the Diligence that *Euſebius* uſed in drawing a perfect Catalogue, he is forced to ſay at laſt, *and ſeveral other Letters.* Now the Letters of this Father, were Treatiſes, and his Treatiſes were written in the way of Letters; for after this manner he wrote ſome Books concerning *Nature* to a young Gentleman named *Timotheus*; a Book *of Temptations* to *Euphranor*, and ſeveral Letters to *Baſilides*; in one of which, he tells him that he had

compoſed

composed a Commentary upon the beginning of *Ecclesiastes*. We have only now one of his Letters to *Basilides*, Printed in the first Tome of the Councils, where he treats of some matters relating to Discipline. 'Tis divided into Four Canons; in the First of which, he discourses about the Fast, which the Ancient Christians observed before *Easter*; and tells us, That some Christians fasted Six days before *Easter*; others Two, others Three, after an extraordinary manner; That we ought not to break our Fast before Midnight; and that those that were able to hold on till *Easter*-morning, were more generous; That there were some Persons, who, though they did not fast at all, nay, had spent the Four first days of the last Week in sumptuous and delicate Entertainments, yet imagined they did Wonderful things in fasting only two days: But that they were not to be compared with those that fasted several. In the second Canon he says, That Women ought not to enter into the Church, or receive the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ while they have their Courses, but to offer their Prayers to God at Home; since none by right ought to enter the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, that is not pure in Body and Spirit. In the Third, he particularly Counsels those that are superannuated, to abstain from the use of Marriage, that they may the better attend their Devotions. In the Fourth, he leaves those Persons that have had an Illusion in the Night-time, at liberty to receive or forbear the Eucharist; following the Dictates and Motions of their own Conscience. S. *Dionysius.*

Anastasius of *Nice*, in his 23d Question upon *Genesis*, cites a Passage drawn out of a Book of *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* against *Origen*; but there is no ground to believe that it was written by our *Dionysius*, who was so far from being his Adversary, that he was both his Disciple and Defender. He died in the Year 264, after he had held the See of *Alexandria* Seventeen years, and had one *Maximus* for his Successor. The Style of this Author is Pompous and Lofty; he is excellent in his Descriptions and Exhortations; in his Polemical Discourses he falls upon his Adversaries with all the Vigour imaginable; he perfectly well understood the Opinion, the Discipline and Precepts of the Church; he had sound piercing Judgment; he was very moderate, very discreet, and ready to take Advice. In short, the Loss of his Works is one of the most considerable Losses we could have sustain'd in this kind.

THEOGNOSTUS.

Theognostus

THEOGNOSTUS of *Alexandria*, is an *Author*, (unknown to *Eusebius* and S. *Jerome*) whom S. *Athanasius* cites with Commendation, and whose Books were extant in *Photius*'s time, who read them over. We don't precisely know the time when he liv'd, though we cannot doubt but he was some time after *Origen*, and long before the Council of *Nice*. *Photius* informs us, That he composed Seven Books, Entituled, *Hypotyposes*; that is to say, *Instructions*; and he gives us this Account of that Work: In the first Book he treats of the Father, and endeavours to shew, 'That he 'is the Creator of all things, against the Opinion of those that suppose Matter to be Eternal. In the Second Book he advances some Arguments, whereby he pretends it necessarily follows, that the Father had a Son; but speaking of this Son, he says, 'That he is a Creature above all Creatures that 'have Reason: He likewise attributes to the Son of God several other Qualities of the like Nature, as 'Origen has done: Whether he was of the same Opinion, or whether he speaks after that manner, rather by way of Disputation, than a Design to propose his own true Doctrin; or in short, whether he 'was somewhat mistaken in the Truth, and that to accommodate himself to the weakness of his Auditors, who having no Knowledge of the true Religion, were not capable of comprehending a perfect 'Instruction, he supposed it most expedient to give them an imperfect Knowledge of the Son of God. 'than not to speak of him at all. But though a Man may follow this Method in a Dispute, or in a 'Discourse, when he is constrained to say the same things often, that are not altogether conformable 'to his own Opinion of the matter; yet 'tis a Weakness to make use of this Pretence, to excuse those 'Errours that are published in any Book, where we are obliged to speak the Truth to all the World. 'In the Third Book, speaking of the Holy Ghost, he brings some Arguments to prove, that there is an 'Holy Ghost; but in the rest he falls into the same Extravagancies with those of *Origen* in his Book 'of *Principles*. In the Fourth Book he talks erroneously about Angels and Dæmons, and assigns small 'Bodies to them. In the Fifth and Sixth, he treats of the Incarnation, and uses all his Endeavours to 'demonstrate after this manner, That it was possible for God to make himself Man. This Book 'likewise is full of several groundless Fancies: As for Example, when he has a mind to prove that 'the Son of God is circumscribed in Place by our Imagination; though in Truth he cannot be known 'there. In the Seventh Book, which he wrote concerning the Creation of God, he discourseth of 'matters of Religion after a manner conformable to the Doctrin of the Church, and especially of the 'Son of God, of whom he treats in the Last Part. His Style is elevated, and very Ἀπέρτλος καὶ Ἑλληνικός 'His Discourses have the Beauty of Old *Athens*, but without Affectation, so that in his Compositions 'he does not go very far from the ordinary manner of Conversation; and yet he avoids saying mean 'things.

Thus I have shewn you what *Photius* has informed us of this Author. S. *Athanasius* calls him an Admirable Man, Studious and Eloquent; and is so far from accusing him for having any Unorthodox Sentiments about the Divinity of the Word, that he cites him as a witness of Consubstantiality. 'Learn, says he, O *Arians*, ye Rebels to Jesus Christ, that the Eloquence of *Theognostus* has made use 'of the Word Substance; for behold after what manner he discourseth in his Second Book of *Instructions*:

Theognostus

'*structions*: The Substance of the Son is not a strange Substance; he was not produced of nothing, but 'was begotten of the Substance of the Father, as the Ray is of the Light, or a Vapour of Water; 'for the Vapour is not Water, nor is the Ray Light; but neither one nor the other is a Stranger to that 'which produces it: Thus the Son is as it were the gentle running of the Substance of the Father; yet 'so as that the Father suffers no Division: For as the Sun is not diminished, though it produces Rayes 'continually; so likewise the Father is not diminished in begetting the Son, who is his Image. This Passage, and the Authority of S. *Athanasius*, ought to convince us, that *Photius* has wrongfully accused *Theognostus* to have erred concerning the Divinity of the Son, upon the score of a few Expressions that did not agree with those of his own Age; without taking notice, that though the Ancients have spoken differently as to this Point, yet the Foundation of the Doctrin was always the same; and that it is an horid Injustice to require them to speak as nicely, and with as much precaution, as those that lived after the Birth and Condemnation of Heresies. But 'tis an ordinary Fault with *Photius*, who lived in an Age when these Mysteries were illustrated, and in which People talk'd with a great deal of exactness, to condemn the Ancients almost all along with too much Severity.

The same S. *Athanasius* in another Work concerning the Explication of these words in the Gospel; *He that blasphemes against the Holy Ghost shall receive forgiveness of his Sin, neither in this World, nor in that to come*; tells us, that *Origen* and *Theognostus* have written, that the Sin against the Holy Ghost was falling away after Baptism. And after he has delivered the Passage out of *Origen*, he likewise adds that out of *Theognostus*, who says, 'That he who has passed only the First or Second Bounds is less cul-'pable; but he that passes the Third, has no hopes of Pardon. That the First and Second Bound is the Knowledge of the Father, and that the Third is Baptism, which makes us Partakers of the Holy Ghost; which is confirmed by these Words of the Gospel, *I have still many things to tell you*, &c. after which, continues he, 'Our Saviour levels, if I may so say, his Discourse in favour of those who cannot com-'prehend the most perfect things; whereas the Holy Ghost dwells in those that are perfect. But we 'must not therefore conclude, That the Doctrin of the Holy Ghost surpasseth that of Jesus Christ, but 'that our Saviour abaseth himself in favour of those that are not altogether perfect; whereas the Holy 'Ghost is the Seal of Perfection, which we receive in Baptism: Thus it is not that the Holy Ghost is 'more excellent than the Son, because the Sin which is committed against him, is without hopes of 'Remission; but it is, that these imperfect Men, that is to say, those that are not baptized, may ob-'tain Forgiveness of their Sin; whereas those that have once tasted the Celestial Gifts, and once are 'touched, have no more excuse, nor means to avoid Punishment. S. *Athanasius* afterwards confutes this Explication, which appears to be very agreeable to the Opinion of *Novatian*, and gives another Interpretation, which is far more Natural.

ATHENOGENES.

Athenogenes.

TO *Theognostus* we may joyn the Martyr *Athenogenes*, who composed a Hymn, before he was cast into the Fire, wherein he speaks of the Trinity; as S. *Basil* assures us in the 29th Chapter of his Book *of the Holy Ghost*.

DIONYSIUS *Bishop of* Rome.

Dionysius.

Dionysius Bishop of *Rome*, who presided in that See, from the Year 258. to the Year 270. writ a Letter against the *Sabellians*, a Fragment whereof remains still preserved by S. *Athanasius* in his Book concerning the Decision of the Council of *Nice*; in which, discoursing against the *Sabellians*, he falls upon the contrary Doctrin, that was afterwards maintained by the *Arians*. He proves that the Word was not Created, but Begotten of the Father from all Eternity, and distinctly explains the Mystery of the Trinity. This Fragment is plainly taken out of a Letter written by *Dionysius*, in the Name of the *Roman* Synod, at the time when *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* was accused of falling into the opposite Errour to that of the *Sabellians*.

MALCHION.

Malchion.

Malchion, a very Eloquent Man, was, after he had taught the prophane Sciences with a great deal of Reputation in the City of *Antioch*, ordained Presbyter of that Church, for the Purity of his Faith and his Doctrin. He had a famous Dispute against *Paulus Samosatenus* in the Second Council of *Antioch*, held in the Year 270. in which after he had clearly discovered the Errours which that Heretick endeavoured to conceal, he prevailed with the Council to condemn him. This Conference was taken in Writing by some Notaries, and was extant not only in the time of *Eusebius* and S. *Jerome*, who mention it, but also in the time of *Leontius*; that is to say, towards the end of the Sixth

Sixth Century: He speaks of it in his First Book against the *Nestorians*, and recites some Fragments of it in the Third Book. However it is not certain that they are genuine any more than the Fragments of another Letter of the Council of *Antioch*, mentioned by *Eusebius*. S. *Jerome* tells us, that he was likewise Author of a Letter written in the Name of that Council, against *Paulus Samosatenus*, and spoken of by *Eusebius* in the Seventh Book of his History, *Chap.* 30. *Malchion.*

ARCHELAUS.

Archelaus Bishop of *Mesopotamia*, published a Dispute in the Syriack Language, which he had with a Heretick of the *Manichean* Party, that came out of *Persia*; and S. *Jerome* assures us, that in his time it was Translated into Greek. This Author flourished in the time of the Emperour *Probus*. There is a Fragment of this Writing in the Sixth Catechetick Lecture of S. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*. [This Dispute it self, translated into Latin by an Ancient Hand, was published by *Valesius* at the end of his Edition of *Socrates* and *Sozomen* at *Paris*, 1668. It is imperfect. *Bigotius* found it in the *Ambrosian* Library at *Milan*, and communicated it to *Valesius*.] *Archelaus.*

ANATOLIUS.

About the same time, under the same Emperour, and under *Carus* his Successor, *Anatolius* also flourish'd born at *Alexandria*, and Bishop of *Laodicea* in *Syria*; a Man of profound Learning, very well skilled in *Arithmetick*, *Geometry*, *Physick*, *Astronomy*, *Grammar*, and *Rhetorick*. *Eusebius* and S. *Jerome* assures us, that the greatness of his Spirit, the force of his Eloquence, and the depth of his Knowledge abundantly appear in a Book of his concerning *Easter*; and that he shew'd the Dexterity of his Address and Politicks in the Siege of *Alexandria*, which by his Prudent Counsels he saved from an entire Destruction that threatned it. *Eusebius* in the last Chapter of his Seventh Book, has preserved a Fragment of this Treatise about *Easter*, concerning the time wherein that Festival is to be celebrated. This same Author likewise composed Ten Books of *Arithmetick*, and left behind him several Monuments of his Learning and Exactness; particularly in those things that concerned the Holy Scriptures. *Anatolius.*

Ægidius Bucherius hath given us an entire Version of the Treatise about *Easter* by *Anatolius*, which he Copied out of an ancient Manuscript. He pretends that it was done by *Ruffinus*, and that it answers the Treatise of *Anatolius*. And indeed, the Fragment cited by *Eusebius*, is to be found intirely in Latin, and the Passages cited by *Bede* are there word for word. But it would be no strange thing, for an Impostor to insert a Passage mentioned by *Eusebius*, that was so easie to find, and for this Work to be forged since *Bede*'s time. Though I am of Opinion, That this Canon is ancient, though full of Errours, and perhaps a little corrupted by him that Translated it.

VICTORINUS.

Victorinus Bishop of *Passaw* (*a*), a City of the ancient *Pannonia*, situate upon the *Drave* in *Styria*, and not of *Poictiers* in *France*, passeth for a very indifferent Author. (*b*) S. *Jerome* says of him, That he did not understand Latin so well as Greek; that the Style of his Works is simple and mean, *Victorinus.*

(*a*) *Bishop of* Passaw, *a City of the Ancient* Pannonia, *and not of* Poictiers *in* France.] Monsieur *Launoy* has written a Dissertation on purpose, to prove that he was not Bishop of *Poictiers* in *France*, but of a City in *Pannonia* called *Petabion* or *Petavion*, now called *Passaw*. He quotes in this Dissertation Five several places of S. *Jerome*, where mention is made of this *Victorinus*, twice in his Catalogue, once against *Vigilantius*, once against *Helvidius*, and once upon the Thirty sixth Chapter of *Ezekiel*; we find in the ancient Editions *Petabionensis*, or *Petavionensis*, or *Pictabiensis*, or *Pictabionensis*; and that he is also called by this Name in the Martyrologies of *Usuardus* and *Ado*, and in some other Ancient Writers, as well as in the first Edition of the Councils by *Merlinus*; and in the Edition of the Commentary upon the *Apocalypse* attributed to this Author. And he concludes from all these Authorities, and from several other Reasons that he produceth, that this *Victorinus* was not Bishop of *Poictiers*, but of a certain City in *Pannonia* called *Petabion* or *Petavion*, and now *Passaw*. He likewise observes in another small Dissertation, that there were five Authors of this Name. The First is the Defender of the Opinion of *Praxeas*, whereof *Tertullian* makes mention. The Second is our Author. The Third is a Rhetorician of *Rome*, of whom S. *Austin* speaks in the Eighth Book of his Confessions, *Chap.* 2. The Fourth it mentioned by *Gennadius*, who was of *Marseilles*. And the Last is an Orator, Surnamed *Lampadius*, mentioned by *Photius*, Cod. 161. See this Dissertation.

(*b*) *St.* Jerome *saith of him, that he did not understand Latin so well as Greek.*] These Passages of S. *Jerome*

Victorinus. S. *Jerome* are in this Catalogue: *Non æque Latine ut Græce noverat; inde opera ejus grandia sensibus, viliora sunt compositione verborum.* And in his Commentary upon *Isaiah*, Lib. 1. *Imperitus sermone, non tamen scientia.* Epist. ad Magnum: *Victorino Martyri in suis libris licet desit eruditio, non deest tamen eruditionis voluntas.*

though the Sense is very high; that he had no Notion of Style, though he understood the Holy Scriptures very well; that he had no Learning, but that he had great Inclinations that way. His Works, whereof S. *Jerome* has composed a Catalogue, are, besides a Treatise against all Heresies, some Commentaries upon *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Isaiah*; and as far as the Vision of the Four-footed Beasts in *Ezechiel*; *Ecclesiastes*, the *Canticles*, and the (c) *Revelations*.

We have in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, a Commentary upon the *Apocalypse* by *Victorinus*, with a Preface attributed to S. *Jerome*. It is said in this Preface, That *Victorinus* was of the same Opinion with *Papias* and *Nepos*, touching the Reign of the Thousand Years; and the very same thing is likewise observed by S. *Jerome* in his Catalogue: Nevertheless we find the contrary in this Commentary, and that Opinion seems to be plainly rejected there, as belonging to the Heretick *Cerinthus*. There is also mentioned in this Book an Epitome of *Theodorus*, who reckoned Twenty Four Books of the Old Testament. Now this *Theodorus*, having lived under *Justinian*, we must of necessity conclude, that the Author of this Commentary lived since that time; however, 'tis far more probable that this Citation of *Theodorus* has been added since, because the Author of this Commentary lived before *Justinian*'s Age. For he believed with the Ancients, that the Souls of Men should not be happy till after the Day of Judgment; and that *Nero* was Antichrist; which Opinions were no where maintained in *Justinian*'s time. 'Tis likewise very probable, that they have altered somewhat of what he says in his Commentary concerning the Reign of the Thousand Years; besides that, he formerly rejects only the Errour of *Cerinthus*, who believed no other Beatitude but that of a Temporal Reign. 'I don't 'believe, says he, that the Reign of the Thousand Years will be at the end of the Judgment; or if 'there is one, we ought to believe that it ends after the Thousand Years are compleated. Thus we cannot be certainly assured, that this Commentary does not belong to *Victorinus*; on the contrary, 'tis somewhat probable that it is his.

(c) *And upon the Revelations.*] He likewise wrote some other Works, and made a Commentary upon St. *Matthew*, as S. *Jerome* tells us, *Præfat. in Matth.* And in his Catalogue he says, That he composed several other Works.

PIERIUS.

Pierius. *Pierius*, a Priest and Catechist of *Alexandria*, Instructed the People of that Church under the Empire of *Carus* and *Diocletian*, at the same time when *Theonas* was Bishop of that place. He composed several sorts of Treatises, that were extant in S. *Jerome*'s time, with so muh Eloquence, that he was called the young *Origen*. It is certain, he lived a very austere Life, and embraced a voluntary Poverty. He was excellently well skilled in *Logick* and *Rhetorick*. The Persecution being ended, he came to *Rome*, where he continued a considerable time. He wrote a great *Homily* upon *Hosea*, which he recited on *Easter*-Eve, wherein he takes notice, that in his time on *Easter*-Eve the People tarried in the Church till after Midnight. *Photius* tells us, That in this Homily he discoursed about the Cherubims that *Moses* placed over the Ark. The same Author read another Work composed by *Pierius*, but he does not acquaint us with the Title of it, that contained a dozen Volumes; in which according to the Testimony of *Photius*, he has some particular Opinions different from those of the Church. His Doctrin upon the Trinity is Orthodox concerning the Persons of the Father and the Son, though he uses the Word *Substance* and *Nature* to signify a Person. But his manner of speaking about the Holy Ghost is dangerous, and scarce Orthodox; because he says, That the Glory of the Latter is less than the Glory of the Father and the Son. *Photius* moreover adds, That he wrote a Book upon S. *Luke*'s Gospel; in which he proves, That the Dis-respect shewn to Images, falls back upon that which they represent. As for his Style, he tells us, It is clear, smooth and easie; that it is by no means elaborate, but flows equally and gently, as in Discourses composed *Extempore*; and that it is full of Enthymems.

METHODIUS.

Methodius. *Methodius*, Bishop of *Olympus* or (a) *Patara* in *Lycia*, and afterwards of *Tyre* in *Palestine*, (who suffered Martyrdom at *Chalcis*, a City of *Greece*, towards the end of *Diocletian*'s Persecution in the Year 302, or 303.) composed in a clear elaborate Style, a large Work against *Porphyrius* the Philosopher; an excellent Treatise about the Resurrection against *Origen*; another about the *Pythonyssa* against the same; a Book Entituled, *The Banquet of Virgins*; one about *Free-Will*; Commentaries upon

(*a*) Or *Patarah.*] S. *Jerome* tells us, he was *Bishop* of *Olympus*; *Suidas* adds, *or of* Patara. Though we are not therefore to think that there were two *Methodius's*. But it is probable that *Patara*, which was a City of *Lycia*, was likewise called *Olympus*; because it was built upon a Mountain so called. *Methodius* likewise calls himself *Eubulus*, and that is the Name he uses in his *Banquet of Virgins*. *Eusebius* does not speak of this Author, because he wrote against *Origen*. S. *Jerom* reports, That some Persons said, he suffered Martyrdom in the time of *Decius* and *Valerian*; which Account is followed by *Suidas*. But S. *Jerom*, and the Martyrologies after him, relate, that he suffered Martyrdom at *Chalcis*, towards the End of the last Persecution. *Methodius.*

upon *Genesis* and the *Canticles*, and several other Pieces that were extant in S. *Jerom's* time. At present, besides *The Banquet of Virgins* that was published entire not along ago by *Possinus* a Jesuit, we have several considerable Fragments of this Author cited by S. *Epiphanius* and *Photius*, and others, found in Manuscripts, and collected together by Father *Combefis*, who has Printed them, together with the Works of *Amphilochius* and *Andreas Cretensis*. But afterwards *Possinus* found *The Banquet of Virgins* entire in a Manuscript belonging to the Vatican Library, and Translated it into Latin, and sent it into *France*, where it was Printed in the Year 1657. Revised and Corrected by another Manuscript. We cannot doubt, that this is the true genuine Work of *Methodius*; as well because it carries all the Marks of Antiquity in it, that a Book can possibly have; as also because it contains Word for Word all the Passages that *Photius* has cited out of this Work of *Methodius*, and another place cited by S. *Gregory Nyssen*. 'Tis written by way of Dialogue, in which he introduces a Woman named *Gregorium*, who tells her Friend *Eubulus* all the Conversation that passed in a Meeting of Ten Virgins, which she learnt of *Theopatra*. It was composed by *Methodius*, in imitation of a certain Book, very much resembling it, written by *Plato*, and Entituled, *The Banquet of* Socrates. After that *Gregorium* and *Eubulus* have exchanged the usual Complements, and *Gregorium* has given a short Description of the Place, where these Ten Virgins were assembled; she feigns that *Arete*, in whose Garden they were met, requests each of them to make a Discourse upon Virginity; which she repeats one after the other.

The first is that of *Marcella*, who enlarges very much upon the Greatness and Excellence of Virginity. She makes it appear how choice a thing Virginity is; and that it is a difficult thing to preserve it amidst so many Thousand Temptations we meet with: That it is necessary to meditate incessantly upon the Holy Scripture, in order to keep it unspotted and undefiled: That Virginity was scarce so much as known under the ancient Law, when Men were permitted to Marry even their own Sisters, and to take several Wives: But that God by little and little has taught Men, in the first place to preserve their Chastity, and afterwards to embrace Virginity: That Jesus Christ came into the World to instruct them in this Virtue by the Influence of his own Example; that he is the Prince of Virgins, as well as the Prince of Pastors; that the Company of Virgins has the first place in his Kingdom, tho' they are the least in number: And this she justifies by a Passage out of the *Revelations*, Chap. the 14th.

Since this Conversation of *Marcella* might seem to throw some Dis-reputation upon the Sanctity of Marriage, *Theophila* proves in the second place, that Jesus Christ in making the great Excellencies of Virginity known to the World, did not design thereby to banish Marriage, and entirely abolish so Sacred an Institution. She says, That the Ecstasie of *Adam* denotes and signifies the Passion of Marriage; that God is the Author of Generation, and that he forms the Infants that come into the World. Here *Marcella* interrupts the Series of her Discourse, and enquires of her, How it comes to pass; if Infants are conceived and born by the Will of God, that he permits the Children of Adulterers to come into the World; that these Children thrive, and are often more perfect in their Body and Mind, and also become better Christians than others: That nevertheless, Experience daily acquaints us with the truth of this Assertion; so that we ought to understand this Saying in the Scripture, *The Children of Adulterers shall be consumed by Fire*, only of those that corrupt the Word of God. *Theophila* returns this Answer to the Objection, That God is not the Author of Adulterers, though he forms the Infants that are born of such Copulations; and this she illustrates by the Example of a Man that makes Earthen Vessels in a place enclosed with four Walls full of Holes, through which he is furnished with Clay, of which he makes his Work: Now if those that serve him are mistaken in taking one hole for another, and it so happen that his Work is not such as it ought to be, the fault would lie neither in the Workman himself, nor in the Clay, but in those that had made a wrong Application of the matter; That after the same manner, we ought not to cast the Sin of Adulterers either upon God that makes Men, or upon the Matter of which they are made, or upon the Power that is given to Men to beget Children, but upon the Wicked Inclinations of those Persons that use these things in a dishonest manner; that every thing in the World is really Good in it self, but becomes Ill through the ill use and management of it. She continues afterwards to prove, by the admirable Beauty and Harmony that so visibly appears in the Contexture of our Bodies, that God is the Author of them. She observes that all Infants, even those that are begotten in Adultery, have their tutelar Angels to guard them immediately after their Conception; that the Soul is in its Nature immortal; that it is not generated by our Parents, but proceeds from God who inspireth it. In short, after she has thus answered this Objection, she concludes, That it is permitted for Men to Marry, tho' Virginity is a more perfect State than Marriage.

The Third Discourse goes under the Name of *Thalia*, who applies the words of *Adam* to his Wife in *Genesis*, to our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, and his Church; and following the Opinion of the Apostle, she adds, That the Word was the Wisdom of God; who existing before all Ages, communicated himself after a very particular manner to the first Man; but that Man having violated and transgressed,

Methodius. the Commandments of God, became Mortal and Corruptible; and that it was neceſſary for the *Word* to make himſelf Man, to deliver him from the Curſe and Tyranny he had rendred himſelf obnoxious to, and ſave him from Corruption by his own Death and Reſurrection. That it is upon this account that the Son of God came into the World, to unite himſelf to the Church, as to his Spouſe, which through this means became his Fleſh and his Bone; that he died for her; that he purified her by Baptiſm, and by his Holy Spirit; that theſe words, *Increaſe and Multiply*, are accompliſhed and fulfilled every day in the Church, which encreaſes in Greatneſs and Beauty by the Communication of the Word, and by the Union it maintains with him; that *Catechumens* are as it were Infants, that are as yet in their Mothers Belly, that being perfectly inſtructed, they are born through Baptiſm, and at laſt become perfect full-grown Men; that we ought not therefore to abuſe theſe Words, and employ them, to oppoſe Virginity, to which S. *Paul* exhorts the Faithful, not allowing Marriage it ſelf, and ſecond Marriages in particular, but as a Remedy for Incontinence; like one that ſhould deſire a Perſon that is Sick and Indiſpoſed to eat on a Faſt-day, and ſay to him, *It were to be wiſhed that you were able to Faſt, as all of us have done to day, for you know eating is forbidden; but ſince you are ſick, it is expedient for you to eat, that you may not die.*

In the Fourth Diſcourſe, that goes under the Name of *Theopatra*, it is maintained, That nothing is more efficacious than Virginity, to make a Man enter again into Paradiſe, and enjoy a bleſſed Immortality.

In the Fifth, *Thaluſa* endeavours to demonſtrate, That the moſt excellent Gift we can preſent to God, and the moſt worthy of Him, is to embrace Virginity; and ſhe gives ſeveral Cautions and Advertiſements to Virgins how to preſerve their Virginity without Spot or Blemiſh.

Agatha, that manages the Conference after *Thaluſa*, undertakes to prove in the Sixth Diſcourſe, that Virginity ought to be accompanied with Vertue and good Works; and to this purpoſe ſhe explains the Parable of the Ten Virgins.

Procella afterwards begins the Seventh Diſcourſe, wherein ſhe ſhews the Excellency of Virginity; becauſe of all Vertues, this is that which has the Honour to be the Spouſe of Jeſus Chriſt. She explains a certain place out of the Sixth Chapter of the *Canticles*, ver. 7. and 8. *There are threeſcore Queens, and fourſcore Concubines, and Virgins without number. My dove, my undefiled is but one.*

Thecla, aſſuming the Diſcourſe after this, obſerves, That the Greek word that ſignifies Virginity, only by adding one Letter to it, denotes an Union with God, and a frequentation of Heavenly Things. She takes occaſion from thence to ſhew, That Virginity elevates us up to Heaven, and makes us deſpiſe the Vanity of things below; and having cited a place in the *Revelations*, Chap. 12. concerning a Woman that is there deſcribed, ſhe explains it of the Church. In ſhort, after ſhe has drawn ſome Allegories from Numbers, ſhe exhorts all Virgins to perſevere in their Virginity, and to reſiſt the Attacks of the Serpent; that is to ſay, the Temptations of the Devil. From thence ſhe launches out into other matter, and ſhews that Men are free Agents, and that they are not neceſſitated to do good or ill by the Influences and Configurations of the Stars, deriding the Effects that the Aſtrologers attribute to the Conſtellations becauſe of their Names. 'For, ſays ſhe, if there was any ſuch thing as fatal Ne-'ceſſity from the beginning of the World, it was to no purpoſe for God to place the Stars of Men, and 'the Stars of Beaſts in order; and that if there was not a neceſſity at that time, wherefore ſhould God 'eſtabliſh it, ſince the World was then in its full perfection, and in a time which they called *the Golden* '*Age?* She afterwards demonſtrates, That if we were neceſſitated by the Fatality of our Nativity under ſuch and ſuch a Conſtellation, it would follow, that God who is the Author of the Stars, and of their Motion and Diſpoſition, would likewiſe be the Author of Sin and Iniquity. She adds, That Laws being contrary to things that are done by a fatal Neceſſity, it is impoſſible that theſe Laws ſhould be made by mere Fatality. 'For, ſays ſhe, it is not to be ſuppoſed that this Fatality would deſtroy it ſelf. Now, if thoſe that had a ſhare in making theſe Laws, were not ſubject to this fatal Neceſſity, why ſhould we not paſs the very ſame Judgment upon others? Beſides, if ſuch a Fatality really took place, it would be Injuſtice either to recompence the Good, or puniſh the Bad; or rather, there would be neither Good nor Evil in the World, ſince every one would be conſtrained to Good or Evil. Afterwards to explain the Cauſe of Evil, ſhe ſays, There are two contrary Motions in us; one of which is called the *Concupiſcence of the Fleſh*; the other, the *Concupiſcence of the Spirit*; that This is the Original of all Good, and the Other the Cauſe of all Evil.

After this, *Tyſiana* taking up the Diſcourſe, explains in the Ninth Diſcourſe a place of *Leviticus*, v. 36. Chap. 23. where mention is made of the Feaſt of the Seventh Month; that is to ſay, the Fifteenth of *September*, which is the *Scenopegia, or Feaſt of Tabernacles*. She reprehends the *Jews* for ſtopping at the bare Letter of Scripture, without penetrating into the hidden myſterious Senſe; and for taking the Figures of things to come, as Marks of things that were already paſt. She inſtances in the *Paſchal Lamb*, which they did not comprehend to be a Type of Jeſus Chriſt, who at the Day of Judgment ſhall ſave Souls marked with his own Blood; That the Law was the Figure of the Goſpel; That theſe Shadows and Repreſentations are no more, but that we ſhall have a perfect Knowledge of all things when we ſhall be raiſed up from the Dead; That Man was created Immortal, but that his Sin cauſing him to incline towards the Earth, God made him Mortal, leſt he ſhould continue a Sinner everlaſtingly; That for this reaſon he ſeparated the Soul from the Body; that ſo the Sin, which is in the Body, being dead and deſtroyed, he might raiſe it up again immortal, and delivered from the tyranny of Sin; That we ought to adorn this Body, which may be called a Tabernacle, with Faith, with Charity, Vertue, and particularly with Chaſtity; That thoſe that live chaſtly in the ſtate of Marriage, adorn it

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in part, but not so perfectly as those that have made a Profession of Virginity; That those Persons who have thus adorned and set out the Tabernacle of their Bodies in this Life, shall enjoy after the Resurrection a Thousand Years of Repose and Felicity upon the Earth with Jesus Christ, that afterwards they shall follow him to Heaven; and that this is the promised Beatitude, in which there shall be no more Tabernacles; that is to say, in which our Bodies shall be changed, and become incorruptible, and Men shall be made like Angels. *Methodius.*

Lastly, *Domnina*, to shew the Excellency of Virginity, falls into a very obscure Allegory upon a place of Scripture taken out of the Book of *Judges*. After her Harangue is ended, *Arete*, assuming the Discourse, tells them, That to be truly a Virgin, it is not sufficient barely to preserve and keep Continence of Body, but that it is likewise necessary to purifie ones self from all Sensual Desires; That we actually dishonour and sully Virginity, when we abandon our selves to Pride, or permit a Spirit of Vanity to possess us, because we have preserved our Bodies chaste; That this is to do like the Pharisees, who made every thing appear clean without, while they were full of Impurities within; That we ought to be Virgins both in Body and Spirit, and that we must watch and labour incessantly, lest Idleness and Negligence give an open entrance to other Sins. After this Discourse, all of them sing their Prayers, and several times repeat, 'I preserve my self chaste for thee, O my divine Spouse, and desire to walk 'before thee with a burning Lamp. At last *Gregorium* and *Methodius*, Surnamed *Eubulus*, who entertained themselves with the Discourses of these Virgins, discuss this Question, *viz.* Who were the most perfect Virgins, either those that feel no Motions of Desire, or those that feel them, and though they are assaulted and tormented by them, yet heroically resist and extinguish them? *Gregorium* gave the preference to the first: But *Methodius* shews her by the Example of Mariners, Physicians and Wrestlers, that those Virgins who preserve themselves chaste in the midst of those violent Agitations and Tempests that are excited by their Passions, who have the Art to cure the various Diseases of Concupiscence, and cannot only resist, but also defeat the disorderly Motions of the Flesh, deserve a great deal more than those that have no Appetites and Inclinations to struggle with.

This Dialogue is full of Allegories and Citations out of Scripture, explained in a mystical Sense; and the Doctrin contained in it is exceeding Orthodox. He does not condemn, or speak dishonourably of Marriage, even when he is setting out Virginity to the greatest Advantages; a Moderation seldom to be found in the Ancients. *Photius* tells us, That this Book has been corrupted by the Hereticks; and that there are some Expressions in it, which the *Arians* use. And indeed he tells us in the Seventh Discourse, That the Son who is above all Creatures, made use of the Testimony of the Father, who alone is greater than he. But if by reason of this single Expression, we must immediately cry out, that this Dialogue has been abused by the *Arians*, we must likewise say the same thing of the Gospel of S. *John*; and there is no greater difficulty in giving a good Sense to this Expression in *Methodius*, than in the Gospel; and so much the rather, since in the same place, and indeed as often as he speaks of the WORD in this Dialogue, he says, That he was before all Ages: And towards the end of the following Discourse, which is the Eighth, explaining these Words of the Psalmist, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.* 'We ought to observe, cries he, that he says, *Thou art my Son*; being 'willing to have it known that he had from all time the quality of the Son, that he will never cease to 'have it, and that he who was begotten, was, and ever will be the same. As for what concerns the 'following Passage, *this day have I begotten thee*; it is to shew, that he who was before all Ages in Hea-'ven, was born in time for the good of the World. A little after he takes occasion to speak of the 'Hereticks, who have erred concerning the Trinity. Some of them, says he, as *Sabellius*, have erred 'concerning the Person of the Father, who maintained, that it was the Almighty that suffered: Others 'concerning the Son, as *Artemas* and some others, that affirm, he was only a Man in outward appear-'ance: Others concerning the Holy Ghost, as the *Ebionites*, who pretend that the Prophets spoke of 'themselves: For I will not speak of *Marcdion*, *Valentinus* and *Helcesaites*. These Words demonstrate, that we may very well defend *Methoaius* from the Imputation of any Error concerning the Trinity. I cannot spend any more time to observe, that he taught the Opinion of the Millenaries in this Treatise, or to give an exact relation of his Doctrin, which may be learnt out of the Abridgment *Origen*'s made of his *Banquet of the Virgins*. The Treatise of *the Resurrection* was written against. This Opinion, who believed that Men were not to be raised up again from the Dead in the *Origen*'s Assertion, Book also was composed in form of a Dialogue between *Aglaophon*, who maintained cited a large Frag- and *Proclus*, and *Methodius* or *Eubulus*, who dispute against him. S. *Epiphanius* h[illegible]ded some other Fragment of it in his Account of the Heresie of *Origen*; and Father *Combefis* has under the Person of *Proclus*, ments to it, taken out of a Manuscript of *Sermondus*. He first of all pro[illegible] That Man was created Immortal; that Death was occasioned by his Sin, of which it is the Punishment; That Sin was caused by the Envy of the Devil; and that the Devil himself, who was created in Righteousness like to the other Angels, fell through the Sin of Envy, and an inordinate Passion he had for Women; That our first Parents had a real Body and real Flesh before their Transgression; That the Fig-leaves wherewith they covered themselves, denote that after the Death of Man, Sin shall be entirely rooted out of the Heart: For, tho' Men's Sins are blotted out by Baptism, yet nevertheless there remains a Root still, that shoots up young Branches in this Life: So that all we can do to hinder these Branches from spreading, is to root them up, and prune them often with the Pruning knife of the Word of God. He tells us, that Man is like a cast Statue, which having been disfigured by some Accident, the Workman that made it, casts it anew before he erects it again; That after the same manner, God Almighty who made Man, was willing that his Work which was disfigured by Sin,

Methodius.

should be destroy'd by Death, that so he might re-establish him by the Resurrection; That it is a folly to imagine a Resurrection of the Soul, since the Soul does not die; That Air, Earth, Heaven and the World shall not be destroy'd at the Day of Judgment, but that they shall only be purged and renewed by the Fire of Heaven; That Men shall not change their Nature at the Resurrection, and that they shall not be transformed into Angels, but that they still have Body and Flesh, though immortal and incorruptible. All this is extracted from the words of *Proclus*. S. *Epiphanius* afterwards cites those of *Methodius*, who continues to refute *Origen*'s Error about the Resurrection, and who likewise endeavours to prove in the same place against the same Author, That the Body cannot pass the Chains and Prison of the Soul; That the Paradice where *Adam* lived was upon Earth; That Man does not consist of the Soul alone, as *Plato* believed, but that the Body and Soul are the two parts of him; That 'tis Fabulous to say, that Souls were thrown headlong down from Heaven in their Bodies, or that they passed through Vortices of Elementary Fire, and through the Waters of the Firmament before they came to the Earth. And at last he makes several curious useful Remarks upon the Scriptural Notion of Flesh, and of the Sin that dwells in our Bodies, explaining at the same time several places of the Apostle. *Photius* has cited these Explications all along, and added besides, what the same Author has delivered about those Persons that were raised up to Life before Jesus Christ, about the Apparitions of the Dead, and the Parable of *Dives* and *Lazarus*; in which he concludes, that Souls keep the Form of their Bodies in another World, and are there punished and rewarded before the Day of Judgment. There still remains a certain Passage of it, which is supposed to belong to the same Work quoted by S. *John Damascene*, in his Third Oration *concerning Images*; wherein he says, 'That Christians make 'Golden Images representing Angels for the Glory of God. But I very much question whether this Passage belongs to *Methodius*; or if it does, it must be taken in another sense than that in which S. *John Damascene* understood it; and that by *Angels*, *Principalities* and *Powers*, he means the Kings of the Earth, as the Words that immediately precede seem to intimate.

The Treatise of *Free-Will* was composed in Form of a Dialogue or Dispute between a *Valentinian* and a *Catholick*. The former affirms, That Matter which is Eternal, was the cause of Evil, or of Sin. On the other hand, the Orthodox Christian makes it appear, that there could not be two Eternal Principles; that if Matter were Eternal, yet Evil would not be Eternal, because the Qualities of Matter could not be Eternal; that Matter is not the cause of Evil; and that God is not the cause of Evil, because Evil consists not in a real thing, but in the ill use that we make of our Liberty; that Man having been created with a Liberty either to obey, or not to obey the Commandments of God he sins, when using this Liberty the wrong way, he does things contrary to the Law of God.

These are the Works of *Methodius*, which S. *Jerom* mentions. *Photius* has made an Extract of a Treatise *about created Things*, written by *Methodius*. In the First, he says, That these Words of Jesus Christ, *Cast not Pearl before Swine*, ought not to be understood of Doctrin, but of Vertues; and that the meaning is not, that we must conceal Mysteries from the Infidels, but that we must not prophane the Christian Vertues; such as Chastity, Temperance and Justice, with the Pleasures of the World that are signified by the Swine. In the Second, he confutes those that thought the World had no beginning; an Opinion which he attributes to *Origen*. In the Third, he says, That the Church is so called, because it calls Men to fight against Pleasures. [In the Greek *Ecclesia*, which signifies a *Church, or any Assembly of Men*, comes from κα λέω, *to call*; because the Publick Assemblies were convened by publick Cryers, who called the People together.] In the Fourth, he says, That there were two Vertues or Powers that concurred to the Creation of the World; the Father that created it of nothing, and the Son that polished and compleated the Work of the Father. *The Son*, says he, *who is the almighty Hand of the Father*. In the Fifth he asserts, That *Moses* was the Author of the Book of *Job*; and he explains the first Words of the Book of *Genesis*, In principio, *in the beginning*, of the Wisdom of God. He observes, that God the Father begot the Word, or the Wisdom which was in Him before the Creation of the World; that this Wisdom being a Principle without Beginning, became the Principle of all Things; which is a Catholick way of speaking, and far remote from the *Arian* conceit; though it does not seem to be altogether conformable to the Expressions of our Age. To conclude, In the last Fragment he cites a Passage of *Origen*, who would endeavour to prove by Allegories, That the World existed long before the Six Days, that preceded the formation of *Adam*. *Methodius* looks upon this as a trifling Opinion.

Theodoret, in his first Dialogue, cites a Passage taken out of a Sermon of *Methodius* concerning the Martyrs; where he says, that Martyrdom is so admirable, and so much to be desired, that Jesus Christ the Son of God would honour it himself; and that he who was equal to his Father, was willing to Crown Humane Nature, to which he himself was united with that excellent Gift.

The Sermon composed upon the Nativity of Jesus, and upon his being presented in the Temple, entituled, *Simeon and Ann*, published by *Pantinus* in the Year 1598. and afterwards Printed by Father *Combefis* among the rest of the Works of *Methodius*, is neither cited by any of the Ancients, nor mentioned by *Photius*, though it is written in *Methodius*'s Style. The Author of it endeavours to confute the Errors of *Origen*, and calls himself the Author of the *Banquet of Virgins*, in the beginning of his Discourse, which shews that it belongs to *Methodius*. Though we must own that he speaks so clearly of the Mysteries of the Trinity, of the Incarnation, of the Divinity of the Word, whom he calls in several places *Consubstantial to the Father*, of the Hymn called the *Trisagion*, of the Virginity of *Mary* even after her Delivery, and of Original Sin, that it gives us some reason to doubt, whether something has not been since added to this Sermon. Besides, the Style of it is more swelling, and fuller of Epithets than that of *Methodius*.

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Besides all this, Father *Combefis* upon the Authority of a Manuscript in the King's Library, has restored to *Methodius* another Sermon upon *Palm-Sunday*, that was formerly Printed under the Name of S. *Chrysostom*, by Sir *Henry Savil*, upon the Authority of another Manuscript. It is certain, that it approaches nearer to the Style of *Methodius* than of S. *Chrysostom*; but he explains the Mystery of the Trinity so clearly in one place, and opposes the Hereticks so very plainly, that there is some reason to believe, that either this place has been since added, or that this Homily was not written by *Methodius*. Father *Combefis* has likewise collected some other Fragments attributed to *Methodius*, cited by S. *John Damascene*, and by *Nicetas*, drawn out of his Books against *Porphyry*. But besides, that we cannot intirely depend upon the Authority of these two Authors, who are not very exact, these Fragments having nothing considerable, and we think it not worth the while to say any thing more concerning them. We shall not take any notice of some Latin Prophecies about Antichrist attributed to *Methodius*, that are Printed in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, since it is agreed on all Hands that they are not his. *Methodius.*

The Style of *Methodius* is *Asiatick*, that is to say, diffuse, swelling, and full of Epithets. His Expressions are Figurative, the turn of his Sentences affected, he is full of Comparisons, and far-fetched Allegories, his Thoughts are mysterious, and he says a few things in abundance of Words. Setting these things aside, his Doctrin is sound, and free from some Errors that were common to the Ancients; particularly concerning the Virginity of *Mary*, concerning Original Sin, concerning Guardian Angels, and several other Points; as may be observed in the Abridgment that we have made of his Works.

PAMPHILUS.

Pamphilus, a Presbyter of *Cæsarea* in *Palæstine*, and (*a*) Friend of *Eusebius*, suffered Martyrdom during *Maximine*'s Persecution. He wrote almost nothing himself, unless it be a few Letters to his Friends; but he took extraordinary pains to gather the (*b*) Books of ancient Writers, and particularly those of *Origen*, for whom he had a particular Esteem. He transcribed several Volumes with his own Hand, and among the rest, his Twenty Five Books of Commentaries upon the Prophets, and that very Transcript was to be seen in S. *Jerom*'s time. *Pamphilus* when he was in Prison composed (*c*) Five Books with *Eusebius* in defence of *Origen*, and *Eusebius* added a Sixth after his Death. *Pamphilus.*

(*a*) *Friend of* Eusebius.] *Eusebius* wrote the Life of *Pamphilus*, and was from him Surnamed *Pamphilus*.

(*b*) *The Books of ancient Writers.*] He laboured along with *Eusebius* to copy out exactly, and to correct the Version of the *Septuagint*, that was in the *Tetrapla*, and *Hexapla* of *Origen*, intending to publish it by it self.

(*c*) *Five Books with* Eusebius.] S. *Jerom* in his Catalogue of the Ecclesiastical Writers, makes him the Author of the Apology for *Origen*; but he afterwards retracted what he had said in his Apology against *Ruffinus*. The truth is, The five first Books were composed by *Pamphilus* and *Eusebius* together; and the last, which *Ruffinus* quoted, was *Eusebius*'s alone. See *Photius*, Cod. 108.

LUCIAN.

Lucian, a Presbyter of *Antioch*, applied himself vigorously to the Study of Scripture, and published a new Edition of the Version (*a*) of the Septuagint, which was afterwards called *Lucian*'s Edition. He was a Man of great Eloquence, and wrote several small Treatises *concerning Faith*, and some Letters. Among others, he wrote one, when he was in Prison, addressed to a Christian of *Antioch*; the end of which Letter is preserved in the Chronicle of *Alexandria*, and is as follows: 'All the 'Martyrs that are with me, Salute you. I send you word that Bishop *Anthimus* died a Martyr. *Lucian* is accused to have been the first Author of the *Arian* Opinion: And indeed, all the Heads of that Party were his Disciples. He suffered Martyrdom at *Nicomedia*, under the Persecution (*b*) of the Emperor *Maximinus*, and was Buried at *Helenopolis*, a City of *Bythinia*. *Lucian.*

(*a*) *Of the* Septuagint.] The Version which he Corrected, was the common Version of the *Septuagint*. Upon this account, S. *Jerom* (*Præfat. in Paralipomena*) distinguishes between three different Editions of the Version of the *Septuagint*. The first, was that of *Eusebius* and *Pamphilus*, which he calls *Palæstine*, that was taken out of the *Hexapla* of *Origen*, who corrected it by an ancient Version, and added several things borrowed from the Versions of *Theodotian*, *Aquila* and *Symmachus*. The Second was that of *Alexandria*, whereof *Hesychius* was Author, who likewise corrected the common Version of the *Septuagint*. The Last, that of *Lucian*. This gave occasion to S. *Jerom* to say, That *Totus Orbis hac inter se trifaria varietate compugnat.*

(*b*) *Of the Emperor* Maximinus.] *Eusebius*, l. 9. c. 6. *Hierom. in Catalog.* And therefore *Baronius* is mistaken, when following the Acts of his Martyrdom, he says, That he suffered under *Maximian*; for 'tis a common mistake among the Greeks to take *Maximian* for *Maximin*.

PHILEAS.

PHILEAS.

Phileas.

PHileas, deſcended of a Rich and Powerful Family in the City of *Thmuis* in *Ægypt*, after having paſſed through ſeveral Offices and Honours, and acquired to himſelf the Reputation of an extraordinary Philoſopher, was elected Biſhop of the City where he lived, and had his Head cut off for the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, under the Emperor *Maximinus*. Before he ſuffered Martyrdom, he wrote a famous Letter to the Inhabitants of the City of *Thmuis*; in which he deſcribes the Puniſhments which the Chriſtians were forced to endure in the City of *Alexandria*. He deſcribes the Conſtancy with which they ſupported themſelves, and exhorts his Flock to keep up the Religion of Jeſus Chriſt after his Death, which he foreſaw would ſhortly happen. *Euſebius* in the Eighth Book of his Hiſtory, Chapter the Tenth, has preſerved a Fragment of this Eloquent Letter, which S. *Jerom* ſcruples not to call a Book. He likewiſe tells us, that they had the Anſwers which he made to the Judge, who would have obliged him to offer Sacrifice. We have the Acts of his Martyrdom, that were Printed at *Antwerp*: But they are corrupt, as moſt of the reſt are; and ſome things are inſerted which are taken out of *Euſebius* and *Ruffinus*.

ZENO *Biſhop of* Verona.

Zeno Biſhop of *Verona.*

'TIS commonly believed, that there was one *Zeno*, Biſhop of *Verona*, that ſuffered Martyrdom under the Empire of *Galienus*, and ſome Sermons are attributed to him, that were publiſhed by *Guarinus*, Printed at *Venice* and *Verona* in the Years 1508 and 1586. and afterwards inſerted into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. But this Author being wholly unknown to all Antiquity, his Works have been abſolutely rejected; nay, ſome have doubted, whether it be true, that there ever was a Biſhop of *Verona* of that Name, that ſuffered Martyrdom under the Emperor *Galienus*. S. *Gregory* the Great is the firſt that ſpeaks of *Zeno*, as a Martyr; but before him S. *Ambroſe*, in a Letter written to *Syagrius* Biſhop of *Verona*, makes mention of one *Zeno*, the Predeceſſor of this *Syagrius*, who ſeems to have govern'd the Church of *Verona* in the time of *Conſtantius*, or *Julian* the Apoſtate. The Teſtimony of S. *Ambroſe* has obliged thoſe that poſitively maintain that there was one *Zeno* Biſhop of *Verona*, a Martyr under the Empire of *Galienus*; it has obliged them, I ſay, to diſtinguiſh between two *Zeno*'s Biſhop of *Verona*; one put to Death under *Galienus*, and another that lived in the time of *Julian* the Apoſtate. But it is better to own frankly that 'tis a miſtake to believe, that there was one *Zeno* Biſhop of *Verona* in the time of *Galienus*. S. *Gregory* does indeed give the Name of Martyr to *Zeno* of *Verona*, but he does not tell us under what Emperor he ſuffered Martyrdom: And perhaps he might beſtow that Title upon him, becauſe he ſuffered ſome Perſecution under *Conſtantius*, or *Julian* the Apoſtate. Be that as it will, *Molanus* obſerves, That heretofore in the *Roman* Martyrology, they placed him among the conſiderable Biſhops that were Confeſſors: And *Onuphrius Panvinus* adds, That the Church of *Verona* anciently honoured him under that Quality, and that *Lippomanus* Biſhop of *Verona*, was the firſt that procured him the honour of a Martyr.

'Tis very certain, that the Sermons which we have under the Name of *Zeno*, cannot belong to him whom they ſuppoſe to have ſuffered Martyrdom under *Galienus*; for this Author in his Fifth Sermon ſpeaks of the Divinity of Jeſus Chriſt againſt the Hereticks that affirmed the *Word to be God*, but did not believe him to be Eternal as the Father, and ſuppoſed there was a time *when He was not*; which viſibly demonſtrates, That the Hereſie of the *Arians* was then on foot. Neither can theſe Sermons belong to that *Zeno* of *Verona*, who lived under *Conſtantius* and *Julian*; becauſe they are borrowed out of other Authors. There are Four Sermons of them that are *(a)* intirely S. *Baſil*'s. All the Homilies upon the *Pſalms* are taken word for word out of the Commentaries *(b)* of S. *Hilary*; which ſhews, That theſe Sermons attributed to *Zeno* of *Verona*, are a Collection of Sermons *(c)* ſtoln out of ſeveral Authors, and heaped together without any Choice. Some are ſhort, others are long; ſome are well written, and in an elevated Style; others ill, and in a mean pitiful one; ſome are clear, others obſcure. In ſhort, nothing can be imagined to be more unequal. In the Sermon of *Continence*, he reckons more than 400 Years ſince S. *Paul* wrote his Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*; and yet in other Homilies, he ſpeaks of Temples, Martyrs and Catechumens. All theſe things ſet it paſt Diſpute, that theſe Sermons attributed to *Zeno* of *Verona*, and unknown to all Antiquity, are a Collection of Sermons taken out of ſeveral Authors of different Times and different Countries, put together indiſcreetly by ſome ignorant Copier.

The ſame Cenſure ought in all probability to be paſſed upon the 18 Sermons cited by *Turrianus* under the name of *Euſebius* of *Alexandria*. This Author is unknown to the Ancients; neither was there a Biſhop of *Alexandria* *(d)* of this Name, for the Three firſt Ages of the Church: Therefore theſe Sermons belong to a more modern Author.

(a) Intirely S. Baſil's.] The Sermons of S. *Baſil* upon theſe Words, *Attende tibi, & de Livore & Invidia*, are entirely ſtoln; and the two other Homilies about Faſting and Temptation, are part of the two longeſt of S. *Baſil*.

(b) Of

(*b*) *Of S. Hilary.*] These Sermons upon the 126, 127, 128, 129 and 130 *Psalms*, belong to S. *Hilary*. Those upon the 49. 79 and 100 *Psalms*, might be his also; because we have lost the Commentaries of this Father upon the *Psalms*.

(*c*) *Stoln out of several Authors.*] Some of the long ones are taken out of Greek Authors, and the short ones out of the Latin Writers, and Fragments of Homilies.

(*d*) *A Bishop of this Name.*] *Eusebius* indeed, *Lib. 7. Chap.* 11. of his History, gives a good Character of one *Eusebius*, a Deacon, that lived with *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Laodicea*; but this Man ought rather to call himself *Eusebius* of *Laodicea*, than *Eusebius* of *Alexandria*. *Zeno Veronâ.*

ARNOBIUS.

THough *Arnobius* and *Lactantius* lived the better part of their time in the Fourth Century of the Church, yet we shall nevertheless join them to the Authors of the Third, because they wrote with the same Spirit, and after the same manner; that is to say, they did not employ themselves in writing against the Heresies that rose in the Fourth Age, but only in confuting the Pagans in imitation of the Ancients. *Arnobius.*

Arnobius was Professor of Rhetorick at *Sicca*, a City of *Numidia* in *Africk* (*a*) under the Emperor *Diocletian*. He was first a Pagan; but as S. *Jerom* tells us in *Euseb. Chron.* being desirous to be converted, that he might more easily prevail with the Bishops to admit him among the Faithful, he composed, when he was but a Catechumen, Seven Eloquent Books against the Religion he had then left, and these Books were as Pledges or Hostages that procured for him the Favour of that Baptism he so earnestly sollicited. Now though it must be confessed, that he did not perfectly understand the Christian Religion when he wrote these Books, in which some Errors are to be found, yet he confuted the Absurdities of Paganism with singular Dexterity, and vigorously defended the principal Articles of our Religion.

He begins his First Book with confuting that Popular Calumny, which the Pagans so industriously advanced against the Christians, *viz.* That they were the Authors of all the Calamities and Miseries that afflicted the World. He shews, that this is a groundless and unreasonable Fancy, that there were Plagues and Famines, and Wars before our Saviours appearance, and that nothing had been changed since his coming: That he was so far from being the Author of their Miseries, that on the contrary, he brought abundance of Good unto the World; That Miseries proceed from Natural Causes, and that it often happens, that those things which in the common acceptation of Mankind pass for Misfortunes, don't prove so in effect; That if the Christians were the Cause of these Calamities, the World would have had no Interval without them ever since the appearance of Jesus Christ; That if the Pagan Deities sent these Miseries to Men for the Punishment of the Christians, they were unjust as well as weak; That the Christians worship the true God, and apprehend no dangers from false ones; That they adore Jesus Christ, but don't consider him as a Man that suffered Death for his own Transgressions, but as a real true God, who took the Humane Nature upon him to manifest himself to the World, to teach Mankind the ways of Truth, and to accomplish all those things for which he appeared upon Earth; That he died, and afterwards was raised up from the Grave, to satisfie all Men that the Hopes of their Salvation were certain. He proves the Divinity of Jesus Christ by the Examplar Holiness of his Life, by the Innocence of his Manners, by the great number of Miracles and Prodigies that were wrought by him, and by others that had Commission from him, by the Signs that appear'd upon the Earth at his Death; and then he shews, that we cannot reasonably question the Truth of these things, because the Evangelists, who have delivered them in writing, were Persons of great Integrity and Simplicity; That there is no reason to imagine they were so Vain, or indeed so Mad, as to pretend they saw those things that they never did see; especially since they were so far from reaping any Advantages from such Inventions, that they thereby exposed themselves to the Hatred of all the World.

In his Second Book, he demonstrates that Jesus Christ was wrongfully Persecuted, since he had done nothing to deserve the hatred of any one, since he was no Tyrant, and destroy'd no Body, since he acquired no Riches for himself, and did no manner of Injustice to the meanest Person. He likewise shews, that the Pagans had no certain Principles whereby to judge which was the true or false Religion; that they were very much in the wrong, for laughing at the Credulity of the Christians; since in the generality of things that have a relation to Human Life, Men usually manage themselves by the belief which they repose in particular Persons; That Jesus Christ merited a great deal more than all the Philosophers in the World, because of the Miracles which he wrought; That the Pagan Philosophers believed the same things that are received by the Christians; as for Instance, The Immortality of the Soul, the Resurrection of the Body, and Hell Fire. He takes occasion from thence to discourse of the Nature of Souls, he pretends that they are of a middle quality between a Spirit and a Body; that they are by Nature Mortal; but that God of his Goodness immortalizes the Souls of those who repose their Confidence in him. He confutes *Plato*'s Notions concerning the Souls Immortality, and it's Excellency, Dignity, Exile or Imprisonment in the Body. He supposes that it is Corporeal and *ex traduce*; That Man is but very little different from the Beasts; That his Soul is mortal by Nature, but that it becomes immortal by the Grace of God: Opinions unworthy of a Man that had been perfectly instructed in the true Religion. What he at the same time observes, that in the Matters of Religion we ought

not

Arnobius. not to indulge a fond Curiosity, nor endeavour to penetrate into the Reasons of God Almighty's Conduct, nor judge of it by our own Light, is infinitely more worthy of a Christian. 'Jesus Christ, says 'he, was God, and I ought to tell you so, though you are not willing to understand it, yet he is God 'and speaks unto us from God. He has commanded us not to perplex our selves with unprofitable 'Questions; let us therefore leave the Knowledge of these things to God, and not amuse our selves in 'a vain pursuit after them. And yet he does not forget to answer those Questions that were ordinarily proposed by the Pagans concerning Jesus Christ. Now they often demanded the reason, why our Blessed Saviour (since his Coming was so absolutely necessary for the Saving of Souls from Death) would suffer so long an Interval of time to pass before he came to deliver them. *Arnobius* replies, 'Is 'it possible for Man to know after what manner God dealt with the Ancients? Who has told you that 'he never relieved them any other way? Do you know how long it is since Men have been upon the 'Earth, or in what place the Souls of the Ancients are reserved? Who has informed you that Jesus 'Christ did not deliver them by his coming? Forbear then to torment your selves about these things, 'and meddle not with those Questions which 'tis impossible for Human Reason to resolve: Be persua-'ded that God has shewn Mercy to them; Jesus Christ perhaps had taught you how, and when, and 'after what manner it was done, if it would not have afforded matter to your Pride. But wherefore 'continued the Pagans, did not Jesus Christ deliver all Mankind? He invites, he calls upon all the 'World, says *Arnobius*; he rejects no body, he readily receives those that come to him; he only re-'quires that Men would desire and wish for him; but he constrains and forces no Man, for otherwise 'it would be Violence, and not Grace. But are none but Christians delivered from Death? No, assu-'redly; for Jesus Christ alone has Power to effect it. But, say the *Pagans*, this is a new upstart Reli-'gion; and why should we quit that of our Ancestors for it? Why not, reply'd *Arnobius*, provided it 'is better? Did we never change our ancient Customs? Did we never alter our old Laws? Is there 'any thing in the World which had not a beginning at first? Ought we to esteem a Religion for the An-'tiquity of it, or rather for the sake of the Divinity which we honour? Within less than Two Thou-'sand Years, none of the Gods that are now worshipped by the Pagans, were in being, whereas God 'and his true Religion has been from all Ages. Jesus Christ had his Reasons why he appeared when he 'did, though they are unknown to us. But why does he suffer those that worship him to be Perse-'cuted? And why, replies *Arnobius*, do your Gods suffer you to be afflicted with Wars, with Pesti-'lence and Famine, &c. As for us, 'tis not to be admired that we suffer in this Life, for nothing is 'promised to us in this World: On the contrary, all the Evils and Calamities which we suffer here, 'make way only for our Deliverance.

In the Three following Books, *Arnobius* falls upon the Pagan Religion, and shews, that the Christians had very great reason to reject a way of Worship so very Foolish, Extravagant and Impious.

In his Sixth and Seventh Books, he demonstrates that the Christians did very wisely not to Build Temples, or trouble themselves with the Pageantry of Statues, Images and Sacrifices, and that it is a ridiculous piece of Folly to imagine, that God dwells in Temples, that the Images are Gods, or that the Divinities are contained in them. Or lastly, That we honour the true God, when we Sacrifice Beasts, burn Incense, or pour out Wine in Adoration of him.

Thus we have considered the Subject of the Seven Books of *Arnobius*, that are written in a manner worthy of a Professor of *Rhetorick*. The turn of his Thoughts very much resembles that of an Orator, but his Style is a little *African*, that is to say, his Words harsh, ill-placed, unpolisht, and sometimes scarce Latin; and 'tis likewise evident that he was not perfectly acquainted with the Mysteries of our Religion. He attacks Paganism with a greater share of Skill and Vigour, than he defends Christianity, and discovers the Folly of That, better than he proves the Truth of This. But we ought not to be surprized at it, for 'tis the ordinary Fate of all new Converts, who being as yet full of their former Religion, know the weakness and blind-side of it better than they understand the Proofs and Excellencies of that Persuasion which they have newly embraced. I will say nothing concerning the Latin Commentary upon the *Psalms*, that carries the Name of *Arnobius*, because it is a certain truth, in which all the Learned World agrees, that this *Arnobius* is a different Person from him of whom we have been speaking; that he is of a later Date, and lived after the Council of *Chalcedon*, since he mentions the *Pelagians* and *Predestinarians*.

The Books of the Senior *Arnobius* were first published by *Faustus Sabæus*, and Printed at *Rome* by *Theodorus Priscianensis* in the Year 1542. out of a Manuscript belonging to the *Vatican* Library, but with abundance of Faults that were to be found in that Manuscript. *Galienus*, who afterwards set out another Edition of them at *Basil*, in 1546 and 1560. by *Frobenius*, took the liberty to Correct them upon his own bare Conjecture, and to insert his own Emendations into the Text. *Thomasinus* printed them at *Paris* 1570. *Canterus* Corrected the Edition of *Galienus*, and was the first Man that wrote Annotations upon *Arnobius*: His Edition was Printed by *Plantin* at *Antwerp* 1582. in *Octavo*. *Elmenhorstius* published a larger Comment upon him, and reviewed his Seven Books out of an ancient Manuscript. They are likewise Printed with *Heraldus*'s Notes, in the Year 1583 and 1603. at *Paris* 1605, and at *Hamburgh* 1610. *Stewechius*, a Learned Man, took pains also with the same Author, and printed him at *Doway* 1634. in *Octavo*. *Thysius* afterward revised his Edition, and caused it to be printed at *Leyden* by *le Maire*, with the Notes of several others, 1652 and 1657, in *Quarto*. Lastly, *Priorius* printed the Books of *Arnobius* against the *Gentiles*, at the end of S. *Cyprian*'s Works, at *Paris* by *Dupuis* in 1666.

(a) *Under the Emperor* Diocletian.] He wrote his Books toward the end of the Third, or the Beginning of the Fourth Century; for in his First Book he expressly tells us, That it was Three Hundred Years, more or less, since the Christians began to appear in the World.

LACTAN-

LACTANTIUS.

Lactantius.

L*ucius Cælius* (*a*) *Firmianus*, Surnamed *Lactantius*, was (*b*) Converted in his Youth to the Christian Religion: He Studied *Rhetorick* in *Africk* in the School of *Arnobius*, but far surpassed his Master in Eloquence. Whilest he was there, he writ a Book, Intituled, *Convivium*, or *The Banquet*; which acquired him so great a Reputation in the World, that he was sent for to *Nicomedia* to teach *Rhetorick* there. But meeting with few Scholars there, because it was a Grecian City, where they had no very great value for the Roman Eloquence; he gave himself altogether to the writing of Books. St. *Jerome* informs us, That he wrote a Poem in *Hexameter* Verse, wherein he gave a Description of his Voyage; and another Piece which he called, *The Grammarian*; but imagining, that he was obliged to employ his Learning and Time upon a better and higher Subject, he entred the Lists in behalf of Religion. The First Treatise, which he composed after this manner, was that about the *Work of God*: He afterwards undertook his Seven Books of *Institutions*, (*c*) about the Year of our Lord 320, in which he strenuously defends the Christian Religion, and likewise Answers all those that had written against it. After he had finished them, he abridged them, and added the Book concerning the *Anger of God* to the rest.

He likewise wrote Two Books to *Asclepiades*, the Eight Books of Epistles; Four to *Probus*, Two to *Severus*, and Two to *Demetrianus*; but all these Books that were extant in St. *Jerome*'s time, are lost at present. We have only recovered one Small Treatise *concerning Persecution* mentioned by S. *Jerome*, which *Baluzius* has lately Published under the Title of *De Mortibus Persecutorum*. He Promises several other Works of the same Author, as his *Disputes against the Philosophers, against the Jews, and against the Hereticks*; but there is no reason to believe that *Lactantius* ever composed these Pieces, since St. *Jerome* doth not mention them; at least, that they were contained in his Epistles.

Constantine afterwards took him to be Tutor to his Son *Crispus*, to instruct him in all manner of Learning. In the midst of all these Honours he was so very Poor that he often wanted Necessaries, being very far from making any pursuits after Pleasure. This is all that we know of the History of this great and excellent Person; but even this very Circumstance alone, as we find it related in *Eusebius*'s *Chronicon*, may pass for an extraordinary and magnificent Commendation of him, and ought to inspire us with no mean Idea of his Piety. For he must certainly have been a very Vertuous Man, that could live poorly in a Court, that could neglect the Care even of Necessary things in the midst of Plenty and Abundance, and had not the least taste of Pleasures, when he resided amongst Persons that were overwhelmed in them.

We are now to consider the Subject of the Seven Books of *Lactantius*, which besides the general Title of *Divine Institutions*, have each of them a particular Inscription, that acquaints us with the Matter whereof it Treats. The First is Intituled, *De falsa Religione*, of *false Religion*; The Second, *De Origine Erroris*, of *the Original of Error*. The design of *Lactantius* in these Two Books is to demonstrate the falsity of the Pagan Religion. In the first, after he has informed his Reader of the Reasons that moved him to undertake such a Work, and has made his Addresses to the Emperour *Constantine*, he shews that there is a Providence in the World, and that it is God who Rules and Governs it. He particularly enlarges upon this Second Proposition, and makes it evident by several Arguments, by the Authority of the Prophets that have Established it, and by the joint-Testimonies of the Poets, of the Philosophers, of *Mercurius Trismegistus*, of the *Sybils*, and the Oracle of *Apollo*, that there is only one God that Governs the World: And lastly, towards the latter part of this Book, he demonstrates the Falsity of the Pagan Religion, by shewing that the Gods to whom they paid their Adoration, were Mortal Men; and not only so, but for the most part wicked and profligate Wretches. In the Second Book he goes on to confute the Pagan Religion, and directs his Discourse chiefly against the Idols and Representations of their Deities; and plainly proves, that it is the highest Degree of Madness and Stupidity to pay Adorations to them as Divine Beings. After this, coming to assign Reasons for the Prodigies and Oracles, which the Pagans attributed to their Idols, he rises as high as the Creation of the World, to furnish himself with a fit occasion of discoursing about the Nature of Dæmons, to whom he ascribes all those wonderful miraculous Effects. Lastly, he shews, That the principal Cause of the Errors and Malice of Men is owing to the perpetual Temptations and Snares of the Devil; as also to the abandoning of *Cham* and his Posterity.

(*a*) *Lucius Cælius.*] This is his proper Name. There are some Manuscripts where he is called *Cecilius*. 'Tis supposed that he was Surnamed *Firmianus* from his Country, and *Lactantius* from the sweetness of his Elocution; but this is not certain.

(*b*) *Converted in his Youth.*] See the Seventh Book of his Institutions, Chapter the last, the Third Chapter of his Epitome, *l.* 2. *c.* 10. where he seems to reckon himself in the Number of those, who after they had acknowledged their Error, were converted to the Truth. S. *Jerome* tells us, That he was the Disciple of *Arnobius*.

(*c*) *About the Year of our Lord* 320.] *Lactantius* was at *Nicomedia* at the time of *Diocletian*'s Persecution in the Year 302. as he himself tells us, *Lib.* 5. of his *Instit. Chap.* 2. He tarried there till the Persecution was over; afterwards he went to *France*, where he wrote his Book of *Institutions*: for he speaks of the Persecutors in the Beginning of his First Book, as if he were then in another Country; he therefore wrote it in the time of the Persecution carried on by the Emperour *Licinius*, which began in the Year 320. So that the Name of *Arians*, that is to be found in some Manuscripts of his Books, might perhaps have been added since.

Lactantius. The Third Book is Intituled, *De falſa Sapientia, Of falſe Wiſdom*; becauſe it is chiefly levelled at the Pagan Philoſophers, the Vanity of whoſe Philoſophy he endeavours to expoſe and diſcover: From hence he draws this Concluſion, That the only Wiſdom of Man is to know and worſhip God.

The Fourth is *concerning true Wiſdom*; and 'tis in this Book chiefly that he lays open the Doctrin of the Chriſtians. In the beginning of the Book he ſhews, That the Philoſophers were not able to find out the true Wiſdom, becauſe they never ſearched after it amongſt the *Jews*, and becauſe it is inſeparable from the Worſhip and Knowledge of the true God. He afterwards explains the Doctrin of the Chriſtians with relation to Jeſus Chriſt; and evidently proves, That the Pagans themſelves acknowledged that he was the Word and Wiſdom of God exiſting before the World; That this Word was begotten of God after an incomprehenſible manner; That he deſcended from Heaven, and was born of a Virgin, according to the Predictions of the Prophets, that the Gentiles might know the true God. He then gives an Account of the Life, the Miracles, and Death of Jeſus Chriſt; and ſhews, That it was neceſſary for him to undergo the infamous Puniſhment of the Croſs.

He afterwards demonſtrates, That though the Chriſtians do acknowledge that the Son is God, as well as the Father, yet they worſhip but one God; That the Father and Son are one Spirit, and one Subſtance, and one God, which he illuſtrates and explains by the Compariſons of a Fountain and its Stream, of the Sun and its Rays, *&c.*

Towards the End, he declaims in general againſt Hereſies; and tells us, That the Catholick Church only has retained the true worſhip of God; That it is the Sourſe of Truth, the Habitation of Faith, the Temple of God; That thoſe Men who never enter into it, or who depart from it, are out of hopes of obtaining Everlaſting Salvation; That no Man ought to flatter himſelf, whileſt he continues ſtedfaſt in his Obſtinacy, ſince his Eternal welfare is concerned in the Matter, which he will be in danger of loſing, unleſs he takes particular Care; That though all the Sects of Hereticks pretend and boaſt to be the Church, yet there is but one properly ſo called, which heals the Wounds of Man by the wholſome Remedies of Confeſſion and Repentance.

In the Fifth Book, that treats *of Juſtice*, He ſhews that the Pagans have no ſuch thing as true Juſtice; That 'tis impoſſible to find it any where but in the Chriſtian Religion; That it is a great Injuſtice to perſecute the Chriſtians, becauſe of their Perſuaſion; and that though they were in an Error, yet their Adverſaries ought to recover them out of it, by the force of Reaſon and not of Puniſhments; That we cannot, and that we ought not to conſtrain Men to be of any Religion; which is a thing not to be defended by Killing of others, but by Dying for it our ſelves; not by Cruelty but Patience; That the Sacrifices which are extorted from Men by Violence, neither ſignifie any thing to thoſe that offer them, nor to thoſe that cauſe them to be offered, nor to the Gods themſelves; That 'tis a ſurprizing thing that the Pagans could ſuffer the Superſtitions of the *Egyptians*, and Atheiſm of the Philoſophers, and yet ſhould bear ſuch an incurable hatred to the Religion of Jeſus Chriſt: In ſhort, That though God ſometimes permits Truth and Juſtice to be perſecuted; yet he never fails at laſt to puniſh Perſecutors with the utmoſt Severity.

The Sixth Book treats of *the true worſhip of God.* He diſtinguiſheth between Two ſorts of Worſhip, True, and Falſe; and Two ſorts of Ways, One that leads to Hell, and the Other that leads to Heaven. He tells us, That this laſt is a difficult Way, that we muſt paſs through Poverty, Ignorance, and a long Series of Sufferings before we can arrive at Virtue; That the Philoſophers ſearch'd after it to no purpoſe, ſince they neither knew what was Good, or what was Evil; having no Knowledge of God, who was the Author of Good, nor of the Devil, who is the Author of Evil; That the Law of God is made clear and manifeſt to us; That this Law contains two Principal Heads; The Firſt of Piety; The Second of Humanity. That Piety conſiſts in worſhiping God, and that Humanity which is alſo called Mercy and Charity, conſiſts in our mutually aſſiſting one another to our utmoſt Endeavours, ſince we are deſcended from the ſame Father; That if we would acquit our ſelves of this Duty, we ought to beſtow Alms, to relieve the Sick and Neceſſitous, to protect Orphans and Widows, to redeem Captives, and bury the Dead; and that the Apprehenſion of becoming poor, ought not to hinder us from giving conſiderable Alms, becauſe they blot out and efface our Sins.

He afterwards diſcourſes about the Paſſions, and demonſtrates, contrary to the Sentiments of the Philoſophers, That Mercy or Compaſſion is not a Vice, but a Virtue; and that Fear and Love, which are Vices when they carry a Man to Earthly things, are Vertues when they move him towards Heaven. From hence, he proceeds to the Precepts of Juſtice that are leſs general, ſuch as are the following ones; Not to Lye, not to be guilty of Uſury, not to exact Gifts from the Poor, not to revenge our ſelves of our Enemies, to ſpeak well of thoſe that revile us, to moderate our Paſſions, and to refrain from the purſuit of Senſual Pleaſures. After he has thus ſhewn the way of Juſtice, he ſays, That if it ſhould happen that a Man ſhould forſake this way by falling into ſome Sin; yet he ought not to deſpair, but turn away from his Evil Practices, and ſatisfie God, who knows our ſecret Thoughts. In one word, That the Sacrifice, which we are to preſent, ought to be Spiritual, and that we ought to offer him the Purity of our Hearts, and the Praiſes due to his Divinity.

The Laſt Book of his Inſtitutions treats about *Happineſs, and a happy Life.* He ſhews, that this ſuppoſes the Immortality of the Soul, which he demonſtrates by ſeveral Arguments; and likewiſe that this Mortal Life can never be Happy, unleſs we take care to preſerve Juſtice. He afterwards diſcourſeth of the End of the World, which he imagines muſt happen Six Thouſand Years after

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its Creation, (*d*) and of the Signs that shall precede it, amongst which he reckons the Destruction of the *Roman* Empire, and of the last Judgment; wherein he tells us, God shall, as it were, weigh both Good and Evil; and that those who have committed more Evil than Good, shall be condemned to Everlasting Punishment; That on the contrary, those who are altogether Just, shall not in the least manner feel the Divine Fire; but that those who are in a middle condition, shall be examined by it, and so purified from their Sins; That after this Solemn Trial is over, Jesus Christ shall Reign a Thousand Years upon Earth with the Just, and when that Course of Time is finished, the World shall be renewed, all Mankind shall be raised again, and God shall make the Just like to Angels, that they may be in his Presence, and serve him during a happy Eternity; but that he will throw the Wicked head-long into Everlasting Fire. He concludes all, with exhorting Mankind to be Converted and Repent while they have an Opportunity of so doing; that so they may put themselves in a Condition of fearing nothing at that Great and Terrible Day. "We cannot carry any thing along with "us, says he, but the Innocence of our Lives. Those only shall appear rich before God, that bring "along with them, if I may use the Expression, the Vertues of Mercy, of Patience, of Charity, "and of Faith. This is the Inheritance which cannot be ravished from us, and which we cannot "transmit to any one besides: And who are they that desire to acquire these Blessings? Let them "that are Hungry come to the Celestial Bread of the Word of God that they may be everlastingly "satisfied. Let them that are Thirsty come to quench their Thirst with the Water of this Heavenly "Fountain; Let no Man ground his hopes upon his Riches, or his Power; for these things are not "able to make us happy for ever; but let us bind our selves to the observation of Justice, which "will accompany us even to God's Tribunal, where we shall certainly receive the recompence, "which he has promised us. *Lactantius.*

The Epitome or entire Abridgment of these Seven Books composed by *Lactantius* himself, is lost: what is extant, begins at the End of the Fifth Book, the rest was lost in S. *Jerome*'s time. This Abridgment contained the very same things with the Books themselves, only more succinctly treated, and thrown into a narrower compass.

In the Book *of God's Anger*, *Lactantius* endeavours to prove, that God is capable of Anger, as well as of Mercy and Compassion.

In the Book *of the Work of God*, he establisheth Providence by demonstrating the Excellence of his Principal Work, which is Man; for which Reason, he makes an Elegant Description of all the Parts of his Body, and the Proprieties or Faculties of his Soul.

The Book of *Persecution*, or rather *of the Deaths of the Persecutors*, lately published by *Baluzius*, and quoted by S. *Jerome*, was writ immediately after the end of that Persecution, which was begun in the Year 303, under *Diocletian*, and ended 313, by the Death of *Maximinus*, when *Licinius* and *Constantine* were Masters of the Empire. 'Tis written to a Confessor, whose Name was *Donatus*, who suffered several times courageously for the Christian Religion during that Persecution. The Subject which *Lactantius* proposes to himself in this Treatise, is to shew, That the Emperours who persecured the Christians, died all miserably. He there describes and relates the several Persecutions which the Church suffered; and likewise the exemplary Punishments which God deservedly inflicted upon these persecuting Tyrants. After he has in a few Words briefly run over the Sufferings of the Church under the Emperours *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Decius*, *Valerian*, and *Aurelian*, and given an account of the Tragical Deaths of these bloody Princes; he enlarges more copiously upon the following Persecution. He gives a particular Account of the History of *Diocletian*, *Maximian*, *Galerius*, *Severus*, *Maxentius*, and *Maximinus*, and tells us how they came to be Emperours, and what was the occasion of the Divisions, and Wars that were raised between them. He represents in lively colours the horrid Cruelties which they exercised upon the poor Christians, and how by the visible Chastisement of God Almighty, they came to a lementable End. This small Treatise is writ with a great deal of Flame and Elegance, and is exactly agreeable in the Historical Part to the Revolution of the *Roman* State under these Emperours. We find several Matters of Fact related there, which were unknown to us before, and many other Passages are illustrated, and set in a better light. He there discovers the Policy and Designs of all these Emperours; And lastly, makes it visibly appear, that the Hand of God was upon them to punish them for their Cruelty and ill Usage of the Christian Professors. There are few things in this Book that relate to the Doctrin of the Christians, but he seems to take notice, that S. *Peter* came not to *Rome* till the Beginning of *Nero's* Reign: And he likewise tells us, That as the Emperour *Maximinus* was offering Sacrifice, one of his Officers made the Sign of the Cross, and thereupon to their great trouble, the Dæmons disappeared.

Besides these Works, whereof we have already discoursed, there are Three Poems attributed to *Lactantius*, which are not mentioned by S. *Jerome*, nor are to be found in the Ancient Manuscripts; and therefore in all probability they are none of his.

The First, is a Poem *concerning the History of the Phœnix*; but the Author of this Piece was certainly no Christian but a Pagan; for he not only describes the Deluge like a Heathen, and contrary to *Moses*'s Account, but he also speaks of *Phœbus*; as if he owned and acknowledged him for a God. The Second Poem *concerning Easter*, is addressed to one *Felix* a Bishop, and was composed by a Christian Author, who lived after *Lactantius*; 'tis attributed to *Venantius Fortunatus*, upon the Testimony and Authority of some Manuscripts in the *Vatican* Library. The Third is *about the Passion of Jesus Christ*, but is not to be found in any ancient Manuscript of *Lactantius*; besides, it does not in the

(*d*) *Six Thousand Years after its Creation.*] So that he seems to have thought that there were no more than 200 Years to reckon from his own time to the Day of Judgment.

Lactantius. least come up to the Purity and Eloquence of his Style, and besides he mentions the Adoration of the Cross. There are likewise some *Arguments upon* Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, and *Notes upon the Thebais* of *Statius*, that some Persons have attributed to *Lactantius*, but they really belong to *Lactantius Placidius*, a Grammarian. They are quoted by *Boetius* and *Sedulius*.

Lactantius is the most Eloquent of all the Ecclesiastick Authors that wrote in Latin; His Style is Pure, Equal and Natural; in a word, it is extremely like *Cicero*'s, and he Justly deserves the Name of *the Christian Cicero*, not only for the cleanness and purity of his Language; but also for the Turn of his Phrase, and his Way of Writing, which is so conformable to that of *Tully*, that the most accurate Criticks have been troubled to find out any difference between them: Nay, there have been some Persons in the World, as we are informed by (e) *Picus Mirandula*, who made no difficulty at all of preferring his Style to *Cicero*'s.

Be that as it will, we are very certain that *Lactantius* abundantly surpasseth *Cicero* in his Thoughts, because the Matter of that Religion, which he so handsomly defends, does infinitely excel the Maxims and Doctrin of the Philosophers. He confutes Paganism with all the Ardour and Spirit imaginable, and he likewise solidly establishes the Christian Religion. He discourses of God after a very sublime exalted manner; He explains the Divinity of the Word, and the Mystery of the Incarnation in an Orthodox Way; He describes the Creation of the World, and the Day of Judgment, by as lively and solemn a representation as any Body have ever yet used; but at the same time it must be acknowledged, that he has sometimes inserted false, uncertain and fabulous things into his Discourses. He is full of admirable Precepts of Morality; he lays down Descriptions of all the Vertues clearly and perspicuously, and with an invincible Eloquence exhorts Mankind to the Practice of them; he shews them the way of Justice, and deterrs them from pursuing the Paths of Iniquity; he teaches them to honour God with a true sincere Adoration, and to be throughly Penitent for their Sins. We ought however to own that he has handled Theology after a very Philosophical manner; but that he did not examine all our Mysteries to the bottom, and that he has committed several Mistakes.

Pope *Damasus* writing to S. *Jerome*, is pleas'd to say, That he took no great pleasure in reading *Lactantius*'s Books; because he frequently turned over several Pages, where he discourseth of things that have no manner of Relation to our Religion.

S. *Jerome* passes this Judgment of him, That he was better able to destroy and confute the Errours of the Gentiles, than to maintain the Doctrin of the Christians; He is accused of doubting whether the Holy Ghost was the Third Person, and to have sometimes confounded him with the Son, and sometimes with the Father; but it may be alledged in his defence, That he meant nothing else, but that the Name of the Spirit in Scripture, is common to the Father and Son. But whatever the Matter is, we find no Footsteps of this Errour in any of his Works that are now remaining, though in some places he takes occasion to speak of the Holy Ghost. He seems to have been of Opinion, That the Word was generated in time; but it is an easie matter to give a Catholick sense to that Expression, as we have seen it done to others, and we may be with Justice allow'd to do so, since he plainly establishes the Divinity of the Word in that very place. His Opinion concerning Angels, that being sent to guard and protect Men, they were afterward seduced by the Temptation of the Devil, and that falling in Love with Women, they begot Terrestrial Dæmons upon them; as it is properly peculiar to him, so it is an erroneous Imagination without any Grounds to support it. What he says about the End of the World, The Reign of a Thousand Years, The Fire of Judgment which will prove Men that have been Sinners, is common to him with divers other Authors; as also what he delivers about the state of Souls after Death, being kept in a Common Prison in expectation of the Day of Judgment, pretending that God created them all before the Creation of the World. I take no notice of several other Errors of less Consequence, and some harsh Expressions, which may be (f) interpreted in a favourable sense.

The Works of this Author have been Printed often. The First Edition that appeared, was at *Rome* 1468. in *Folio*, by *Conradus Leweynheim*. The Second at *Rome* 1470. was Revised by an *Ita-*

(e) *Picus Mirandula.*] Picus lib. de Hist. Divinæ Philosophiæ, c. 7. *Quis apud nos non videat esse Ciceronem, sed Christianum, hoc est, aliquem, qui eum ad lineam vivumq; expresserit? Quis enim non advertit Lactantium Firmianum æquasse ipsum, & forte præcelluisse in Eloquendo?*

Idem, lib. 3. Epist. 10. *Lactantius Ciceronis stilum effigiavit, vel ut quibusdam placet, supergressus est; mihi videtur rebus & sententiis crebrior, nec numeris injucundior, nec sibi æquabilitate & candore posterior. Has quippe virtutes viribis maximus & æmulatus, & assecutus est; hunc nec æqualem poster imomorderunt, nemo elumbem & fractum, Asiaticum & redundantem nemo causatus est.*

(f) *Interpreted in a favourable sense.*] In the First Book, Chapter the 7th. he says, That God made Himself. His meaning is, That he is of Himself, and was not Created. He tells us, *Lib.* 4. *Cap.* 14. That *Jesus Christ* is never called *God*, lest it should be thought that there were two Gods. In the Fourth Book, Chap. 13th. he says, That the Son of God was made Man, that he might be Ἀπάτωρ, as well as he was Ἀμήτωρ. which is a vain Conceit. He says, *Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 9. That Darkness is from the Devil, who imitates God; and in the Second Book, Chapter the 12th. That Man was composed of two Natures that strive together; words that carry a Tincture of the *Manichean* Doctrin, unless they be favourably interpreted. In the Sixth Book, Chap. 12. He says, That Alms blot out the Sins of the Flesh: And he seems in the same place to maintain, That they who sin without Passion and without Surprize, shall never obtain Forgiveness for their Sins. In the Seventh Book, Chap. 5. & 14. He speaks of Immortality after such a manner, as might make us believe, that he was perswaded that the first Man was created Mortal. He falls into horrible gross Mistakes in his Chronology; as for instance, when he tells us, *Lib.* 4. *Cap.* 5. that *Moses* was 900 Years, and *Solomon* an Hundred and Fifty before the taking of *Troy*. In the Third Book, Chap. 23. He denies that there are any such things as *Antipodes*.

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Lactantius.

lian Bishop. The Third was at *Venice* 1472, and it was afterwards Printed in the same City in the Years 1483. 1490. 1493. By *Bennalius* in 1509. 1511. 1515. By *Mauritius* in 1521. and 1535. At *Paris* by *Petitus* in 1509.

At *Rome* in 1574. in 1583. and 1656. At *Florence* in 1513. At *Basil* in 1521. 1523. 1546. and 1563. Twice in 1556. At *Lyons* in 1532. 1540. At *Antwerp* by *Plantin* in 1539. 1582. and in 1570. 1587. and in 1553. 1556. At *Geneva* in 1613. At *Leyden* in 1662. At *Amsterdam* in 1652.

Erasmus, Thomasius, Isæus, Barthius, Thisius, Thaddensis, Galæus, have wrote Notes upon this Author, that are joined together in this last Edition.

The last Edition is that which was Printed at *Amsterdam,* with the Commentaries of several Authors. I have been assured by a very Learned Man, That it is not only far from being the best, but that it is one of the worst Editions that ever came out of this Author.

[Since the Edition of *Amsterdam,* Dr. *Spark* set out an Edition of *Lactantius* at *Oxon,* to which he annexed his Book *De mortibus Persecutorum,* with Notes of his own, and a Dissertation of Mr. *Dodwell's De Ripa Striga*; to explain a difficult Passage in that little Book. Before this Edition came out, it was Printed by it self at *Oxon* in *Twelves,* in the Year 1680. Corrected in many places by the Bishops of *Oxford* and S. *Asaph,* and by Dr. *Isaac Vossius,* who endeavoured to supply the *Lacunæ,* which were in *Baluzius*'s Manuscript Copy, from whence these Editions were taken. The *Cambridge* Edition 1685. in *Octavo,* of this little Book was taken from these. Since it was Published again by it self at *Abo,* with some Notes of *Cuperus* at the End, by *Toinardus.*]

COMMODIANUS.

Commodianus.

HERE are Two Authors of the Fourth Century, whose Works have the same Character and Genius with those that were composed by the Writers of the Three first Centuries.

The First is called *Commodianus*: He is no where mentioned by the Ancients; but in reading his Poetry, 'tis an easie matter to see that it is not Suppositions. *Gelasius* places his Books amongst those which he calls *Apochryphal,* because the Millenary Opinion is here maintain'd, and *Gennadius* speaks of this Author in the following Words. "*Commodianus* giving up himself to the Study of "Humane Learning, read also the Books of the Christians. This gave him a favourable Opportunity "of embracing the Faith. Being now become a Christian, and desirous to offer to Jesus Christ the "Author of his Salvation a Present befitting a Man of Learning, he wrote a Treatise against the Pa-"gans in Verse, which is composed in a middle Style, neither Verse, nor Prose: And because he had "but slightly turned over our Authors, he was able to confute the Pagan Religion with more ease. "than to establish that of the Christians. Hence it is that he speaks of the Divine Recompences af-"ter a gross manner, following in this the Opinion of *Tertullian, Lactantius* and *Papias.* But his "Morals are Excellent, and he persuades Men to embrace a voluntary Poverty. "This is the Opinion of *Gennadius* concerning this Author, who lived in the Beginning of the Fourth Age, in the time of Pope *Sylvester* (*a*). He calls himself *Commodianus* (*b*), and by way of Allusion *Gazæus* (*c*), and gives himself the Title of *the Beggar of Jesus Christ.* He tells us, That he was once engaged in the Errors of the Heathens; but that he was converted by reading the Law of the Christians. His Work is entituled, *Instructions*; and is composed after the Fashion of Verse: I say after the Fashion of Verse, because he neither observes Measure, nor Cadence in it; but only takes care that every Line shall comprise a finished sense, and shall begin with an Acrostick, in such manner, that all the Letters of the Title of every *Strophe* are to be found one after another at the beginning of each Verse; and thus by taking all the first Letters of the Verse, we find the entire Title.

His Stile is harsh, his Words barbarous, and his Thoughts are seldom elevated. The Author appears to have been a Good Man, very simple, very humble, very charitable, throughly affected with the love of Jesus Christ, zealous for his Religion, austere in his Morals, an enemy to Vice, far removed from the Pleasures of the World, and a singular good Monk, as *Rigaltius* has observed of him. Though after all, we must own, that he was not very Ignorant; for there is a tolerable store of Prophane Learning in his Work, and we meet there with several Remarks upon the Pagan Deities that are exceeding Curious and Rare, as well as Entertaining. He seems to have had a great deal of good Sense, of Quickness, and Christian Morality: This Treatise was for a long time buried in Obscurity, and was lately found in our days. *Sirmondus* had it Copied from an old Manuscript, and *Rigaltius* made use of this Copy, and Printed it separately in the Year 1650. We may divide it into Three Parts. The First, which contains Thirty six *Strophes,* is addressed to the *Gentiles*; whom he exhorts to embrace the Religion of Jesus Christ, after he has exposed the Falshood of the Divinities which they Adored. The Second is directed to the *Jews*; whom he likewise perswades to embrace the Christian Religion, shewing them, that the Law was merely Figurative. He there speaks concerning Anti-

(*a*) *In the time of Pope* Sylvester.] Chap. 33. He exhorts the Pagans to join themselves to the Congregation of *Sylvester*; which Plainly shews, that he lived at that time, and wrote in *Rome* or in *Italy,* though his Style is *African.*

(*b*) *Commodianus*] At the end of his Work he tells us, That his Name may be found out by searching after it in his Verses; now if we take the first Letters of every Verse in the Last *Strophe,* and put them together, we shall find *Commodianus Mendicus Christi.*

(*c*) *Gazæus.*] In all Probability he is so called *a Gaza,* as he is named *Commodianus a Commodo.*

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Commodianus.

christ, the last Judgment, and the Resurrection. The Last is addressed to the Christian Catechumens, to the Faithful, and to the Penitents, to whom he gives admirable Instructions in Morality. It begins at the Forty sixth *Strophe*.

We find in this Author most of the Errors of the Ancients. He is of Opinion that the Dæmons were Angels, that were debauched with the love of Women; and that the Giants came from this Illegitimate Commerce; That the World will end after Six Thousand Years; That *Nero* was Antichrist; That there will be Two Resurrections, That of the Just before the Reign of the Thousand Years, and the General One at the Day of Judgment; That the Just after the First Resurrection, shall live a Thousand Years upon the Earth; That after that time, all Men shall be judged, the wicked thrown head-long into Fire, and the whole face of Nature changed. His Moral Instructions are very Excellent. He recommends to the Consideration of the Catechumens to lead a Life free from Sin. He advises the Penitents to pray Night and Day, to live after an austere manner, that they may obtain Remission of their Sins. He exhorts the Faithful to avoid all Evil, and to banish from their Hearts the very Motions of Hatred, assuring them, That Martyrdom will stand them in little stead, if they have an Aversion towards their Brethren. He represents to Apostates the greatness of their Sin, and admonishes all Christians in General, that being Souldiers of Jesus Christ, they ought continually to wage War with their Passions. He prohibits them to appear at the Prophane Shows. He advises Christian Women to be Modest, to avoid Luxury and Magnificence of Apparel. He gives incomparable Instructions to Ministers and Priests, that they may acquit themselves worthily in their Ministry, and persuades them to lead a Life unblameable, and exempt from Avarice; but above all, to relieve the Necessities of the Poor. He counsels the Rich not to value themselves the more highly upon the score of their Riches, but to communicate part to the Indigent; to assist and visit those that are in Sickness, and to Comfort those that labour under Affliction. He says, That we ought not to lament the Death of our Children or Relations. He condemns all Funeral Pomps, and proud Interments. He powerfully reprehends those Persons that don't observe Silence in the Church. "The Priest of the Lord, says he, has said, Lift up your Hearts "to God; you answer, That you have; and yet immediately forget the Word. He prays to the "Lord in behalf of the People, and in the mean time you are entertaining one another with stories; "you Laugh, you speak Evil of your Neighbours, you talk inconsiderably, as if God were absent, "even he that has made all, that sees all, and understands all. He advises those that Pray to God, to purifie their Hearts, before they address themselves to Him by way of Prayer. In a word, The last Part of his Instructions contains excellent Exhortations, to incline Christians to the Love and Practice of Vertue, to turn them away from Vice, and his Remonstrances concerning the corrupt Manners of the Christians, and the Irregularities of his own time, carry a very near resemblance to those of our Age.

JULIUS FIRMICUS MATERNUS.

Julius Firmicus Maternus.

THIS Author, of whom none of the Ancients have made mention, has written a Treatise, Intituled, *Of the Errors of Prophane Religions*, which he has addressed to the Emperors *Constantius* and *Constans*, the Sons of *Constantine*. The Style and Matter of this Book abundantly convince us, that it is no Spurious Piece, and the Title it carries, gives us an occasion to Conjecture, that it was writ after the Death of *Constantine*, the Eldest Son of *Constantine* the Great, which happened in the Year, 340, and before that of *Constans*, who was Slain by *Magnentius* in the Year 350; for it being addressed to *Constantius* and *Constans* there is reason to believe that *Constantine* their Eldest Brother was already dead, and 'tis very evident that *Constans* was then alive. We don't know what the Author was, of what Country, or of what Profession. (*a*) *Baronius* believes that he was Bishop of *Milan*; but without any solid Foundation. There are Eight Books of Astronomy that bear the same Name. Now some Persons are of Opinion that they were composed by another Author. (*b*) *Labbe* maintains, that they belong to the same Man; but we cannot positively assert either one or the other. This Treatise *De Errore Prophanæ Religionis* was Printed at *Venice* in the Year 1499. At *Basil* by *Hervagius* in 1533. At *Strasbourgh* in 1562. And afterwards with *Wouverus*'s Notes by *Frobenius* in 1603. Afterwards it was joyned with *Minutius Felix*, and Printed at *Amsterdam* in 1645. And in 1652. At *Leyden* in 1562, in *Quarto*. 'Tis likewise to be found in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. And lastly, it was put at the end of the last Edition of S. *Cyprian*, which was Printed at *Paris* 1666. The

(*a*) Baronius *believes, that he was Bishop of* Milan.] *Baronius* imagins that he was Bishop of *Milan* in the time of *Julius*, and that he assisted at a Council, held at *Rome* under that Pope. There is indeed mention made of one *Maternus* a Bishop of *Milan*, who suffered in *Diocletian*'s time in the Martyrologies of the 18th of *July*. But he that was the Author of this Treatise, never took upon him the Quality of a Bishop; and we don't find it related in any Authors of Credit and Reputation in the World, that there ever was a Bishop of *Milan* of that Name. On the contrary, it appears by S. *Athanasius*, That in the time of *Julius* there was no Bishop of that Name at *Milan*: And the *Roman* Council, of which *Baronius* is to be understood, is a Chimerical Council invented by *Isiderus*.

(*b*) Labbe *maintains, that they belong to the same Man.*] *Possevinus* and *Simlerus* distinguish them, and call the last the Younger of the two. *Labbe* pretends, that he lived in the Years 334 and 337, and according to this Computation, he might perhaps be the Author of the Treatise, *De Errore Profanæ Religionis*.

Author

Author of it discovers the Original of all the several Religions amongst the Pagans, and shews the absurdity of them. In the first place, he shews how prodigiously Men have debased themselves in making Gods of the Four Elements. Secondly, he lays open the Extract and Rise of the fabulous Deities, giving an Historical Account of those things which the Poets have so disguised in Fiction. In the Third place, he demonstrates the Absurdity and Impiety of the Pagan Theology, where several Persons have had the good luck to drop into an Almightyship, only for being more exquisitely villainous than the rest of their Fellow-Creatures. In the fourth place, he takes occasion to refresh their Memories with several particulars relating to their Gods, as how they have been slain, wounded and ill-used by Men. Fifthly, he pretends that the Religion of the *Ægyptains* derived its Original from *Joseph*, and that their God *Serapis* is the same with the above-mentiond Patriarch, who is so called, because he was the Son of *Sarah*. (This Reason in my Opinion appears to be weak, and ill-grounded.) Sixthly, he observes, that Men have Deified abundance of things which they either love, or have frequent occasion for; and thus they call Eating and Drinking their *Dii Penates*, or their Houshould Gods: Thus *Vesta* is the Domestick Fire we daily use, and the same Judgment may be passed of several others, and for this Reason it has happened, that the Names of their Gods denote, the Proprieties of Natural Things. In a word, he Describes and Enumerates the Prophane Signs, or Mysterious Words that are used by the Pagans in their Way of Worship, and he applies them to Jesus Christ with a great deal of Wit. To say the Truth, This Treatise is exceeding Elegant, and is abundantly stored with a great deal of Profound Learning; the Author of it shews a considerable Stock of Knowledge, Wit and Eloquence; he frequently Exhorts the Emperours to destroy the Pagan Temples, to suppress their Religion, and to make use of strong and violent Remedies, to cure Men of their Maladies, and retrieve them from their Extravagancies and Errors. At the same time he Exhorts all Men to feed and nourish themselves with the Bread of Jesus Christ, which is his Word and his Doctrin, (for he does not speak of the Eucharist in this place, as some Persons have vainly imagined) to embrace the Light, and come to the Marriage of the Celestial Bridegroom. He tells us there, that God made himself Man to save us, and restore us to that Immortality, which we lost and forfeited by the Fall of *Adam*; that if he had not assumed a Body in the Womb of the Virgin, and suffer'd an ignominious Death for the sake of Mankind, all the Jews, even those of the Old Testament, had never been in a Capacity of obtaining Salvation. He teaches us, that the Soul is Immortal and Spiritual, and that the Dæmons were frequently disturbed and ejected out of the Bodies of those Persons, whom they had possessed, by the powerful Prayers and Intercessions of the Christians. He acquaints us with several Figures or Types of the Cross, drawn out of the Old Testament. Lastly, to speak a Word or Two concerning his Morals; he severely declaims and inveighs against those that disguise themselves in Female Habits. These are the Principal and most considerable Heads that are discoursed of in this Treatise, As for his Astronomical, and Mathematical Books, they are divided into Eight Parts. That Work was first Printed by *Aldus Manutius* at *Venice*, in the Year 1499. Reviewed by one who calls himself *Pascennius*, and afterwards Printed in the same place in 1501. Lastly, It was Published at *Basil* by *Hervagius*, and Corrected by *Bucherius* in the Year 1551.

Fulius Firmicus Maternus.

Of the COUNCILS *that were Held in the* First Ages *of the Church.*

THE Canons and Acts of the Councils, ought not to be reckoned among the Works of the Ecclesiastical Authors, since they are the Works of Several Persons assembled in the same place to deliberate upon the Affairs of the Church, that concern either the Faith, or the Discipline, or the Manners of Christians. These Kinds of Assemblies were used in the First Ages of the Church, and the Apostles were the first Authors of them. For the Christians of the Primitive Church, having had some Disputes, Whether they were obliged to Circumcise and Follow the Law of *Moses*; The Apostles and Priests convened at *Jerusalem*, to Examine and Resolve upon this Matter, and at last concluded, That it was not necessary to impose these Burdens upon Christians; but only enjoyned them to abstain from Meats offered to Idols, from Blood, and from things Strangled, and from Fornication. (*a*) This was the First, and Only Council, to speak properly, that was held by the Apostles themselves.

Councils.

(*a*) *And only Council of the Apostles.*] They usually reckon Four. The first concerning the Election of St. *Matthias*, Acts 1. The Second concerning the Election of Deacons, *Acts* 6. The Third, that whereof we now speak, *Acts* 15. The Fourth, *Acts* 21. Where the Priests of *Jerusalem* declare, that the Converted *Jews* might observe the Law, and Exhort St. *Paul* to make a Vow. But in strictness of Speech, only the Third of these Assemblies deserves the Name of a Council. The two First were not held upon the account of any Controversie; nothing was there decided; the Christians found themselves Assembled together, but were not expressly Summoned. In short, they were Assemblies of all the Christians, and not of the Apostles only. The fourth was rather a familiar Conversation, than a Synodical Deliberation; and they only give some Council and an Advertisement to St. *Paul*, without deciding any Matter. And thus 'tis the Third Assembly alone, that deserves to be called a Council. The Council of *Antioch* is spurious, as we have elsewhere shewn.

After

Councils. After their Example, when any Difference arose in the Church, or when it was necessary to make any Regulations; the Bishops, and oftentimes the Priests themselves met together, to decide the controverted Questions, and appoint Laws for the better Government and Discipline of the Church. 'Tis true indeed, that in the Three First Ages of the Church, these Assemblies were more rare, and less remarkable, than they were in the following Centuries; as well because the continual Persecutions of the Emperours hindered the Bishops from meeting freely and in Publick; as also because the Tradition of the Apostles being as yet fresh in Mens Memories, it was not supposed necessary to Summon a Council for the Establishing of every Truth, and Condemnation of every Error. Hence it is, that we don't find (*b*) in any credible Authors, that any Councils were held to Condemn the first Hereticks, such as were the *Simonians*, the *Carpocratians*, the *Basilidians*, the *Gnosticks*, &c. The Errors of these Hereticks were looked upon with horror by all the Christians, who considered the Authors of them; and likewise those that maintained them, as Persons already Excommunicated, and separated from the Church, without the Solemnity and Trouble of Convening a Synod to Excommunicate them by Name. In short, every Bishop instructed his own People in the True Faith of the Church, and confuted all sorts of Errors by the Authority of Scripture, and Tradition.

The first Councils, that are mentioned in Antiquity, are those that were held under the Pontificate of Pope *Victor*, to adjust the celebrated Controversie about keeping *Easter*; and some others that were Assembled almost at the same time to suppress the growing Faction of the *Montanists*. *Eusebius* mentions the last in the Fifth Book of his History, *Chap.* 15. and *Tertullian* assures us, That in his time the *Montanists* also met together (*c*) for themselves. As for what relates to the Synods that were convened upon the Dispute concerning the Celebration of *Easter*, though the Number of them is usually reckoned to be great, yet *Eusebius* mentions but Three; one of which was held in *Palæstine*, another in *Asia*, and a Third at *Rome*. And then, as for what concerns the Churches of *France*, of *Pontus*, of *Corinth*, and of the *East*, he barely tells us, That the respective Bishops there, wrote to Pope *Victor* about this Matter, without speaking of any Council Assembled in these places.

Agrippinus, towards the Beginning of the Third Century, held a Council in *Africk*; where it was Ordained that Hereticks should be Re-baptized.

There were likewise Two Councils held in *Arabia*, under the Emperour *Gordianus*; one against *Berillus* Bishop of *Bostra*, who maintain'd, That Jesus Christ was not a different Person from the Father, before he made himself Man; and the other against the *Arabians*, who affirmed, That the Souls of Men were Mortal.

We don't know at what time the Councils of *Iconium* and *Synnada* were Assembled, that Decreed, It was Necessary to re-baptize Hereticks.

I shall say nothing more of the Councils held in *Africk*, and at *Rome* in St. *Cyprian*'s time; because I discoursed largely about them, when I had occasion to consider the Writings and Life of that Father.

Dionysius Bishop of *Rome* Summoned a Council, in which he Established the Divinity of the Word, and the Mystery of the Trinity against the Errors of the *Sabellians*, and that which was afterwards the Error of the *Arians*. He wrote a Letter upon this Occasion to *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*. S. *Athanasius* mentions this Synod.

In the time of Pope *Stephen*, a Council was held at *Antioch*; where the Bishops Condemned the Practice of the *Novatians*. S. *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* sent word to *Sixtus*, that he was invited thither: *Eusebius* Lib. 7. Hist. c. 8. S. *Epiphanius* in his Account of the Heresie of the *Noetians*, mentions Two Synods that were assembled in *Asia* against *Noetius*, and gives us an Account of some Words of that Heretick, and of the last Synod.

But of all the Councils that were Summoned in the Three First Centuries, the most Celebrated and Famous, are the Two Councils of *Antioch* Assembled against *Paulus Samosatenus*, Bishop of that City, who maintained, That the Word was not truly United to the Humanity in the Person of Jesus Christ; and who likewise, according to the Testimony of some Authors, denied, that the Word was a distinct Person from the Father. The First Council assembled against him, was held at *Antioch* about the Year 264. *Eusebius* tells us, That the principal Bishops who assisted there were, *Firmilian* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, *Gregory* and *Athenodorus* Bishops of *Pontus*, *Helenus* Bishop of *Tarsus*, *Nicomas* Bishop of *Iconium*, *Himenæus* of *Jerusalem*, *Theotecnus* of *Cæsarea*; without mentioning an Infinite Number of others, as well Bishops as Priests. He says, That S. *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, being invited to this Synod, could not come thither, but that he acquainted them with his Judgment concerning this Matter by way of Letter, where he disdained to salute the Author of that Heresie. In all appearance *Firmilian* presided in this Synod; for the Bishops of the Second Council say in their Letter, *That* Paul *having Promised to renounce his Opinion*, Firmilian *gave Credit to his Protestation, and hoping that this Affair might terminate calmly, without any prejudice or dishonour done to the Church, judged it convenient to defer passing Judgment.* And this plainly

(*b*) *In any Credible Authors.*] The Author published by *Sirmondus* under the Name of *Prædestinatus*, mentions some Councils that were held against the Ancient Hereticks; but he is a Modern Author, and does not deserve Credit upon his own Authority.

(*c*) *For themselves.*] Tertull. in lib. *De Jejun. Aguntur præcepta per Gracias illas certis in locis Concilia, per quæ & aliora quæque tractantur.* Some Persons understand this Passage of the Councils of the *Catholicks*; but he speaks of those held by the *Montanists*, as the following words plainly shew.

proves

proves, that *Firmilian* held the chief place in the Synod, and that they followed his Advice. Now they did not pass Sentence against *Paulus Samosatenus* in this Synod, because he had promised to quit his Erroneous Doctrin; but it seems he kept not his Word, but relapsed a little time after into his old Error; So a Second Council was held against him in the City of *Antioch*, in the Year 270, where we find Seventy two Bishops. *Paulus Samosatenus* was here convinced of his Errors by a Priest, whose Name was *Malchion*, and afterwards he was deposed by the Council, and *Domnus* Elected into his Place. The Bishops of this Council soon after wrote a Synodal Letter to *Dionysius* Bishop of *Rome*, and to all the other Bishops in the World, to give an Account of their Condemning *Paulus*, and Electing *Domnus* in his Room. This Letter is to be seen in *Eusebius. Lib. 7. Hist. Cap.* 30. They there give an ample Relation of what pass'd in the First Synod; in which *Paulus Samosatenus* having solemnly Promised to change his Opinion, *Firmilian* thought it convenient to defer passing Judgment upon him; That the aforesaid Bishop was upon his Journey, with a Design to come to the Synod, but died by the way. After this, they proceed to lay open the Manners of *Paulus*, and accuse him of enriching himself by Publick Extortion, Rapine and Sacriledge; they reproach him for his insupportable Arrogance, and Cruel Temper; they complained of him for taking upon him the State of a great Lord, as appeared by his numerous Retinue, by his sitting in an high Tribunal, by his ill Treatment of those Persons that did not make their Court to him, and would not commend him, when they sang Praises to God; by his commanding Hymns to be sung in his own Praise, and ordering himself to be publickly commended in the Sermons, by his living too familiarly with Women, and using his Clergy and People after a Tyrannical insolent manner. In short, After they have accused him of all those Vices that are ordinary and common to Bishops of great Sees, they say they condemned him principally because he revived the Error of *Artemas*; teaching, That Jesus Christ was a mere Man, and that he did not exist before he was born of the Virgin *Mary*; and that having deposed him, they chose *Domnus* in his Room. All which they take notice of, that for the time to come, all Communicatory Letters might be addressed to him only. *Councils.*

There is also another Letter attributed to this Council, addressed to *Paulus Samosatenus*, which contains a Profession of Faith. *Baronius* ascribes it to the first Council; but it being writ a little before *Paulus*'s Deposition, as manifestly appears by the Title, and by its carrying the Name of *Himenæus* in the Front, who presided in the Second Council, and not *Firmilian*, who presided in the First; we ought to conclude, that it belongs to the Second Council. But we have a great deal of reason to believe that the Letter published by *Turrianus* is Suppositious, as well as that of S. *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* to *Paulus Samosatenus*; as we have already shewn in another place.

Baronius attributes besides to this Council, a Profession of Faith, set down in the Council of *Ephesus* in the Third Part, and assigned in that Place to the Council of *Nice*. I don't know what reasons *Baronius* had to incline him to this Opinion; but it seems past dispute to me, that it does not belong to this Council at *Antioch*: for certain it is, that the word Consubstantial was there rejected, whereas it is to be found in this Profession, as it is set down in the Council of *Ephesus*, under the Name of the *Nicene* Council; although it no more belongs to that, than it does to the former: But the truth is, 'Tis a Profession of Faith drawn up by some Bishops, to reconcile the Decisions of those two Councils, and to explain in what sense the word Consubstantial was rejected by the First, and approved by the Second.

Thus I have given a Catalogue of the Councils held in the Three first Ages of the Church, that are mentioned by Authors that deserve Credit. I don't in the least question, but that there were abundance of other Assemblies convened in this time: but then there is no reason to admit those, that are only spoken of by Modern Authors, such as the *Prædestinatus* published by *Sirmondus*, the Author of the Synodical Book, *Bede*; and some others of the same Character.

Of false Decretals Attributed to the first Popes.

THE Falsity of the Decretals that are attributed to the first Popes before *Siricius*, is so well known at present, that it would not be necessary to speak any thing concerning them in this place: If the Subject of my Book did not oblige me in a few words to run over the Principal Reasons, which prove them to be suppositious. I begin with them that are general and common to all the Decretals, and I shall afterwards descend to those that are more particular. *Of False Decretals, &c.*

1. (*a*) All these Decretals were unknown to all the Ancient Fathers, to all the Popes, and all the Ecclesiastical Authors, that wrote before the Ninth Century. Now what rational Man can believe that so vast a Number of Letters composed by so many holy Popes, that contained so many important Points in Relation to the Discipline of the Church, cou'd be unknown to *Eusebius*, to S. *Jerom*, to S. *Augustin*, to S. *Basil*, and in short, to all those Authors that have spoken of the Writings of the Popes, or have written concerning the Discipline of the Church? Cou'd it possibly happen, that the Popes, to whom these Letters are so very favourable, wou'd never have cited and alledged

(*a*) *All these Decretals were unknown to the Ancient Fathers.*] Except that of S. *Clement* to S. *James* Translated by *Ruffinus*, all the rest were absolutely unknown, and no Author ever cited any of them before the Ninth Age of the Church.

Of False Decretals &c.

them, to raise their Reputation? Who wou'd ever imagine that the Decisions of these Decretals should be never so much as quoted in any Council, or in any Canon? He that will seriously consider with himself, that since these Decretals have been imposed upon the World, they have been cited in an infinite number of places by Popes, by Councils, and often copied by the Canonists, will be easily perswaded, that they wou'd have gain'd a mighty Reputation, and been quoted very often by Antiquity, if they had been Genuine and True. (*b*) The first Man that published them, if we may believe *Hincmarus*, was one *Riculphus* Bishop of *Mentz*, who died about the Beginning of the Ninth Century. 'Tis commonly believed, that he brought them from *Spain*, since the Collection carries the Name of *Isidorus*; but 'tis certain, (*c*) it could never be composed by *Isidore* the Great, Arch-bishop of *Sevil*; and there is great Reason to believe, (*d*) that it was no *Spainard*, but rather some *German* or *Frenchman* that begun this Imposture. It likewise (*e*) seems probable, that some of these Decretals have been foisted in since *Riculphus*'s time, and it is no less credible, that *Benedict* a Deacon of the Church of *Mentz*, who made a Collection of Canons by the Order of *Autgarius* Bishop of *Mentz*, and Successor of *Riculphus*, put the last hand to this Collection of false Decretals attributed to one *Isidorus* (*f*) Surnamed the *Merchant* or *Sinner*, who is a different Person from the famous Bishop of *Sevil*. (*g*) We read in History, that about this time, a certain Man named *Isidore*, the Brother of *Eulogius*, came from *Spain* along with some Merchants, and withdrew himself to *Mentz*. Now 'tis very probable, that this Man's Name was set to the Collection of Decretals, and likewise occasion'd the Belief, that they were brought from *Spain*.

Secondly, The Imposture of these Letters is invincibly proved from hence, because they are made up of a Contexture of Passages of Fathers, of Councils, of Letters of Popes, of Canons, and Ordinances of Emperors, which have appeared from the Third Age of the Church down to the midst of the Ninth: (*h*) It is visible, that all these Passages drawn out of several places have been woven together by some Impostor, that had a Genius not large enough to compose the Letters himself.

Thirdly, The Scripture cited in all these Letters follows the vulgar Translation of S. *Jerom*, which demonstrates that they are since his time, and consequently don't belong to the Popes whose Names they carry, that lived long before.

Fourthly, The Matter of these Letters is not at all agreeable to the Age, when the Popes to whom they are attributed, lived: There is no mention made in any of them, either of Persecutions or Martyrs, or of the Doctrin of the Church in opposition to the first Hereticks, or of the Duty of Bishops, or of the Care that ought to be taken of the Flock of Jesus Christ: But they speak of the Questions of Doctrin against the *Arians*, and the *Eutychians*, and of several Matters of Discipline, which suppose that the Church had been long Established.

Fifthly, These Letters are full of Anachronisms; the Consulships and Names of Consuls are ill placed, and out of order; nay, more, the true Years of the Popes don't agree oftentimes with the Account that is to be found in these Letters.

Sixthly, The Style of these Letters is Extremely barbarous, they are full of Solecisms, and we frequently meet with some Words in them, that were only used in the lower Ages. It is worth a

(*b*) *The first that Published them, if we may believe* Hincmar, *was one* Riculphus.] 'Tis in the Twenty fourth Chapter of his Book against *Hincmar* of *Laon*, where it is said, that *Riculphus* brought the Book of Epistles, as it was collected by *Isidore*, out of *Spain*, and dispersed them in that Country. *Benedict* the Deacon tells us in the Preface before his Collection, that he drew these Decretals out of the Archives of the Church of *Mentz*, from whence *Riculphus* had formerly taken them, and where they were found by *Autgarius* his Successor.

(*c*) *Not by* Isidore *Archbishop of* Sevil.] He died in 636. and the Author of these Decretals has taken some Passages out of the Council of *Toledo*, held in the Year 675, as also out of the *6th.* Council celebrated *A. D.* 681. and out of *Gregory* the Second, and *Gregory* the Third, *Boniface* of *Mentz*, and several others who lived after *Isidore* of *Sevil*.

(*d*) *There is reason to believe, that it was no* Spaniard, *but rather some* German *or* Frenchman.] 'Tis exactly the Style of the *French* or *Germans* about the Ninth Age. The greatest part of these spurious Letters are directed to *Germans* or *French*. The Author of them cites a Letter of an Abbess of *France*, to *Boniface* of *Mentz*, and another of the same Bishop. Besides, This Collection was first seen in *France*, being discovered at *Mentz*.

(*e*) *Some of these Decretals have been forged since* Riculphus.] He died in 814, and there are some Letters amongst them, where we find some Fragments out of the Council of *Paris* held in 829. *Benedict* was the first that exposed these Letters to the World; and he tells us, they had been found by *Autgarius* in the Archieves of the Church of *Mentz*, where *Riculphus* placed them, having before brought them out of *Spain*. All this perhaps is only his own Invention.

(*f*) *Surnamed the Merchant or Sinner.*] Both these Titles are to be found in the Preface. *Isidorus Peccator, sive Mercator, servus Jesu Christi.*

(*g*) *We read in History, that one named* Isidore.] 'Tis *Eulogius* himself, some of whose Letters are preserved in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*; in which he testifies that he had two Brothers, and one of them was named *Isidore*, who retired to *Mentz*, and came thither along with some Merchants. Upon this Account possibly they might call that *Isidore Mercator*; perhaps also this is the *Peccator*; a Title, which they frequently gave themselves in that Age, and which *Eulogius* took often himself.

(*h*) *'Tis visible that all these Passages drawn out of different places have been patched together by some Impostor.*] It is visible that the Authors themselves never borrowed those Passages out of these Letters. For, 1. Who will believe that an infinite Number of Writers would take long tedious pieces out of these Letters, and never cite them? 2. These Passages being very long and tedious, it does not appear probable, that they copied them out of these Letters. 3. They are the exact Stile of these Authors: Now who can imagine that the ancient Popes wrote so many different Stiles? 4. They are likewise out of their place in these Letters: Any Man may readily discover, that they are added and patched to the rest of the Discourse; whereas in the Books of the Fathers, from whence they are taken, they are in their proper Natural place.

Man's

Man's while to observe, that all these Letters are of the same Style; now I desire to know how it cou'd possibly happen, that so many different Popes living in different Ages, should all write the same Style? This sets it beyond dispute, that all these Letters were composed almost in the same time, and by the same Person; or at least by one that pursued the same Train of Thoughts. *Of False Decretals, &c.*

Now since these Letters first appeared in an unlearned dark Age, what wonder is it if they were received with little Contestation? And yet *Hincmar* Archbishop of *Rheims* with the (*i*) French Bishops, even at that time made great difficulty of acknowledging them. But a short time after they acquired some Authority, being supported by the Court of *Rome*, whose pretensions they mightily favoured.

After having thus represented the Reasons that prove in general, that all the Decretal Epistles of the Popes before *Syricius* are Spurious; I shall now descend to particulars, and endeavour to shew in few Words, that every Epistle carries undeniable Signs of its being an Imposture, along with it.

The First, and that which seems to bear the greatest Authority, is the Epistle of S. *Clement* to S. *James*, the Brother of our Lord; the First Part whereof was formerly Translated by *Ruffinus*. *Isidore* has added a Second to it, and they are both of them equally Supposititious. The first, because it supposes that S. *Clement* wrote that Letter after the Death of S. *Peter*; whereas it is a Truth that has been constantly received, that S. *James*, to whom it is written, died before S. *Peter*. Secondly, 'Tis there said, That S. *Clement* immediately succeeded S. *Peter*, which is contrary to the Ancients, who place S. *Linus* and *Cletus*, or *Anacletus* between them two. Thirdly, the West is there ridiculously called the darkest part of the World. Fourthly, It is composed to justifie *the Itinerary, or Book of the Voyages of S.* Peter, which is Apocryphal. The Second Part, that was composed by *Isidore*, is yet a more evident Cheat: For, 1. It was unknown in the time of *Ruffinus*, and therefore has been invented since. 2. It is full of Texts of Scripture that follow the Translation of S. *Jerome*: And we likewise meet several Passages there Copied out of S. *Cyril* of *Alexandria* against *Theodore* of *Mopsvestia*, out of *the rule of S.* Benedict, out of *the Exposition of the Creed* by *Venantius Fortunatus*, out of S. *Gregory*, and *Isidore* of *Sevil*. In short, it speaks of *Arch-Priests* and *Primates*, and we find abundance of Words and Expressions in it, that are unworthy of the time of S. *Clement*.

The Second Epistle of S. *Clement* directed to S. *James*, has likewise all the same Marks of Forgery. In the first place it makes mention of *Sacraments*, of *the Habits in which the Priests celebrate the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass*, of *the Pall*, of *Sacred Vessels*, of *Chalices*; things that seem not to have been in use in the time of S. *Clement*. Secondly, It speaks of the *Ostiarii*, or *Door-keepers*, *Arch-deacons*, and other Ecclesiastical Officers, that were not then introduced into the Church. Thirdly, The Letter is writ in a barbarous Stile. Fourthly, The Author alledges the Authority of his Ancestors. Fifthly, It ordains several Practices of little or no Consequence to be observed under pain of Excommunication for Six Years. Sixthly, It supposes that S. *Clement* instructed S. *James* in the Actions of our Blessed Saviour, and the Discipline of the Church. Seventhly, It alledges S. *James* his own words, *Work out your Salvation with fear and trembling*, under the Name of S. *Peter's*. This Letter is full of divers Passages taken out of the Author of the Recognitions, out of S. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, S. *Prosper*, *Laurentius*, *Justinianus*, and S. *Gregory* the Great. Lastly, The Scriptures there cited, follow S. *Jerome's* Translation. The Inscription of the Third Letter of S. *Clement* alone, is enough to discover the falsity of it. It is directed, *To all Suffragan Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and others of the Clergy: To all Princes great and small, and to all the Faithful.* Now in S. *Clement's* time there were no great or small Princes that were of the Church. Secondly, This Letter mentions Sub-Deacons, an Order not then established in the Church. Thirdly, It is for the most part wholly composed of Passages drawn out of the Books of Recognitions: We ought to reject the Fourth for the same Reasons.

The Fifth is directed to S. *James*, in the Name of S. *Clement* Bishop of *Rome*, and Successor of S. *Peter*: Now S. *James* died before S. *Peter*, from whence it necessarily follows, that this Epistle cannot have been written by S. *Clement*. 2, The Author of this Letter seems to approve the Doctrin of the *Nicolaitans*; who taught, that Women ought to be kept in common, and the place where he maintains this Errour, is borrowed out of the Book of Recognitions, in which a Platonist is introduced, disputing upon this occasion. In short, the Author of this Letter tells us, he was present at the Death of *Ananias*, and S. *Clement* was not as yet Converted, when S. *Peter* inflicted that terrible Punishment upon *Ananias*. We must add to all the foregoing Arguments, this weighty Consideration, that all these Letters are of a different Stile from that of the Epistle to the *Corinthians*, which is undoubtedly S. *Clement's*. There were indeed some other Letters formerly assigned to this Saint, but they were different from those which we have examined here; for S. *Epiphanius*, who mentions them, assures us, that he there commends Virginity, and speaks very advantageously of the Prophets. Now there is nothing that looks like this in the above mentioned

(*i*) *The* French *Bishops made great Difficulty of acknowledging them.*] *Hincmar* rejected them, as having no Authority. *Nicholas* the First, in *Epist.* 42. to the Bishops of *France*, endeavours to confute those that rejected them; but since that time, they have been received and inserted into a Collection of Canons, though Learned Men always questioned the Truth of them. However at present no body dares undertake to defend them, the Imposture being so abominably gross, that all People may discover the Cheat at first sight. They may serve as a remarkable Example both of the Credulity of the preceeding Ages, and the intolerable Impudence of Impostors.

Of Falſe Decretals, &c.

Epiſtles that are chiefly ſtoln out of *the Itinerary of S.* Peter, an Apocryphal Work, forged by the Hereticks.

The firſt Epiſtle attributed to Pope *Anacletus*, is viſibly Spurious: For, 1. He calls himſelf in this Letter, the Defender of *S. Clement*; now according to *S. Irenæus*, *Euſebius*, *S. Jerome*, and ſome other ancients, *Anacletus* ſucceeded *S. Peter* and not *S. Clement*. 2. The Author of this Letter is pleaſed to ſay, That he received ſeveral things from his Anceſtors by way of Tradition; and could this Expreſſion poſſibly drop from a Man that lived in the time of the Apoſtles? 3. He ſays, That Appeals from Secular Judges ought to be determined before Biſhops, but this was not Cuſtomary in the time of the Apoſtles. 4. He tells us, that the Priviledges and Laws of the Church ought to be confirmed, none of which were written in *Anacletus*'s time. 5. He talks of Appeals from Eccleſiaſtical Judgments to the Holy See, and mentions the different ſorts of Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes. But theſe Queſtions were never debated under *Anacletus*, and when they came to be afterwards diſcuſſed, the Authority of this Letter was never alledged. 6. He ſpeaks not only of Primates and Metropolitans, but alſo of the *Apocriſiarii*, a Name unknown in the Roman Church till the Sixth Century. 7. The Style of this Letter is barbarous, and full of Soleciſms. 8. This Letter is compoſed of many Paſſages patched together, that are taken out of the Third Council of *Carthage*, the Letters of *S. Damaſus*, *S. Ambroſe*, *S. Auguſtin*, *Ruffinus*, *Ennodius*, *Boniface* of *Mentz*: And there is one Paſſage borrow'd from *S. Cyprian*'s Book *concerning Unity*.

Nor are there leſs Proofs to diſcover the Impoſture of the Second Letter attributed to Pope *Anacletus*. For, 1. The Author of this Letter would neither have Biſhops to be Accuſed, nor Judged. 2. He ſays, That the Apoſtles choſe the 70 Diſciples; whereas it appears by the Goſpel, that our Saviour himſelf made the choice. 3. He ſpeaks of Primates, of Patriarchs, and of Chriſtian Kings. 4. He mentions the Diviſion of the Eccleſiaſtick Provinces, which was made long after the Death of *Anacletus*. Laſtly, He inſerts into his Diſcourſe ſome Paſſages of the *Nicene* Council, of *Damaſus*, of *S. Jerome*, of *S. Auguſtin*, of *S. Gregory*, of *Iſidore* of *Sevil*, of the 5th. Council of *Orleans*, and the Vulgar Latin. We ought to paſs the ſame Judgment upon the Third Letter attributed to the ſame Pope for the ſame Reaſons.

The firſt Letter attributed to Pope *Evariſtus* contains, 1. Some things that have a relation to Clandeſtin Marriage, and ſeveral Ceremonies belonging to that Sacrament, all which can by no means agree with the time of *Evariſtus*. 2. 'Tis patched up of ſome Paſſages out of the vulgar Latin, the Letters of *Innocent*, and the Diſpute of *Ithacius* againſt *Varimadus*. 3. 'Tis dated under Conſuls, that were not in the time of *Evariſtus*'s Pontificate.

The Author of the Second Letter attributed to the ſame Pope, after he has commended ſeveral Churches and Biſhops, inſerts many Texts of Scripture following the vulgar Latin, and imitates divers Phraſes of *S. Cyprian* and the *African* Fathers. He ſpeaks of Primates, and borrows abundance of things out of *Ruffinus*, *S. Gregory*, and *Iſidore* of *Sevil*.

In the firſt Letter attributed to Pope *Alexander*, we find many things that diſcover its Novelty. 1. He mentions ſome Cuſtoms that were not uſed till after this Pope's time; as amongſt others, the Benediction of Water mingled with Salt. 2. He ſpeaks clearly and diſtinctly of the Trinity, and the Errors of the *Arians* and *Sabellians* are ſo openly rejected, that any Man in the World may ſee it was written ſince the Birth of thoſe Hereſies. 3. We there find ſome Paſſages taken out of *Ithacius*, *Clarus*, *Siricius*, *Proclus*, *Ennodius*, and *Adrian* the Firſt.

In the Second attributed to the ſame Pope, there is a Quotation out of the Council of *Laodicea*, that was held under Pope *Martin* the Firſt, and the Scriptures there cited, follow the common Verſion. The Third is compoſed of Paſſages borrow'd out of *Sixtus* the *Pythagorean*, *S. Gregory* and *Iſidore* of *Sevil*. Beſides the date of it is falſe.

In the Firſt Epiſtle attributed to *S. Sixtus*, he is called an Archbiſhop, a word not uſed in his time. 2. The Author confutes thoſe that maintain, that the Son was inferiour to the Father. 3. The Author uſes ſome words and expreſſions of *Ithacius*, of the Fifth Council of *Rome*, of *Flavian* Archbiſhop of *Conſtantinople*, of *Martin* the Firſt, of *Adrian* the Firſt, and *Sixtus* the *Pythagorean*. In fine, this Letter is dated under the Conſulate of *Adrian*; now there was no Conſul of that Name, whilſt *S. Sixtus* was Pope.

The Second attributed to the ſame Pope, mentions Conſecrated Veſſels, Appeals to *Rome*, the Grandeur of that Church. 'Tis there pretended, that all Biſhops wait for the Pope's Deciſion, and are inſtructed by his Letters: Modes of Speaking never uſed by the firſt Biſhops of *Rome*. 2. The Author borrows the better part of what he ſays concerning Pope *Sixtus* and *Zoſimus*, out of the Fifth Council of *Rome*, held under *Symmachus* and *Martin* the firſt. In a word, the date of the Conſuls is the very ſame with that of the former, and conſequently diſcovers the falſity of it.

The Epiſtle attributed to *Teleſphorus*, calls him an Archbiſhop; a Name unknown in the Firſt Ages. 2. There is a Decree in it, to enjoyn Three Maſſes on our Saviour's Nativity, a Cuſtom which is not ſo Ancient. 3. The Author ſuppoſes, that the Laity and Clergy could not accuſe one another in Judgment. 4. He has borrowed ſeveral places out of *Damaſus*, *S. Jerome*, *Proclus*, *S. Leo*, *Flavian*, and *Ennodius*, Authors of a much later date than *Teleſphorus*. 5. He makes uſe of the vulgar Tranſlation of the Bible. In ſhort, the date of the Conſuls is falſe and erroneous.

The Two Letters aſcribed to *Higinus*, are manifeſtly Spurious. The Firſt is made up of ſeveral places taken out of *Ithacius*, *S. Leo*, *Martin* the Firſt, and *Adrian* the Firſt. The Second is ſtuffed with Texts of Scripture, according to the old Tranſlation; the date of the Conſuls is equally falſe in both of them.

The

The Impoſture of the Firſt Letter attributed to Pope *Pius*, appears, 1. Becauſe the Stile of it is rough and barbarous. 2. Becauſe it ſpeaks of a pretended Revelation that appeared to *Hermas*, who is ſuppoſed to be the Brother of *Pius*. 3. Becauſe there are ſome Paſſages manifeſtly Copied out of the Books of *Iſidore* of *Sevil*, *S. Leo*, the Fifth Council of *Rome*, *Sixtus* the *Pythagorean*, *Adrian* the Firſt, and the Vulgar Latin. Laſtly, Becauſe the Date of the Conſuls is falſe, as well as in the Second Letter, which is as evidently forged and ſpurious as the Firſt. The *Theodoſian Code* is cited there, and likewiſe a Decree is publiſhed in it, which Ordains, That thoſe Clergymen who are found diſobedient to their Biſhop, ſhould be delivered over to the Secular Power; which Paſſage does not agree with the time of Pope *Pius* the Firſt.

The Two other Letters attributed to the ſame Pope, are addreſſed to *Juſtus* Biſhop of *Vienna*, and are taken out of the Achieves of the Church of *Vienna*. *Baronius* pretends they are Genuine, becauſe the Stile of them is Simple, and becauſe they are agreeable to the Hiſtory of the time of that Pope; but there are far greater Reaſons to incline us to believe, that they are ſpurious, 1. The barbarous Stile. 2. The Name of Maſs unknown to the Ancients. 3. The affected Terms; ſuch as are, *Superbeate*, *Senatoria*, *Cubilibus æternis*, *Perſeverabilem*, *Primarchus*, *Senatus pauper Chriſti*. 4. It mentions Habits peculiar to Biſhops. Laſtly, Theſe Letters were unknown to all Antiquity.

We find ſeveral Paſſages in the Letter attributed to *Anicetus*, which don't agree with the time of that Pope; as for inſtance, what is there laid down concerning *the Ordinations of Biſhops*, *Sacerdotal Tonſure*, *Archbiſhops*, *Primates*, *and Patriarchs*, which were not inſtituted till long after; beſides many other things of the ſame Nature. 2. The Author of that Letter uſes the Vulgar Latin, and Copies abundance of things out of S. *Leo*, *Adrian* the Firſt, and the Councils of *Nice* and *Antioch*. Laſtly, He is miſtaken in the Date of his Conſuls.

The Firſt Letter attributed to *Soter*, is full of Paſſages borrowed from *Ithacius*, St. *Leo*, and the Vulgar Latin; and the Conſuls there mentioned, held the Conſulſhip ſome Years before *Soter* was Biſhop of *Rome*.

The Second Letter attributed to the ſame, is a Miſcellany taken out of the Council of *Laodicea*, and out of *Gelaſius*, *Martin* the Firſt, and *S. Leo*. It ſpeaks of Monks, of Palls, *&c.* Beſides the Date of the Conſuls does not agree with the Years of this Pope's Pontificate.

The Epiſtle of *Eleutherus* treats of Eccleſiaſtical Judgments in favour of the Court of *Rome*. The Author of it pretends, That all Cauſes relating to the Church, ought to be determined there, and that they cannot be tried in the Province; a Practice contrary to all Antiquity. He follows the Vulgar Latin in his Quotations of Scripture, and cites a Text out of S. *John*, which he attributes to S. *Paul*. He copies ſeveral Paſſages out of the Popes S. *Leo*, *Felix* the Third, *Anaſtaſius*, *Adrian* the Firſt, *Victor* of *Carthage*, *Hilary* the Deacon, the Fourth Council of *Carthage*, the Sixth Council of *Toledo*, and the *Theodoſian Code*. Laſtly, The Date of the Conſuls is falſe.

The Inſcription of the Firſt Epiſtle attributed to *Victor*, plainly diſcovers the falſity of it. 1. It beſtows upon him the Quality of Archbiſhop of the Univerſal Church; a Title which the Ancient Popes never gave themſelves. 2. It is directed to *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, who lived almoſt 200 Years after *Victor*. 3. The Author of this Letter ſpeaks of the Judgments of Biſhops, and Appeals to *Rome*, according to the Pretenſions of the Biſhops of *Rome* in the latter Ages. Laſtly, He uſes the Teſtimonies of S. *Leo* and *Iſidore*. The Second Letter attributed to the ſame Pope, is full of Paſſages borrowed from S. *Leo*, and the Vulgar Latin. The Third and Fourth publiſhed by *Johannes de Boſco*, and taken out of the Library of the Abby of *Fleuri*, are written in a Stile, that manifeſtly diſcovers their Novelty. The Scriptures there cited, follow the Vulgar Latin. The Firſt is directed to *Deſiderius* Biſhop of *Vienna*; now we don't read that there was ever any Biſhop of that Name in *Vienna*, before the time of Pope *Gregory* the Great.

The Firſt Letter of *Zephirinus* is compoſed of ſeveral Paſſages taken out of S. *Leo*, S. *Proſper*, *Vigilius*, S. *Gregory*, *Martin* the Firſt, *Adrian* the Firſt, the *Theodoſian Code*, *Anianus*, and *Sixtus* the *Pythagorean*. 2. We find in it the Names of Patriarch and Primate. 3. It treats about the Deciſions of Biſhops, and Appeals to the Holy See. 4. The Conſul *Gallicanus* is named there; now there was none of that Name in the time of *Zephirinus*. Laſtly, The Author of it ſuppoſes, that the 70 Diſciples were choſen by the Apoſtles.

The Second Letter attributed to the ſame Pope is yet more viſibly ſpurious. 1. The Author of it very impertinently cites the Imperial Laws in favour of the Biſhops. 2. He ſpeaks of the *Apocriſiarii*. 3. He heaps together the very Thoughts and Words of S. *Proſper*, *Adrian*, and *Paul* of *Conſtantinople*. 4. He cites the Canons of Pope *Adrian* as Ancient Statutes. And at laſt, he ſays, that there were falſe Brethren in *Africk* that plundered and ſpoiled the Biſhops: Which cannot poſſibly be true, for there was no Perſecution in *Africk* in the time of Pope *Zephirinus*.

The Firſt Epiſtle attributed to *Caliſtus*, is filled with Paſſages taken out of the *Nicene* Council, the Fifth Council of *Rome*, S. *Proſper*, *Gelaſius*, *Symmachus*, *Iſidorus*, *Anianus*, and *Sixtus* the *Pythagorean*. He ſpeaks of Ember-Weeks, that were inſtituted long after the time of this Pope. The Second is likewiſe full of Paſſages drawn out of the Council of *Antioch*, the Fourth Synod of *Carthage*, *Simplicius*, S. *Auſtin*, S. *Gregory*, *Adrian*, and *Sixtus* the *Pythagorean*. We find ſeveral new Conſtitutions there.

The Author of the Epiſtle attributed to *Urban*, gives large Commendations of a Life, where all things are held in common; He ſpeaks of Vows, and the Revenue of the Church; he uſes the Thoughts and Words of S. *Proſper*, *Euſebius*, the Council of *Paris*, *Gregory* the Fourth, the *Theodoſian Code*, and the Vulgar Latin.

The

of False Decretals, &c.

The Two Letters attributed to Pope [illegible], are made up of Passages taken out of the Vulgar Latin, S. *Gregory*, S. *Jerome*, *Sixtus* the *Pythagorean*: The rest is written in a barbarous Stile.

The Author of the Epistle attributed to *Anteros* speaks of a Bishop of *Ephesus* named *Felix*, but unknown to the Ancients, and places one *Eusebius* amongst the Bishops of *Alexandria*, who is not to be found in the Catalogue of the Bishops of that See. 2. Touching the Translation of Bishops, he establishes some things, contrary to the Determinations of the Councils of *Antioch*, *Sardica* and *Chalcedon*. And besides, he cites the Words of S. *Jerome*, *Siricius*, *Ennodius*, S. *Gregory*, *Isidore*, *Martin* the First, and *Sixtus* the *Pythagorean*.

The Author of the First Epistle attributed to *Fabian*, supposes that *Novatus* came to *Rome* in his Papacy, though it was in *Cornelius*'s time, according to the Testimony of S. *Cyprian*, *Eusebius*, and S. *Jerome*. Secondly, he borrows several Passages out of *Ruffinus*, S. *Leo*, S. *Gregory*, *Adrian* the First, and *Boniface* of *Mentz*.

In the Second Epistle attributed to the same Pope, we read, 1. That disobedient Clerks ought to be delivered up to the Secular Arm. 2. That the Holy Chrism must be made Yearly. 3. We find some places in it, that are Copied out of the Second Council of *Carthage*, the Fifth of *Rome*, the Council of *Antioch*, *Siricius*, S. *Jerome*, S. *Augustine*, *Innocent*, *Zosimus*, *Celestine*, *Proclus*, S. *Gregory*, *Isidore*, and *Adrian*. The Third is full of Passages drawn out of the Letters of Pope *Adrian*, the *Theodosian Code*, *Anianus*, *Felix* the Third, S. *Gregory*, the Second Council of *Carthage*, the Council of *Toledo*, and other Publick Monuments later than *Fabian*.

The first Letter attributed to *Cornelius* is full of Errours; 'Tis there said, First, That the Bodies of S. *Peter* and S. *Paul* were removed out of the Catacombs; which appears to be false by the Testimony of S. *Gregory*, who tells us in the third Letter of his third Book, That the Body of S. *Paul* lay always near the *Porta Ostia*, and S. *Peter*'s in the *Vatican*. Secondly, Some Passages are to be found in this Letter, taken out of the Epistles of *Martin* the First, and S. *Leo*. The Second is a Collection of several things out of the *Constantinopolitan* Council under *Flavian*, the First and Third Council of *Carthage*, the Council of *Calcedon*, the Fifth of *Rome*, S. *Ambrose*, S. *Jerome*, and *Boniface* of *Mentz*; but nothing shews the Imposture of these two Letters more palpably, than the difference of Stile from those that truly belong to *Cornelius*, which are to be seen in S. *Cyprian*, with the Fragment of one in *Eusebius*. There is another Letter of his besides, to *Lupicinus* Bishop of *Vienna*, which is writ in a Style as different from that of the true *Cornelius*, as any of the rest; we find the word *Mass* in it, which was unknown to the Authors, that lived in the time of this Pope.

The Epistle attributed to *Lucius*, is full of Citations out of the Vulgar Latin, and of several Passages taken out of the First Council of *Arles*, the Third of *Carthage*, that of *Milevis*, S. *Leo*, *Gregory*, *Agatho*, *Adrian*, and *Sixtus* the *Pythagorean*: Besides, it is dated Six Months before the Election of *Lucius*.

The two Epistles Attributed to *Stephanus*, are filled with Citations out of Modern Authors, and Statutes, that don't all agree with the time of this Pope, and consequently are Spurious.

For the same Reasons, we must pass the same Judgment of the two Letters of *Sixtus* the Second, the two of Pope *Dionysius*, the three of S. *Felix* the First, the two of *Eutychianus*, that of *Carus*, the two of *Marcellinus*, those of *Marcellus*, the three of *Eusebius*, the Letter and Decree of *Miltiades*, and the rest of the Letters of the Popes collected by *Isidore*, that are full of several Passages taken out of the Fathers, Popes, and Councils more Modern than the very Popes, by whom they are pretended to be written; and in which many things are to be found, that don't in the least agree with the true History of those times, and were purposely said to favour the Court of *Rome*, and establish her Pretensions against the Rights of Bishops, and the Liberties of Churches. But it would take up too much time to shew the gross falsity of these Monuments, that are now rejected by a common Consent, and even by those Authors, that are most favourable to the Court of *Rome*, who are obliged to abandon the Patronage of these Epistles, though they have done a great deal of Service in establishing the greatness of the Court of *Rome*, and ruining the ancient Discipline of the Church, especially in relation to Ecclesiastical Decisions, and Rights of Bishops.

An Abridgment of the Doctrin, Discipline, *and* Morality *of the Three First* Ages *of the* Church.

An Abridgment of Doctrine, &c.

After having given a Summary of what is Contained in the Works of the Ecclesiastical Authors for the Three first Ages of the Church, I suppose it would not be amiss, to present the Reader with an Abridgment also of the Theology of the Primative Christians. This Design, besides the relation it had to the Work it self, seem'd in my Opinion to be the principal Fruit and Advantage that could be gathered from it. For the ultimate Scope and End, which a Man ought to propose to himself in reading the Ecclesiastical Authors, and their History, is not to gratifie a vain foolish Curiosity, but to learn Religion thereby. We must not study these Matters, only to make a Pompous Ostentation of our Knowledge, but to come better Christians, to become more certain of the Doctrin of the Church, more respectful to its Discipline, and better instructed in its Holy Morality. For all Theology reduces it self to these Three Points,

Doctrin,

Doctrin, Discipline and Morality. Doctrin concerns the Articles of Faith that our Religion teaches us; Discipline concerns the Government of the Church; and Morality teaches us, what things we are to do, and what we are to forbear. Hereticks overthrow the Doctrin of the Church by their Errours. Schismaticks destroy its Discipline by violating the Orders and Rules of the Church: And lastly, The vitious Christian discards and lays aside the Laws of its Morality, by living after an irregular manner. For the better avoiding these Rocks and Precipices, it is exceeding requisite for all Christians, to draw out of the Tradition of the ancient Church, that is to say, out of the Books of the Primitive Fathers, who are the unquestionable Witnesses of the Opinion of the Church in their own times; to draw, I say, from thence the Doctrin which they are obliged to believe, to examine the Ecclesiastical Discipline, which they are to revere and obey, and lastly from thence to learn the most Holy Rules of the Christian Morality.

Of False Decretals, &c.

An Abridgment of the Doctrin.

THE Doctrin of the Church was always the same, and will be ever so till the end of the World: For 'tis utterly impossible that the true Church should cease to be, or that the true Church should not teach the Doctrin of Jesus Christ, because whether she should teach a Doctrin different from that of Jesus Christ, or whether she should not teach the Doctrin of our Blessed Saviour, in both these Cases she would cease to be the true Church. Jesus Christ, as *S. Irenæus, Tertullian*, and all the rest of the Ancients have observed, taught his Apostles all the Truths of Faith. The Apostles published them throughout all the Earth, and opened them to all the Churches in the World, whose Doctrin is found to be conformable each to other in Articles of Faith. This Doctrin was always preserved in the Church, which is the Pillar and Foundation of Truth. 'Tis indeed very true, that they did not always make use of the same terms, and that before the Birth of Heresies, they did not observe that precaution in speaking of Mysteries, which they did afterwards, when they were attack'd by the Hereticks: But still the Foundation of Doctrin was always the same as to the principal Articles of our Faith. We must likewise acknowledge, that there were some Errours very frequent in the First Ages of the Church, that have been rejected since, but then they don't concern the principal Articles of our Faith; and besides were never looked upon to be the received Doctrin of the Church, but only the most common Opinions. These previous Observations, will be confirmed by an Abridgment of the Doctrin of the Church, as it is delivered by the Authors of the Three first Centuries; which we are going to represent in as few words as possiby we can.

An Abridgment of Doctrin.

They taught, That the Grounds and Principles of Faith, were the Holy Scriptures, and Tradition; that we ought to believe Mysteries, though we were not able to comprehend them; they spoke of the Nature of God and of his Attributes after a most excellent manner; they believed him to be Invisible, Eternal, Incorruptible, *&c.* they have frequently discoursed of his Providence, his Power, his Bounty, his Mercy, and his Goodness; they wrote very sharply against the false Divinities of the Pagans, and the Errours of Hereticks, who imagined that there cou'd be above one Sovereign and Independent being; they proved that God Created all Things, and even Matter it self, which was not Eternal; they acknowledged the Trinity of the Three Persons in one only God, the Divinity and Eternity of the Word, and of the Holy Ghost; they maintain'd that the Word was from all Eternity in God, as a Person distinct from the Father; that the Father created the World by him, and that he governs it, and that it was the Person of the *Word* that appear'd to the ancient Patriarchs under different Figures, and who was at last Incarnate; that Jesus Christ was the Word made Man, God and Man all together, composed of two intire and different Natures; that he had a Soul and Body like unto ours; that he took this Body in the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*; that his Flesh was real and true; that he suffered and was really Dead; that he made himself Man, to save the World that was lost by the Sin of the first Man; that he came to discover the Truth to them, to shew them an Example; and that he redeemed them by his Death; that he descended into Hell, and afterwards rose again from the Dead; that he will come at the Day of Judgment to judge all Men; that he will Condemn the Wicked to everlasting Punishments, and reward the Good with Eternal Happiness, after he has raised up both the one and the other. All the Fathers, of whom we have spoken, make Profession of this Faith, and assure us, That this is the Doctrin, which all the Churches in the World have received from the Apostles, and that it was necessary to believe it in order to become a Christian. They sometime make use of some Expressions concerning the Person of the Word, that seem to derogate from his Divinity; as for instance, when they say, that the Word was not begotten, till the Beginning of the World; that he is visible, and that the Father is invisible; that he is one Portion of the Substance of the Father, and that the Father is all Substance, But these ways of Speaking, have a very good Meaning in these Authors, as we have often observed. For when they say, That the Word was begotten at the Beginning of the World, and that he was not the Son before, they don't mean that the Word began only to exist then, since they acknowledge he existed before, and was in God from all Eternity: But they take the Word *Generation* in another Sense than we do, giving this Name to a certain Prolation, or Emission of the Word, which they imagine was done, when God resolved to create the World; and 'tis in this sense they say, that the Word who was from all Eternity in God, was generated or begotten at that time, and that he had

An Abridgment of Doctrin.

had not always the Quality of the Son. We have likewise explained in what sense they say, that the Word is visible, and the Father invisible; and we have made it evidently appear, that they did not believe, that the Word was therefore of a different Nature from the Father but only that they attributed Visibility to the Son, as they ascribed Almightiness to the Father: Saying, That it is through the Son, that God makes every External Being, and consequently that by him he renders himself visible to Mankind. This Manner of Speaking is so little contrary to the Divinity of the Word, that it is to be found in *Athanasius*, and in the other Fathers that lived after the *Nicene* Council. In short, when they say that the Son was a Portion of the Substance of the Father, we are so far from being able to conclude that they were of *Arius*'s Opinion, that on the contrary, it follows from thence, that they believed the Son was not created of Nothing, as *Arius* afterwards taught, but that he was Consubstantial to the Father; that is to say, of the same Substance as the *Nicene* Council has determined. But wherefore do they say, that the Son is only something derived from the Substance of the Father? Is it because they believed he was inferiour to the Father? Not at all, but it was because they conceived, that the Father, as having all the Divinity in him, communicated it to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. 'Tis upon this account that they usually ascribe to the Person of the Father all the Attributes of the Godhead, as we may see in the Creed, where after it is said, *I believe in God*, they add, *Almighty, Creator of Heaven and Earth*, &c. and yet we must not therefore say, that these Attributes don't agree to the Son and the Holy Ghost, but only that they are attributed to the Father; because he is the Fountain and Original of the Divinity, and because the Son and Holy Ghost receive it from him. I pass over in Silence some feeble Objections, that are only founded upon the ambiguity of the words *Nature* and *Creation*, that have not been as yet determined to a certain sense, as also the Signification of the word *Hypostasis* has been a long time undetermined. Thus when the Son is called another Substance than the Father, (though that is but very seldom) yet we are not to conclude from thence, that the Person who speaks after this manner, does not believe him to be truly God, because the Words of Nature and Substance were not at that time determined to the sense, they received afterwards, and because they may be taken for a Person subsisting. This is so true, that *Gregory Nazianzen*, and some others that lived in a time, when these Expressions were determined, forbore not to say sometimes that the Father was the first Substance or Nature, and the Son the Second; And thus it is ordinary for those, that acknowledged the Divinity of the Word, to say, That God made or created him, though they believe that he was not created of Nothing, but Begotten of the Divine Substance.

As to the Incarnation, the Fathers of the Three first Centuries have said nothing that in the least seems to favour the Errours of the *Paulianists*, the *Apollinarists*, the *Nestorians*, or the *Eutychians*; and they always distinguished Two Natures in Jesus Christ, and admitted the Proprieties of these Natures without Confusion, and being changed one into the other, yet re-united at the same time in the same Person, God and Man both together. They likewise plainly say, That Jesus Christ was Born of a Virgin by the Operation of the Holy Ghost, without Concupiscence and without Sin. And though they frequently tell us, That the benefit of the Incarnation is the Instruction, and the Example which Jesus Christ has given us; yet they acknowledge besides that, that he has truly Redeemed us by his Death; and that he has satisfied God for us. They believed, that we could not be Saved without believing in him; and for that Reason they imagined, that he descended into Hell, as well as the Apostles after him, to Preach the Gospel there to the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, who had known the true God, and had lived virtuously. They were of Opinion, That the Day of Judgment was at hand; That the Souls of Men until that Day, were neither perfectly Happy nor Miserable, though they underwent some Punishment before-hand, or were at rest, according to the proportion of the Good or Evil they had done in their Bodies. They almost universally believed with *Papias*, that Jesus Christ was to Reign a Thousand Years upon Earth, but they never asserted that Opinion as a Matter of Faith. They were sufficiently divided about the Nature of the Soul; some of them supposed it to be Corporeal, others declared, That they believed it to have been Spiritual; but however the better part of them agreed that it was Immortal, that the Just would be rewarded with Everlasting Happiness, and the Wicked everlastingly Punished. They never disquieted themselves in examining wherein the Beatitude consisted, but they were perswaded, That the Wicked should be punished with Fire, and that not Metaphorical, but Real. They advanced Man's Free-Will very highly, and maintained that he might carry himself either to Good or Evil; and yet they acknowledged, That since the Transgression of the First Man, we were naturally inclined to Evil, and that we stood in need of the Assistance and Grace of God to determine us to what was Good. They did not Philosophize too far about the Nature, and several Species of Angels; but only satisfied themselves, that there were good Angels, and likewise bad ones called *Demons*. They were of Opinion, that both the one and the other were Corporeal, and imagined that the bad Angels were lost for their love of Women, and they positively asserted, that the good Ones took care of things below. All of them were sensible of the Wounds and Punishment of *Adam*'s Sin, but they dont seem to agree, that Infants were born subject to Sin, and worthy of Damnation. Nevertheless, this appears to be the common Opinion; as is evident from S. *Cyprian*, who says, "That it was requisite to Baptize Infants before "the Eighth day, for fear lest if they died without Baptism, this delay should prove the occasion "of their Destruction. They often spoke of the Necessity and wonderful Effects of Baptism, and said that the Holy Ghost descended by the Imposition of the Hands of the Bishop. They maintained, That the Church had Power to reconcile those that repented of their Sins; and did not doubt but that the Eucharist was the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, and accordingly called it by that Name.

Name. They extolled Virginity without condemning Marriage; they honoured the Saints and Martyrs as the Servants of God; they spoke of the Virgin *Mary* with a great deal of respect, and yet with no less discretion and advisedness. S. *Clement* affirms, That she continued a Virgin after her Delivery; but *Origen*, *Tertullian*, and some others, were of the contrary Opinion. We find nothing in the Three first Ages of the Church, either for or against the Assumption; there is a Passage in S. *Irenæus*, that is not favourable to the immaculate Conception. They believed that the Holy Scriptures were written by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, that they contain all the principal Articles of our Faith; that though they are obscure in some places, yet they are clear enough in many others, and that even their Obscurity has its Use; and that all Christians might read them, provided they made good use of them: That it is necessary to believe what the Scripture, Tradition, and the Church teach us, without endeavouring to search too deep into the Mysteries of our Religion, and disputing about them. They acknowledged no other Books of the Old Testament to be Canonical, but those that were received into the Canon of the *Jews*, though now and then they cited some other Books as very good and useful. In the New Testament they received as Canonical the Four Evangelists, the Fourteen Epistles of S. *Paul*, (though some of them questioned that to the *Hebrews*, and many Persons attributed it to another, and not to S. *Paul*) the First Epistles of S. *John*, and of S. *Peter*. The Epistles of S. *James* and S. *Jude*. The Second of S. *Peter*, the Second and Third of S. *John* were received by some, and rejected by others, as well as the *Apocalypse*. They sometimes cited the Apocryphal Books, but never reckoned them among the Canonical Scriptures.

An Abridgment of Doctrin.

Thus I have given you a short Summary of part of the Opinions of the Fathers in the Three First Ages of the Church. The most part of the Proofs, which I have here laid down, are to be found in the Abridgment of those Authors, that I have made in this Volume; and I don't in the least question, but that those Persons, who will carefully read over the same Authors, will be sensible, that I have imposed nothing upon them, and that their Doctrin is what I have now represented it.

An Abridgment of the Discipline.

WE cannot say of the Discipline of the Church, what we have affirmed concerning its Doctrin *viz.* That it is the same in all Times, and all Places; because it is an undeniable Truth, that it has been different in many Churches, and has been from time to time subject to change. We ought not however to conclude from this Principle, that it is unnecessary to study the Primitive Discipline, or that we are obliged only to learn that of the Time and Church where we live; for besides, that those Persons who are ignorant of the Discipline of the Primitive Church, cannot pretend to understand the Books of the Ancients, this ancient Discipline is the Foundation of ours: And tho' the Exterior part has been changed, yet the Spirit of the Church is always the same. It is not therefore an unprofitable Labour as some have vainly imagined, to busie ones self in examining the Discipline of the Ancient Church; on the contrary, it is a Study extremely useful and necessary for a Divine.

An Abridgment of *Discipline.*

It must be acknowledged that the Discipline that was observed in the Infancy of the Church, however Holy it was in its Simplicity, yet was not arrived to its Perfection; for the Apostles altogether applying themselves to what was necessary at the beginning, were content to Preach the Doctrin and Morality of our Blessed Saviour, without giving themselves the trouble to regulate what related to the Ceremonies or Discipline of the Church. Nevertheless we are not to imagine, that they intirely neglected it, and S. *John*, who lived longer than the rest of the Apostles, seems to have applied himself more particularly to it. But the Successors of the Apostles, by little and little, regulated the Ceremonies, that ought to be observed, as well in the Administration of the Sacraments, as in the Assemblies of Christians, and made particular Orders about the Government of Churches, the Form of Ecclesiastical Judicatures, and many other Points of Discipline.

These Ceremonies were exceedingly augmented in the Fourth Century, when the Church began to enjoy the Benefits of Peace and Tranquility, and publickly Celebrated the Divine Service in the time of the Emperor *Constantine*. Then it was that the Bishops met together with Liberty, being supported by the Authority of Princes; and made abundance of Rules concerning the Government of the Church, the Rights of the Bishops of the greater Sees, the Forms of Judicature, and infinite Numbers of other Matters.

We have here obliged our selves to speak only of the Discipline, that was observed in the Three first Ages of the Church: Then it was plain and simple, and had scarce any other Splendor to recommend it, but what the Holiness of the Manners and Lives of the Christians gave to it. They Assembled every *Sunday* in particular, in certain Places appointed and set apart for Publick Devotion, where they continued a long time in Prayer, which they pronounced with a low Voice, without Singing it aloud, as afterwards they did. The Bishop, or in his Absence, the Minister, presided in that Congregation, where they read the Holy Scriptures, and oftentimes the Bishop preached the Word of God. The Festivals of our Blessed Saviour's Nativity, of *Easter* and *Whitsunday* were Celebrated even in those Days with great Solemnity. It was not their Custom on *Sundays*, as likewise from *Easter* to *Whitsunday*, to pray Kneeling, and when they offered up their Prayers, they always turned to the East. The places where they met were plain and without Ornament, and it seems probable, that in those times the use of Images, of Crosses and Incense was not common. They did not give

An Abridgment of *Diſcipline.*

the Name of *Temple* to their Houſes of Publick Prayer, nor that of *Altar* to the Table upon which they celebrated the Euchariſt; they had often their Feaſts of Charity and Benevolence, which they called *Agapæ*, where all Comers were kindly entertained.

They pray'd for the Dead, and made Oblations for them, and celebrated the Sacrifice of the Maſs in Commemoration of them; the Chriſtians gave one another a Kiſs of Peace; they called one another by the Name of Brethren, and continually made the Sign of the Croſs. They pray'd to Saints and Martyrs, and ſolemnized the day of their Death with Joy, and were perſuaded that they interceded with God in behalf of the Living. They Baptized with ſome Ceremonies, thoſe that were well inſtructed in their Religion, and who had given ſatisfactory Signs of their ſincere Converſion; they generally dipt them thrice in the Water, invoking the Name of the Holy Trinity, and they never adminiſtred this Sacrament ſolemnly, but at the Feaſts of *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt*. In *Africk* towards the Third Age of the Church, they made uſe of Holy Water in Baptizing their *Neophytes*. They anointed them with Oil after Baptiſm, and imagined that this Ceremony convey'd ſome Internal Benefit to them, and likewiſe in ſome Churches they gave them Milk and Hony to taſte. They impoſed Hands upon them, that the plenitude of the Holy Ghoſt might deſcend on them, and they conſidered this Impoſition of Hands, which was generally reſerved for the Biſhop, as a diſtinct Sacrament from Baptiſm.

Baptiſm was never reiterated among them, but by Hereticks in ſome particular Churches, and if after it any Chriſtians fell into Sin, of which they were convinced, or made a Confeſſion to the Prieſt, they were enjoyn'd a ſevere Penance; that is to ſay, they were thrown out of the Communion of the Church, forbidden the Aſſemblies of the Faithful, and obliged to Faſt, to Humble and Mortifie themſelves Publickly at the Church-Porch. In ſome Churches, and particularly in thoſe of *Africk* and *Rome*, there was a time, when they never admitted to Peace thoſe that fell into Idolatry, or thoſe that had committed Murder and Adultery. They afterwards conſented to ſome relaxation for Murderers and Adulterers, and afterwards for Idolaters themſelves, whom they reconciled to the Church, either at the point of Death, or after a long and ſevere Penance. 'Tis true, indeed, they did not uſe the ſame Severity in all Churches, and in ſome they admitted Offenders to a Reconciliation after a ſhort Penance, and they likewiſe abated ſomewhat of the Rigor of it at the recommendation of the Martyrs. As for the Clergy, thoſe of them that fell into any notorious Sin, were not only deprived for ever from the Miniſtry, but alſo obliged to undergo Publick Penance, at leaſt in ſome Churches. They that had once undergone this Scandal in the Face of the Congregation were never admitted into the Clergy. They impoſed this courſe of Repentance never but once, and whoever fell into his vitious Tranſgreſſions the ſecond Time, could never be reconciled to the Church, and was to expect his Pardon from God alone. The Sentence of Excommunication was pronounced againſt Hereticks, the Diſturbers of Diſcipline, and thoſe Chriſtians that perſiſted in a profligate irregular Life. He that was Excommunicated by a Biſhop, could be no where received into Communion. The Matter of the Euchariſt was ordinary Bread, and Wine mingled with Water; the Faithful made this Offering, and the Prieſt or the Biſhop that preſided in the Aſſembly, ſaid Prayers and Thankſgivings over the Bread and over the Chalice, and after theſe Prayers were ended, all the Congregation anſwered *Amen*. They divided the Conſecrated Bread into ſeveral pieces, and the Deacons diſtributed them to the Standers by, and gave them alſo the Conſecrated Wine. In ſome Churches this Diſtribution was reſerved for the Prieſts, and in others every Man approached near the Table, and took his Portion of the Euchariſt himſelf. All the Chriſtians took it with wonderful reſpect, proteſting they received the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt: They received the Species of Bread in their Hands, and likewiſe the Euchariſt was given to Infants under the Species of Wine. They generally received it in the Morning before they had eaten, but this Cuſtom was not intirely Eſtabliſhed as a Law, and ſometimes they received it in the midſt of a repaſt. This Celebration of the Euchariſt was frequently called a Sacrifice; the Prieſt recited ſeveral Prayers both before and after Conſecration; and S. *Cyprian* obſerves, that he ſaid, *Lift up your hearts to God*: And the People anſwered, *We have lifted them up to the Lord.* The manner of celebrating this Sacrament was Simple and without abundance of Ceremonies, as we have already obſerved in another place. They received the Euchariſt often, and generally whenever they met together in the Aſſemblies of the Faithful: But they believed that they were obliged to live Piouſly, and according to the Holy Rules of the Goſpel, that they might partake of this Celeſtial Food worthily, and after a manner that might be beneficial to them. There is no mention made, in the Three firſt Ages of the Church, of Anointing the Sick, which S. *James* ſpeaks of; perhaps becauſe it was ſeldom uſed in that time. Marriage was celebrated in preſence of the Prieſts, and was confirmed by ſome Oblation. Second Marriages were reputed Scandalous; nay, they were condemned by ſome Perſons. In ſome Churches they allowed the Husband to ſend home his Wife and Marry another, in caſe of Adultery only: But this was no general Cuſtom among them. They took great Care in the Choice of their Miniſters to elect ſuch Perſons, whoſe Life and Converſation were unblameable. After the Death of thoſe who had been ordained by the Apoſtles, the People Elected. Though the Names of Biſhops and Presbyters were frequently confounded; yet the Biſhops were above the Presbyters. The Biſhops were generally Ordained by their Brethren, who impoſed their Hands upon them, and the Prieſts by the Impoſition of their Biſhop and the Clergy. The Biſhop was mightily reſpected and conſidered by them: Nothing of conſiderable moment in the Church could be done without him, even Baptiſm it ſelf was reſerved for him, but then he treated his Presbyters as Brethren, and did nothing without their Advice. There were Deacons in the

Times

Times of the Apostles, to whom belonged the Administration of Sacred Things at the beginning of the Church, and to whom in some places it was allowed to lay Hands upon Penitents in case of Necessity. The Deaconnesses also are very Ancient. As for the Sub-Deacons, and other inferiour Orders, they were afterwards instituted; yet they were in use in S. *Cyprian*'s time. An Abridgment of *Discipline.*

All the Bishops were persuaded, that they received their Office immediately from Jesus Christ, and that Providence had assigned to each of them a Portion of the Flock of the Heavenly Pastor to Govern, in such a manner however, as that in an exigence or time of Necessity, they were to relieve the wants of all Churches. They lived in great Union together, and preserved a mutual Correspondence by Letters, which they sent one to another. The Bishops of great Cities had their Prerogatives in Ordinations, and in Councils; and as in Civil Affairs Men generally had recourse to the Civil Metropolis, so likewise in Ecclesiastical Matters, they consulted with the Bishop of the Metropolitan City. The Churches of the Three Principal Cities of the World were looked upon as Chief, and their Bishops attributed great Prerogatives to themselves. *The Church of* Rome *founded by S.* Peter *and S.* Paul, *was consider'd as first, and its Bishop, as first among all the Bishops of the World; yet they did not believe him to be Infallible; and though they frequently consulted him, and his Advice was of great Consequence, yet they did not receive it blind-fold and implicitely, every Bishop imagining himself to have a Right to Judge in Ecclesiastical Matters.* They had a Prodigious respect for the Decisions of Councils; and the Opinion of the Universal Church, that is to say, of all the Churches in the World, passed for an Infallible Rule of Faith. They esteemed those Persons, that were separated from the visible Society of the Church, to be Schismaticks, for whom no Salvation was to be had. The Clergy were not distinguished from others by any peculiar Habits, but by the Sanctity of their Life and Manners, they were removed from all kind of Avarice, and carefully avoided every thing that seem'd to carry the appearance of scandalous, filthy Lucre. They administred the Sacrament *gratis*, and believed it to be an abominable Crime to give or receive any thing for a Spiritual Blessing. Tithes were not then appropriated to them, but the People maintained them voluntarily at their own Expence. The Goods of the Church were in common between the Priests and Bishop, who had the Administration of them; the Offerings were reserved for the Poor; the Pastors never abandoned the Flock that was committed to their Care, but with infinite regret, and only in case of Necessity, and carefully acquitted themselves in all the Functions of the Ministry. The Clergy were prohibited to meddle with any Civil and Secular Affairs. They were ordained against their Will, and did not remove from one Church to another, out of a Principle of Interest or Ambition. They were extremely Chast and Regular. It was lawful for Priests to keep the Wives they married before they were Ordained, but Marriage was never permitted after Ordination; but both the one and the other was allowed to Deacons. Monks were not as yet instituted; but there were abundance of Persons of both Sexes among the Christians, that lived in a state of Celibacy, and chearfully submitted to the austerities of an Ascetick Life. There were likewise some Women in the Third Age of the Church, that solemnly obliged themselves to keep their Virginity all their Life-time. All Christians forbore to eat of any Meat that was Strangled, or Blood, or things offered to Idols, which were called *Idolothyta.* They fasted with great rigor before *Easter*, some a longer, and others a shorter space, according to the different Customs of Churches: Besides this, they ordinarily fasted every *Wednesday* and *Friday*, till Three a Clock in the Afternoon only, and many of them spent these Days in Prayers, which they called their Stations. They likewise fasted and mortified themselves in Times of Publick Calamities, and when they were in the rank of Penitents. They were of Opinion, That it was unlawful to fast on *Sundays*, and from *Easter* to *Whitsontide.* They buried the Bodies of the Deceased in the Earth, and did not approve of the Custom of those that burnt them.

These are the Principal Points of the Discipline of the Ancient Church, which I have collected with all the brevity and exactness that was possible. But no body ought to conclude from what has been said here, that all these things were practised in all Churches, and in all Times of the Three first Centuries. Some began to be used but in the Third Age, and others were only observed in some particular Churches. After all, it must be confessed, That the Discipline of the Church has been so extremely different, and so often altered, that it is almost impossible to say any thing positively concerning it.

An Abridgment of the Morality.

THE Morality of the Gospel has been as immutable as its Doctrin, but it has moreover this Advantage, that though there have been abundance of lewd, wicked Christians in the World, who lived in a manner contrary to the Rules of the Evangelick Morality; yet there were never any Persons to be found in all Antiquity, so rash as to overthrow the Rules of this Morality, and to establish Maxims opposite to it; for, there was scarce ever any dispute in the Church, or any different Sentiments about the Questions of Morality. They followed the Precepts of the Gospel according to the Letter, and exhorted all the Faithful to imitate the Life of Jesus Christ, as a Model of what they were to observe. I should never have done, if I should endeavour to heap together all the Principles or Heads of Morality, that are to be found in the Authors of the Three first Ages: It is sufficient to say, that they not only carried the Professors of Christianity to observe the Precepts of the Decalogue and the Natural Law, but that they likewise recommended to them, the embracing the Perfection of the Christian Mo- An Abridgment of *Morality.*

An Abridgment of *Morality.*

Morality. They maintained, that the most agreeable Sacrifice that could be offered to God, was to give him a contrite Heart; that it was necessary to love him above all things, in order to be just; that those that were influenced only by a Principle of servile fear, were not really upright; that we ought to die, and suffer all Punishments imaginable, rather than be guilty of any thing, that might give the World occasion to believe, that we have renounced or despised the Doctrin of Jesus Christ; that we ought to love our Neighbour as our self, and assist and help him; to wish ill to no body, to render Good for Evil, and Pray for those that Persecute us. They exhorted the Faithful to give large Alms, to visit the Poor, to comfort the Sick, and those that were Imprisoned upon the account of Religion. They recommended it to the Consideration of those Christians that were Rich and Powerful, to employ the Superfluities of their Fortune in these indispensable Duties, and to use the World without being Wedded to it; They taught them, that they were obliged not only to avoid Criminal Pleasures, such as Debauchery, and those that were dangerous, such as the publick Shows and Comedies; but also all unprofitable Pleasures, that had no other end but the meer entertainment of the Senses; that they ought to content themselves with what was necessary, without a sollicitous pursuit and search after those Things that served only for Pleasure or Luxury: That Christian Women ought to be extremely Modest in their Garb and Dress. They commanded all Persons of whatsoever Condition, to be Obedient to all Emperors, Magistrates and Secular Powers. They exhorted Wives to love their Husbands, Husbands to cherish their Wives, Children to obey their Fathers and Mothers, and Parents to have a Care of their Children, and reprehend them without Bitterness; they admonished the Faithful to be submissive to their Pastors, and the Pastors to have a great deal of Charity and Zeal for their Flock.

In a word, They prescribed all the Rules and Holy Maxims of the Gospel to the Observation of Christians, and exhorted them to lead a Life conformable to them. But what is most to be admired, this excellent System of Morality was not only to be found in the Writings of the First Christians; but it appeared and glittered in their Lives and Actions. *We say not great things*, says one of these Ancients, *but we live them.* Non eloquimur magna, sed vivimus.

The End of the First Volume.

A CHRO-

A

Chronological Table

OF THE

AUTHORS

OF THE

OLD TESTAMENT.

With the Names of the Authors, their Country, and Imployments, Time of their Birth, Time when they Flouriſhed, and Time of their Death.

MOSES, of the Tribe of *Levi*, Chief of the People of *Iſrael*, born in *Ægypt* in the 2433d, year of the World, 1571 Years before Jeſus Chriſt; he brought the *Iſraelites* out of the *Ægyptian* Bondage in the Year 2513, and led them in the Wilderneſs for forty years.

He died in the Year 2553. 1451 Years before the Birth of Jeſus Chriſt.

JOSHUA. Son of *Nun*, *Moſes*'s Succeſſor, born in the Year 2460, he ſucceeded *Moſes* in the Year 2552; and governed the People till the Year 2570, died in the Year 2570, Aged 110 years.

JOB, deſcended from *Eſau*, believed to be as old, or older than *Moſes*.

SAMUEL, Prophet and laſt Judge of the People of *Iſrael*, born in the Year 2849. he began to govern the People in the Year 2888. and ruled them 21 years, died in the Year 2947.

The AUTHORS of the Books of *Judges* and *Ruth*, who lived before the Captivity.

DAVID, Son of *Jeſſe*, of the Tribe of *Judah*, King of *Iſrael*, born in the Year 2919, he reigned forty years, *i. e.* 7 years in *Hebron*, and 33 in *Jeruſalem*; died in the year 2990, and 1014 years before Jeſus Chriſt.

GAD and NATHAN, Prophets, Propheſied under *David* and *Solomon*, from the Year 2980. till the Year 3020 *circiter*.

SOLOMON, Son of *David*, King of *Iſrael*, reigned from the Year 2990, till the Year 3030, died in the Year 3030.

AHIJAH and IDDO, Prophets, under *Solomon* and *Jeroboam*.

HOSEA, Son of *Beeri*, Propheſied under *Uzziah*, *Jotham*, &c. from the Year 3194, till towards the End of the next Age.

JOEL, Prophet; ſome ſay, ſoon after *Hoſea*'s death; others, not till after the Captivity.

ISAIAH, Son of *Amos*, of the Blood-Royal, began to Propheſie in the 25th Year of *Uzziah*, in the Year 3219, and continued for an Age.

AMOS, Herdſman of *Tekoah* near *Bethlehem*, began to Propheſie in the 24th Year of *Uzziah*; *i. e.* about the 3218th Year of the World, and continued 25 or 26 years.

OBADIAH, Prophet, Time when he lived, and Propheſied very uncertain.

JONAH, Son of *Amittai* of the Tribe of *Zebulun* Propheſied from the end of the 31ſt Century of the World, to the end of the 32d.

MICAH, Of the Tribe of *Judah*, began to Propheſie in the Year 3257. under *Jotham*, and continued under *Ahaz* and *Hezekiah*, for about fifty years.

HABBAKKUK, Prophet, ſometime in *Manaſſeh*'s Reign, but uncertain.

NAHUM, Prophet, Time uncertain.

JEREMIAH, born near *Jeruſalem*, of the Family of the Prieſts, began to Propheſie in the Year 3375, and continued 45 years.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

BARUCH, Scholar and *Amanuenſes* to *Jeremiah*, Propheſied in *Jeremiah*'s time, or rather after his death.

DANIEL, Of the Blood-Royal, Propheſied during the Captivity, from the Year 606, before Jeſus Chriſt, *i. e.* the Year 3398. of the World, for almoſt 70 Years.

EZEKIEL, Son of *Buzi* the Prieſt, began to Propheſie in the Year 3408, the fifth of the Captivity, and continued under *Jeconiah* 22 Years.

HAGGAI and *ZECHARIAH*, Son of *Berachiah* the Son of *Iddo*, Propheſied after the People returned; and began in the Year 3485. 519 Years before the Birth of Jeſus Chriſt.

MALACHI, Prophet, after the two former.

TOBIT, wrote after the Ten Tribes were carried away by *Shalmaneʒar*, in the Year 3283, 721 Years before Jeſus Chriſt.

The Author of the Book of *JUDITH* uncertain. Time uncertain.

EZRA, returned from *Babylon* to *Jeruſalem* in the Year 3537.

NEHEMIAH, the Author of the Book of *Chronicles*, returned in the Year 3550. Lived in *Ezra*'s time

The LXX Interpreters, under *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, about the Year 3727.

JESUS, Son of *Sirach*, under *Ptolomy Euergetes*, in the Year 3759.

The uncertain Author of the firſt Book of *MACCABEES*.

JASON, Abridger of the Second.

PHILO JUDÆUS, A Platonick Philoſopher, under the Emperors *Tiberius*, and *Caius Caligula*.

JOSEPHUS, of the Prieſtly Family, deſcended from the *Haſmonæans*, born the Year 37. after Jeſus Chriſt, under *Veſpaſian*, *Titus* and *Domitian*; died in the Year 93, after Jeſus Chriſt.

JUSTUS, of *Tiberias*, at the ſame time.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE of the Authors of the *NEW TESTAMENT*.

With the Names of the Authors, *their* Country, *and* Employments, *Time of their* Birth, *Time when they* Flouriſhed, *and time of their* Deaths.

ST. *MATTHEW*, Publican, converted by Jeſus Chriſt, and made an Apoſtle, wrote his Goſpel about the 39th year of the common Account.

St. *MARK*, Diſciple of St. *Peter*, wrote about the Year 43, or perhaps ſeveral years after.

St. *LUKE*, Phyſician of *Antioch*, wrote his Goſpel about the Year 56. of Jeſus Chriſt. The *Acts* were written afterwards, towards the Year 58.

St. *JOHN*, Son of *Zebedee*, Apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt, and the beloved Diſciple, wrote his Goſpel about 100 years after the Birth of Jeſus Chriſt.

The *Revelation* in the Year 95.

The time of his Epiſtles uncertain. Died in the Year 101. after the Birth of Jeſus Chriſt, in the 68th year after his Death.

SAUL or *PAUL*, of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, of the City of *Tarſus*, converted in the Year 34.

Wrote his two Epiſtles to the *Theſſalonians* in the Year 52.

In the Year 56, to the *Galatians* and *Corinthians*.

In the Year 57, to the *Romans*.

In the Year 62, to the *Epheſians*, *Philippians*, the *Coloſſians*, the *Hebrews*, and *Philemon*.

In the Year 63, the firſt Epiſtle to *Timothy*, and that to *Titus*.

In the Year 64, the Second to *Timothy*. Suffered Martyrdom in *Nero*'s Perſecution, in the Year 64.

St. *JAMES*, Kinſman of our Lord, made Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* after the Death of Jeſus Chriſt.

Time when he wrote his Epiſtle uncertain. Died in the Year 63.

St. *PETER*, Son of *Jona*, Chief of the Apoſtles, wrote his firſt Epiſtle in all probability, about the Year 43 or 44. and the Second a little before his Death. Suffered in the Year 64. in *Nero*'s Perſecution.

St. *JUDE*, Son of *Alphæus*, called alſo *Thaddeus* or *Lebbæus*, wrote after St. *Peter*'s Death.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE Eccleſiaſtical Authors

That are Mentioned in this Volume.

With the Names of the Authors, their Country, and Employments, Time of their Birth, Time when they Flouriſhed, and Time of their Deaths.

HERMAS, a Greek Author; the ſame Perſon probably that St. *Paul* ſalutes in his Epiſtle to the *Romans*; which was written in the Year 57. *Neronis* 4to.

St. CLEMENT, Biſhop of *Rome*, by birth a *Greek*, contemporary with the Apoſtles, he governed that Church from the Year 93, to the Year 101, under the Emperors *Domitian*, *Nerva*, *Trajan*; died in the Year 101. the third Year of *Trajan*.

DENYS, believed to have been originally of *Thrace*, Judge of the *Areopagus* at *Athens*, and afterwards Biſhop of that Church, converted by St. *Paul* in the Year 52. conſtituted Biſhop of that Church towards the Year 60; he governed it till the Year 95, under the Emperor *Nero*, *Veſpaſian*, and *Domitian*; died in the Year 95. in *Domitian*'s Perſecution.

St. IGNATIUS, called *Theophorus*, of *Aſia*, Biſhop of *Antioch*. Some ſay he was about ſeven years old when *Jeſus Chriſt* preached: Some ſay he was not born till after *Jeſus Chriſt*'s Death. He ſucceeded *Evodius* in the See of *Antioch* in the Year 70 of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and govern'd that Church forty years under *Veſpaſian* and his Succeſſors, till *Trajan*'s time, under whom he ſuffered Martyrdom; died in the tenth Year of *Trajan*, in the Year 107.

St. POLYCARP, of *Aſia*, Biſhop of *Smyrna*, born about the Year 70, Conſecrated to the Service of God in the Year 81. Conſecrated about the Year 98. He govern'd the Chutch of *Smyrna* till the Year 167; from the time of *Nerva* to *Commodus*; ſuffered Martyrdom in the Year 167.

PAPIAS, of *Aſia*, Biſhop of *Hierapolis*, Diſciple of St. *John* the Evangeliſt; he flouriſhed under the Emperors *Trajan* and *Hadrian*. The year of his Death is not known.

QUADRATUS, of *Aſia*, Diſciple of the Apoſtles, flouriſhed under *Hadrian*, to whom he preſented an Apology for the Chriſtians about the Year 120.

ARISTIDES, a Philoſopher of *Athens*, preſented an Apology to the ſame Emperor about the ſame time.

AGRIPPA, a Greek Author, flouriſhed at the ſame time.

HEGESIPPUS, of *Palæſtine*, born ſoon after the Apoſtles deaths, about the beginning of the Second Century, flouriſhed under the *Antonines*, and wrote his Hiſtory under Pope *Eleutherius*; he died under the Emperor *Commodus*, about the Year 180.

St. JUSTIN, a Philoſopher born at *Sichem*, a City in *Paleſtine*, a Greek by Birth and Religion; flouriſhed under *Antoninus Pius* to whom he preſented an Apology about the Year 150. died in the Year 166.

MELITO, of *Aſia*, Biſhop of *Sardis*, flouriſhed under *M. Aurelius* the Philoſopher to whom he preſented an Apology for the Chriſtians in the Year 182. died about the Year 185.

TATIAN, an *Aſſyrian*, flouriſhed under *M. Aurelius*, and *Commodus*.

ATHENAGORAS, an *Athenian* Philoſopher, flouriſhed at the ſame time, and preſented an Apology to *M. Aurelius*.

HERMIAS, a Greek Author. Time when he lived uncertain.

THEOPHILUS, a Greek Author, Bishop of *Antioch*. Consecrated Bishop of *Antioch* in the Year 170. governed that Church till the Year 181 or 182, under *M. Aurelius*, and the first years of *Commodus*. Died in the Year 182.

APOLLINARIS, a Greek, Bishop of *Hierapolis*, a City in *Phrygia*, flourished under the Emperor *M. Aurelius*; died about the beginning of *Commodus*'s Reign, in the Year 182 or 183.

DIONYSIUS, Bishop of *Corinth*, flourished under the Emperors *M. Aurelius* and *Commodus*. Died in the latter End of *Commodus*'s, or the beginning of *Severus*'s Reign.

PINYTUS, a Bishop in *Crete*.

PHILIP, a Bishop in the same Island.

MODESTUS, a Greek.

MUSANUS, a Greek.

BARDESANES, a *Syrian* of *Edessa*.

These five flourished under the Emperors *M. Aurelius Antonius* the Philosopher, and *Commodus*.

St. *IRENÆUS*, a Greek, went into *Gaul*, was ordained Priest, and afterwards Bishop of *Lyons*, born about the year 140. Disciple of S. *Polycarp* and *Papias*, Consecrated in the Year 178. in the 17th year of the Reign of *M. Aurelius*, under whom, and his Successors, *Pertinax* and *Severus*, he flourished in the time of *Eleutherius* and *Victor*, Bishops of *Rome*. Suffered Martyrdom in the Year 202 or 203.

VICTOR, Bishop of *Rome*, Consecrated Bishop of that Church in the Year 191, died in the year 201.

POLYCRATES, of *Asia*, Bishop of *Ephesus*, lived at the same time.

THEOPHILUS, of *Palæstine*, Bishop of *Cæsarea*, and

BACHILLUS, Bishop of *Corinth*, lived at the same time.

The two *APOLLONII*, one a Greek, the other a Roman Senator, flourished under *Commodus*.

Two *ANONYMOUS* Greek Authors, who wrote against the Heresies of *Montanus* and *Artemo*, at the same time.

HERACLITUS,
MAXIMUS,
APPION,
CANDIDUS,
SEXTUS,
ARABIANUS,
JUDAS, and several others, whose Country is not known, flourished under *Commodus*, *Pertinax*, and *Severus*.

SERAPION, Bishop of *Antioch*, chosen in the Year 191, governed that Church under the Emperors *Commodus*, *Pertinax*, *Severus*, and *Caracalla*. Died in the year 213. about the end of the first year of *Caracalla*.

RHODON, of *Asia*, studied at *Rome*, under the Emperors *Commodus* and *Severus*.

PANTÆNUS, a Stoick Philosopher, born in *Sicily*, Catechist of *Alexandria*, President of the *Alexandrian* School towards the beginning of *Commodus*'s Reign, about the Year 184. He went then into the *Indies* to preach the Gospel, and upon his return resumed his Employment under the Emperors *Severus* and *Caracalla*. Died about the year 212. under the Emperor *Caracalla*.

St. *CLEMENT*, believed to have been of *Athens*, Presbyter and Catechist of *Alexandria*, flourished under the Emperors *Severus*, *Caracalla*, and *Heliogabalus*, from the year 196. to the year 220. Died in the year 220.

MILTIADES, a Greek, flourished under *Commodus* and *Severus*.

TERTULLIAN, originally of *Africa*, a *Carthaginian*, Presbyter of that Church, a Latin Writer, flourished under the Emperors *Severus* and *Caracalla*, from the year 194. till towards the year 216. He turned *Montanist* in the year 207. Died about the year 220.

CAIUS, Presbyter of *Rome*, flourished under *Severus* and *Caracalla*, under the Popes *Victor* and *Zephyrinus*, from the year 196. to the year 201.

HYPPOLITUS, Bishop of *Ostia* in *Italy*, or rather of a City in *Arabia*; suffered Martyrdom in the Year 230.

GEMINIANUS,
or
GEMINUS, under the same Emperor.

ALEXANDER, Bishop in *Cappadocia*, afterwards of *Jerusalem*, taken in as Coadjutor to *Narcissus*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, in the beginning of *Caracalla*'s Reign, about the Year 213. Died in the Year 250.

JULIUS AFRICANUS, of *Palæstine*, flourished under the Emperor *Heliogabalus* and *Alexander Severus*, from the Year 218. till about the Year 230.

MINUTIUS FELIX, a Lawyer of *Rome*, flourished towards the beginning of the third Century.

AMMONIUS, a Philosopher of *Alexandria*, flourished under the Emperor *Severus*.

ORIGEN, an *Alexandrian*, Catechist of that School, afterwards Presbyter, born about the Year 185. settled Catechist about the Year 203, and flourished till the Year 252. Died in the Year 252.

BERYLLUS, Bishop of *Bostra* in *Arabia*. Converted by *Origen*, under the Emperor *Gordian* in in the Year 238.

St. *CYPRIAN*, an *African*, Bishop of *Carthage*, Converted by *Cæcilius* in the Year 246. govern'd the Church of *Carthage* from the Year 248. to the Year 258. under the Emperors *Philip*, *Decius*, *Gallus*, *Volusian* and *Valerian*. Suffered Martyrdom in the Year 258.

PONTIUS, of *Africa*, Disciple of St. *Cyprian*, under *Volusian*.

CORNELIUS, Bishop of *Rome*, Consecrated in the Year 251.

NOVATIAN, a Roman, flourished under the Emperor *Philip*; created Anti-Pope in 251. and wrote in 253.

St. *MARTIALIS*, a Greek, came to *Tholouse* in the Year 250.

SIXTUS,

A TABLE of Books belonging to the *Old Teſtament*.

SIXTUS, Biſhop of *Rome*, choſen Biſhop in the Year 254.

GREGORY THAUMATURGUS, born at *Neocæſarea*, a City in *Pontus*, of a Noble Family; afterwards Biſhop of that City. Born about the Year 215. Converted by *Origen*, whoſe Diſciple he was. Choſen Biſhop in the Year 240. flouriſhed under the Emperors *Gordian*, *Philip*, *Gallus*, *Voluſian*, *Decius*, *Valerian* and *Gallienus*, for 25 years. Died in the year 265.

DIONYSIUS, Diſciple of *Origen*, Catechiſt, and Biſhop of *Alexandria*, choſen Biſhop in the year 247. flouriſhed under the ſame Emperors for ſeventeen years.

THEOGNOSTUS, of *Alexandria*. Time uncertain.

ATHENOGENES. Time uncertain.

DIONYSIUS, Biſhop of *Rome*, govern'd that Church from the year 258. to the year 270.

MALCHION, Presbyter of *Antioch*, diſputed againſt *Paulus Samoſatenus* in the year 270.

ARCHELAUS, a *Syrian*, Biſhop of *Meſopotamia*, flouriſhed under the Emperor *Probus* towards the year 280.

ANATOLIUS, of *Alexandria*, Biſhop of *Laodicea* in *Syria*, under the ſame Emperor, and his Succeſſor *Carus*.

VICTORINUS, Biſhop of *Paſſaw*, at the ſame time.

PIERIUS, Presbyter, and Catechiſt of *Alexandria*, under *Carus* and *Diocleſian*, about the year 285.

METHODIUS, Biſhop of *Lycia*, afterwards of *Tyre* in *Paleſtine*, under the ſame Emperors; ſuffered Martyrdom in 302 or 303.

PAMPHILUS, Presbyter of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, ſuffered Martyrdom under *Maximinus*.

LUCIAN, Presbyter of *Antioch*, died under the ſame Emperor.

PHILEAS, of *Thmuis*, a City of *Ægypt*, died, under the ſame Emperor.

ZENO, Biſhop of *Verona*, died in *Julian* the Apoſtate's time.

ARNOBIUS, an *African*, Profeſſor of Rhetorick at *Sicca*, a City in *Numidia*, flouriſh'd under *Diocleſian* towards the end of the third, and beginning of the fourth Centuries.

L. CÆCILIUS FIRMIANUS, ſirnamed *LACTANTIUS*, according to ſome, an *Italian*, to others, an *African*, ſtudied in *Africa*, afterwards went to *Nicomedia*, where he taught Rhetorick, and at laſt Tutor to *Criſpus*. He wrote in Latin; flouriſhed under *Diocleſian* and *Conſtantine*, from the year 302, till towards the year 330.

COMMODIANUS, a Latin Author, probably an *Italian*, in the time of Pope *Sylveſter*.

JULIUS FIRMICUS MATERNUS, a Latin Author, Biſhop of *Milain*, according to *Baronius*, under *Conſtantius* and *Conſtantine*, Sons of *Conſtantine* the Great. He wrote about 340 or 350.

A TABLE of *BOOKS* that belong to the *Old Teſtament*, Canonical, Apocryphal, and Loſt.

Canonical Books unanimouſly received by Jews and Chriſtians.

THE five Books of *Moſes*.
The Book of *Joſhua*.
The Book of *Judges*.
The Book of *Samuel*, *i.e.* the firſt and ſecond Books of *Kings*.
Iſaiah.
Jeremiah.
Ezechiel.
The Twelve minor Prophets.
The Book of *Job*.
The 150 *Pſalms*.
The *Proverbs*, *Eccleſiaſtes*, *Canticles* } of *Solomon*.
Daniel.
The *Chronicles*.
Ezra divided by us into Two Books.

Thoſe Books thus divided are 22.

Books owned by ſome Jews as Canonical and rejected by others.

Eſther.
Ruth.
Baruch.

Books rejected by Jews, and moſt Primitive of the Chriſtians, as Apocryphal, and afterwards received by the Church.

Tobit.
Judith.
Wiſdom.
Eccleſiaſticus.
The two Books of *Maccabees*.
The Hiſtory of *Suſanna*.
Bel and the *Dragon*.

Books cited in the Old Teſtament, which are loſt.

The Book of the Covenant, *Exod.* 24. [This does not ſeem

A TABLE of Books belonging to the *Old Teſtament*.

ſeem to be a Book by it ſelf, but only thoſe Laws which are ſet down in the 10, 21, 22, and 23d Chapters forgoing: for the People promiſed in the ſame Verſe, That *all which the Lord hath ſaid, they would do, and be obedient.* (Exod. 24. 7.) which words refer to the Laws ſet down above, that God delivered to *Moſes* upon the Mount.]

The Book of *the Wars of the Lord*, Numb. 21. 14.
The Book of *Jaſher*, Joſ. 10.13. 2. Sam.1. 18.
The Books of *Nathan, Gad, Shemaiah, Iddo, Ahijah, Jehu*, Chron.
The Book of *Samuel*, 1 Chron.29.29. [This alſo ſeems to be no other than the Books of *Samuel* in the Old Teſtament; in which, as every one knows, there is a very particular Account of *David*'s Life, from his Unction by *Samuel*, till his Death.]
The Sayings of *Hozai*, [or as our Tranſlation renders it, *of the Seers.*] 2 Chron. 33. 19.
The Diſcourſes of *Uzziah*, 2 Chron. 26. 22. [This is obſcurely expreſſed: He means the Life of *Uzziah*, written by the Prophet *Iſaiah*.]
Three thouſand Proverbs of *Solomon*, 1 Kings 4. 32.
A thouſand and five Songs. *Ibid.*
Several other Diſcourſes of his. *Ibid.*
The Deſcriptions of *Jeremiah*, Matth.2. 17. [What our Author means here, I cannot tell. The Evangeliſt quotes the Prophet *Jeremiah*, (31. 15.) and the ſence of the words of the Prophet, agrees with that of thoſe in the Evangeliſt, exactly.]
The Memoirs of *Hyrcanus*,
The Books of *Jaſon*.

Apocryphal Books, not dangerous.

The Prayer of King *Maneſſes*.
The Third and Fourth Book of *Eſdras*.
The Third and Fourth Books of the *Maccabees*.
The Genealogy of *Job*, and a Diſcourſe of his Wife.
The 151ſt *Pſalm*.

Other Apocryphal Books of the ſame Nature, which are loſt.

The Book of *Enoch*.
The Book of the Aſſumption of *Moſes*.

Books forged by Jews and Hereticks, Fabulous and Erroneous, which are loſt.

The Generations of the Creation of *Adam*.
The Revelation of *Adam*.
A Book of Magick by *Cham*.
The Aſſumption of *Abraham*.
The Book of the Twelve Patriarchs.
A Book of *Jannes* and *Jambres*.
A Book written by King *Og*.
Jacob's Ladder.
The Genealogy of the Sons and Daughters of *Adam*.
With ſeveral others.

Greek Tranſlations.

An old Verſion of the Bible, or of ſome part of it.
The Tranſlation of the LXX Interpreters.
Aquila's Verſion.
Theodotion's Verſion.
Symmachus's Verſion.
A Fifth and Sixth Verſion.
A Seventh upon the Pſalms.

Authors whoſe Books have a Relation to the Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament.

Genuine.

Philo.
Joſephus.
Juſtus.

Forged or Doubtful.

Ariſteas.
Ariſtobulus.
Joſeph Bengorion.
Pſeudo-Beroſus.
Manetho.
Metaſthenes.
Pſeudo-Dorotheus.
Zoroaſter.
Sanchoniathon.
Philo Byblius.
The Teſtament of the Twelve *Patriarchs.*

A TABLE of *BOOKS* that belong to the *New Teſtament.*

Books owned as Canonical, at all times, and by all CHRISTIANS.

THE Four Goſpels.
Thirteen Epiſtles of St. *Paul.*
The firſt Epiſtle of St. *Peter.*
The firſt Epiſtle of St. *John.*
[The *Acts of the Apoſtles*; This by a Miſtake is omitted in *du Pin.*]

Books doubted of at firſt by ſeveral, but ſoon received as Canonical by the Catholick Church.

The Epiſtle to the *Hebrews.*
The Epiſtle of St. *James.*
The Second Epiſtle of St. *Peter.*
The Second and Third Epiſtle of St. *John.*
The Epiſtle of St. *Jude*, ſomething later.
The *Revelation*, which was not univerſally received of a long time.

Apocryphal Books, not full of Errors.

The Letter of *J. C.* to *Agbarus.*
The Letters of the *V. M.*
The Goſpel according to the *Ægyptians.*
The Goſpel according to the *Hebrews.*
The *Proto-Evangelium* of St. *James.*
The Goſpel of *Nicodemus.*
The Ancient Acts of *Paul* and *Thecla.*
The Epiſtle to the *Laodiceans.*
The Letters of St. *Paul* to *Seneca.*
The Epiſtle of St. *Barnabas.*
The Liturgies { Of St. *Peter.* / Of St. *Mark.* / Of St. *James.* / Of St. *Mathew.*
The Canons and Conſtitutions of the Apoſtles.
The Book of *Prochorus.*
The Book of *Abdias.*
The Ancient Acts of the Paſſion of St. *Andrew.*

Erroneous Books forged by Heretick.

The Goſpels. { Of St. *Thomas.* / Of St. *Matthias.* / Of St. *Bartholomew.* / Of the Twelve. / Of *Philip.* / Of *Judas.* / Of *Thaddæus.* / Of *Barnabas.*
A Book of the Childhood of *Jeſus Chriſt.*
A Book of the Genealogy of *Mary.*
The Acts { Of St. *Peter.* / Of St. *Paul.* / Of St. *Andrew.* / Of the Apoſtles. / Of St. *John.* / Of St. *Philip.* / Of St. *Thomas.*
The Doctrine and Sermons of St. *Peter.*
The *Clementines.*
The Memoirs of the Apoſtles.
The Travels of the Apoſtles,
A Book of the Prieſthood of *Jeſus Chriſt.*
The Life of the Virgin *Mary.*
Queſtions of the Virgin *Mary.*
Revelations. { Of St. *Peter.* / Of St. *Paul.* / Of St. *Thomas.* / Of St. *Stephen.*

Other Suppoſititious Books, favourable to Religion.

A Letter of *Agbarus* to *Jeſus Chriſt.*
Letters of *Lentulus* and *Pilate* concerning *Jeſus Chriſt.*
The *Sybilline* Oracles.
The Books of *Hermes Triſmegiſtus.*
The Books of *Hyſtaſpes.*
Seneca's Letters to St. *Paul*
A Paſſage of *Joſephus* concerning *Jeſus Chriſt*; which we cannot tell whether it be Suppoſititious or no.

A TABLE

Of all the

Eccleſiaſtical Writers.

Mentioned in this Volume.

Names of Authors.	*Genuine Books ſtill extant.*	*Books Loſt.*	*Suppoſititious Books.*
HERMAS.	A Diſcourſe entituled, *Paſtor* divided into Three Books.		
St. *CLEMENT.*	Two Epiſtles to the *Corinthians.*		The Conferences of St. *Peter* and *Appion.* Recognitions. Apoſtolical Conſtitutions. *Clementines*
DENYS the *Areopagite.*			Books of the Celeſtial and Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy. A Diſcourſe of the Names of God. A Diſcourſe of Myſtical Theology. Ten Letters.
St. *IGNATIUS.*	Epiſtles to the *Smyrnæans.* To St. *Polycarp.* To the *Epheſians.* To the *Magneſians.* To the *Philadelphians.* To the *Trallians.* To the *Romans.* According to *Voſſius*'s and *Uſher*'s Editions.		Five ſpurious *Greek* Letters. To *Maria Caſſobilita.* To the *Tarſians.* To the *Antiochians.* To *Hero* the Deacon. To the *Philippians.* Three in *Latin*, one to the *V. M.* the other two to St. *John.*
St *POLYCARP.*	Epiſtle to the *Philippians.*	Some Letters to the Neighbouring Churches.	A Letter to St. *Denys* the *Areopagite* A Diſcourſe of the Union of St. *John.* [Dr. *Cave* produces a Quotation out of *Halloixius*'s Life of St. *Polycarp*, which ſays, This Book was *concerning* St. *John*'s *Death.* They both mean the ſame *Book*, becauſe they ſay from *Halloixius*, that it is extant in the Library of the Abby of *Eemy.* I believe it is falſe Printed in Mr. *Du Pin.*

PAPIAS

A Table of all the Eccleſiaſtical Writers, &c.

Names of Authors.	*Genuine Books, ſtill Extant.*	*Books loſt.*	*Suppoſititious Books.*
PAPIAS.		Five Books entituled *Explications of the Diſcourſes of our Saviour.*	
QUADRATUS.		Two Apologies for the Chriſtians.	
ARISTIDES.			
AGRIPPA.		A Diſcourſe againſt *Baſilides.*	
HEGESIPPUS.		An Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, divided into five Books.	
JUSTIN Martyr.	Two Apologies, The Second Part of the Book of the Monarchy of God. A Conference with *Trypho*, the *Jew.* Two Orations againſt the *Gentiles*, doubtful. A Letter to *Diognetus*, doubtful. [Theſe are owned by Doctor *Cave.*]	A Diſcourſe againſt Hereſies, particularly againſt *Marcion.* Two Books againſt the *Gentiles*, one called *The Pſalmiſt.* A Book of Collections concerning the Soul. [Beſides theſe, Dr. *Cave* mentions, An Expoſition of the *Revelations.* A Commentary upon *Hexameron.* Letters, *πρὸς τὸ πᾶπαν.* A Diſcourſe upon the Reſurrection.	Letters to *Zena* and *Serenus.* [Owned by Dr. *Cave* as *Genuine.* A Confutation of ſome *Ariſtotelian* Opinions. [Owned likewiſe by him.] Queſtions and Anſwers to the Queſtions of the Orthodox. An Expoſition of the Faith concerning the Trinity.
MELITO.		Two Books of *Eſther.* One of the Lives of the Prophets. One of the Church. Of the Lord's Day. Of the Nature of Man. Of the Creation. Of the Obedience of our Senſes to the Faith. Of the Soul, the Body, and the Spirit. Of the Truth. Of Baptiſm. Of the Generation of *J. C.* Of Prophecy. Of Hoſpitality. A Book entituled, *The Key.* Of the Devil. Of the Revelations. Of God Incarnate. Collections out of the Scripture. An Apology for the Chriſtian Religion.	
TATIAN.	A Diſcourſe againſt the Gentiles.	A Goſpel compoſed out of the four. A Diſcourſe of Evangelical Perfection.	
ATHENAGORAS.	Apology for the Chriſtians. A Diſcourſe of the Reſurrection.		A Romance *of True and Perfect Love*, in *French*, ſaid to have been Tranſlated out of *Greek.*

Names of Authors.	*Genuine Books ſtill Extant.*	*Books Loſt.*	*Suppoſititious Books.*

[*Huetius* in his Diſcourſe of the Original of Romances, thinks that this Book might poſſibly have been compoſed by *Philander*, who impoſed upon *M. Fumée*, as if it had been really written by *Athenagoras*. This Dr. *Cave* ſays is very improbable: But if we conſider how extremely particular this Author is in his Deſcription of thoſe Buildings he mentions, how very improbable it is that *Athenagoras* ſhould have brought in his *Melangenia*, deſcribing *Jupiter Hammon*'s Temple more like an Architect than an Hiſtorian, we can hardly conceive it to have been written by a *Greek*. Beſides, the Architecture it ſelf is ſo very exact according to the Rules of the Five Orders, the Four Ancienteſt whereof were introduced firſt by the *Greeks*; that it is not likely that one of that Nation, who knew very well that *Jupiter Hammon*'s Temple was never raiſed by Men that were acquainted with their Models of Building, would ever have deſcribed it as Built after ſuch a manner, if he had thought fit to have deſcribed it at all. So that though we cannot certainly tell whether *Philander*, (who wrote Commentaries upon *Vitruvius*) was the Author of this Romance, or no; yet theſe Reaſons ſeem to make it more than probable, that it was not written by *Athenagoras*, eſpecially ſince a *Greek* Copy was never yet produc'd, and that none of the Ancients ever quoted it, either as his, or as belonging to any Body elſe. And I do not doubt, but Dr. *Cave* would have been of the ſame Opinion, if he had read the Book over himſelf.

HERMIAS.	A Diſcourſe to ſhew the Ridiculouſneſs of the Opinions of the Pagan Philoſophers.		
THEOPHILUS.	Three Books to *Autolycus*.		A Diſcourſe againſt *Marcion*. A Diſcourſe againſt the Hereſie of *Hermogenes*: And ſome other little things.

[Since the firſt Edition of Mr. *du Pin*'s *Bibliotheque* was publiſhed. Mr. *Dodwell* ſet out the Chronological Fragments of Biſhop *Pearſon*, with Additions of his own to the late Biſhop of *Cheſter*'s Diſcourſes concerning the Succeſſion of the firſt Biſhops of *Rome*. In his Additions to the ſecond Chapter of Biſhop *Pearſon*'s firſt Diſcourſe, he brings ſome Arguments to prove that this *Theophilus* the Author of theſe Diſcourſes to *Autolycus*, was not that Biſhop of *Antioch* that was the 6th from St. *Peter*, as it has hitherto univerſally been believed. *Theophilus* ſpeaks of the Perſecution, as of a Calamity the Chriſtians then groaned under, in two or three places, towards the end of the third Book: Καθ' ἡμέραν and ἕως τῆς δεῦρο: *daily*, and *until now*. He ſays alſo, that it chiefly lay upon thoſe that *haſtned after Virtue, and endeavour'd to live a Holy Life*, Σπεύδοντας πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ ἀσκῆσαι βίον ὅσιον. Theſe Mr. *Dodwell* affirms to have been Proſelytes and Catechumens who endeavoured to live up to the Rules of their new Religion, and uſed great Philoſophical ſtrictneſſes of Life, as *Origen* and his Diſciples did, which is properly meant by the word ἀσκῆσις. The Perſecution of *Severus* was raiſed particularly againſt New Converts, and thoſe that endeavoured to inſtruct the Catechumens in the Chriſtian Faith: for which reaſon, *Origen* was ſo ſeverely enquir'd after; from hence it will neceſſarily follow, That *Theophilus*, who mentions the Perſecution as a thing that had been of ſome Continuance, which did not begin till the Year CCIII. could not be that Biſhop of *Antioch* that ſucceeded *Maximinus*, and preceded *Heros*.]

APOLLINARIUS.			An Apology to the Emperor for the Chriſtians. A Treatiſe againſt the *Gentiles*, divided into five Books. Two Books againſt the *Jews*. Diſcourſes againſt the *Montaniſts*.
DIONYSIUS, Biſhop of *Corinth*.			Epiſtles to the *Lacedemonians*. the *Athenians*. the *Nicomedians*. the Church of *Gortyna*. the *Amaſtrians*. the *Gnoſſians*. *Soter*, and to *Chryſtophora*.

PINYTUS.

A Table of all the Eccleſiaſtical Writers, &c.

Names of Authors.	Genuine Books ſtill Extant.	Books loſt.	Suppoſititious Books.
PINYTUS.		Letter to *Dionyſius*, Biſhop of *Corinth*.	
PHILIP and MODESTUS.		Diſcourſes againſt *Marcion*.	
MUSANUS.		Diſcourſe againſt *Encratitæ*.	
BARDESANES.		Diſcourſe againſt *Marcion*. Of Fate.	
St. IRENEUS.	Five Books againſt Hereſies, extant only in *Latin*. A Letter to *Victor* in *Euſebius*.	Letters to *Blaſtus*. to *Florinus*. A Diſcourſe of Knowledge. A Diſcourſe againſt *Marcion*. Several Diſcourſes of various Subjects.	
VICTOR, POLYCRATES, THEOPHILUS, BACHYLLUS.		Letters and Diſcourſes concerning the Celebration of *Eaſter*.	
HERACLITUS.		Commentaries upon St. *Paul*.	
MAXIMUS.		A Diſcourſe concerning the Original of Evil.	
APPION, CANDIDUS.		Commentaries upon the *Hexameron*.	
SEXTUS.		A Diſcourſe of the Reſurrection.	
JUDAS.		A Diſcourſe upon *Daniel*'s Weeks.	
ARABIANUS.		Works unknown.	
SERAPION.		Letters againſt the *Montaniſts*. to *Domninus*. Other Letters. A Diſcourſe concerning the Goſpel, falſly attributed to St. *Peter*.	
RHODON.		A Diſcourſe againſt *Marcion*. A Diſcourſe upon the *Hexameron*.	
PANTÆNUS.		Commentaries upon the Bible.	
St. CLEMENT of *Alexandria*.	Exhortation to the *Gentiles*. *Pædagogus*, in three Books. *Stromata*, in eight Books. A Diſcourſe concerning *What rich man can be ſaved*. [Dr. *Cave* mentions a Hymn in Praiſe of our Saviour.	Eight Books of Inſtitutions. A little Book of *Eaſter*. A Diſcourſe of Faſting. A Diſcourſe of Slander. An Exhortation to Patience. [And ſeveral other Diſcourſes.]	
MILTIADES.		A Diſcourſe againſt the *Montaniſts*. Againſt the *Gentiles* and *Jews*. An Apology for the Chriſtian Religion.	

A Table of all the Eccleſiaſtical Writers, &c.

Names of Authors.	*Genuine Books, ſtill Extant.*	*Books loſt.*	*Suppoſititious Books.*
APOLLONIUS, a *Greek.*		A Diſcourſe againſt the *Montaniſts.*	
APOLLONIUS, a *Roman.*		An Apology for the Chriſtian Religion.	
ANONYMOUS Authors.		Diſcourſes againſt the Hereſies of *Montanus* and *Artemo.*	
TERTULLIAN.	Of Penance. Of Baptiſm. Of Prayer. An Apology for the Chriſtian Religion. Of Patience. Exhortation to Martyrdom. A Diſcourſe to *Scapula.* Two Books to the *Gentiles.* Of Publick Shews. Of Idolatry. Of the Dreſſes of Women. Of Womens Habits. Of the Teſtimony of the Soul, Five Books againſt *Marcion.* Of Preſcriptions. Of the Fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt. Of the Soul. Of a Soldier's Crown. A Book entituled, *Scorpiacum.* [Againſt the *Gnoſticks.* Againſt the *Jews.* Againſt *Praxeas.* Againſt *Hermogenes.* Againſt the *Valentinians.* Of the Philoſophical Cloak. To his Wife two Books. Of Chaſtity. Of Faſting. Of ſingle Marriages. An Exhortation to Chaſtity. Of Flight in Perſecution. Of Veiling of Virgins.	A Diſcourſe againſt *Apollonius.* Of *Aaron*'s Robes. Of Circumciſion. Of clean and unclean Beaſts. Of Paradiſe. Of Fate. Of the Hope of the Righteous. Againſt *Apelles.* Of Baptiſm. Of Publick Shews, } in Gr. Of veiling of Virgins. } [The Diſcourſe *de Coronâ Militis* was tranſlated likewiſe by himſelf into *Greek.*	A Catalogue of Hereſies at the end of his Preſcriptions. A Letter of Jewiſh Meats. Of the Trinity. Several Poems.
CAIUS.		A Diſcourſe againſt *Proclus* the *Montaniſt.* Another entituled, *The little Labyrinth.* Of the Nature of the Univerſe.	
HIPPOLITUS.	A Paſchal Cycle.	Commentaries upon the Pſalms Of the Witch of *Endor.* Commentaries upon St. *John*'s Goſpel, and the *Apocalypſe.* Of Spiritual Gifts. Apoſtolical Tradition. Chronicles; or Chronological Accounts of Time. Againſt the *Greeks*, and *Plato*, concerning the Univerſe. Exhortation to *Severina.* A Demonſtration of the Time of *Eaſter*, as it is in the Table. Odes upon all the Scriptures.	Of the End of the World, and Anti-Chriſt. A Demonſtration againſt the *Jews.* A Diſcourſe of *Suſanna.* [Not diſowned by Dr. *Cave.*] Collections againſt *Bero* and *Helico*, amongſt the *excerpta* of *Anaſtaſius.* Homilies of the Trinity and the Incarnation.

Of

A Table of all the Eccleſiaſtical Writers. &c.

Names of Authors.	*Genuine Books, ſtill Extant.*	*Books Loſt.*	*Suppoſititious Books.*
		Of God, and the Reſurrection of the Dead. Of Good, and whence cometh Evil.	A ſhort Account of the Lives of the XII Apoſtles. [Aſcribed by ſome to *Hypyolitus*, Jun. who lived about the year DCCCCXXXIII.
		Againſt Hereſies. Againſt the *Marcionites*. Several other Tracts.	
GEMINIANUS.		Works unknown.	
ALEXANDER.		Epiſtles to the *Antenoitæ*. To the *Antiochians*. To *Origen*. To *Demetrius*, and others	
JULIUS AFRICANUS.	Letter to *Origen*, concerning the Hiſtory of *Suſanna*.	A Chronicon. Letter to *Ariſtides* of the Genealogy of *J. C.* a great part whereof is quoted by *Euſebius*.	
MINUTIUS FELIX	*Octavius*; a Dialogue againſt the *Gentiles*.		
AMMONIUS.	Evangelical Harmony.	Several Treatiſes.	Of Fate; loſt.
ORIGEN.	*See the Catalogue of his Comments upon the* SS. *in his Life.*		
	Againſt *Celſus* in Eight Books. Of Martyrdom. Of the Hiſtory of *Suſanna*, in a Letter to *Africanus*. His Principles in *Latin*. Of Prayer.	His Principles in Four Books. Of the Reſurrection. *Stromata* in Ten Books. Conference with *Beryllus* Biſhop of *Boſtra* Dialogues concerning the Reſurrection. Explication of the *Hebrew* Names of the Old Teſtament.	Againſt *Marcus*; Dialogue. Two Commentaries upon *Job*. Commentaries upon St. *Mark*. Several Homilies. The Lamentations of *Origen*.
BERYLLUS.		Conference, Letters, and other ſmall things.	
St. *CYPRIAN.*	LXXXIII. Letters. Of the Vanity of Idols. Teſtimonies againſt the *Jews*, to *Quirinus* in three Books. Of the Diſcipline and Habits of Virgins. Of the *Lapſi*. Of the Unity of the Church. Of Prayer. An Exhortation to Martyrdom. Of Mortality. To *Demetrianus*.		Againſt publick ſhews Of Chaſtity. Homily againſt *Novatian*. Homily againſt Gameſters. Of the Celibacy of the Clergy. Of the XII Abuſes of the Age. A Panegyrick upon Martyrdom.

Of

A Table of all the Ecclesiastical Writers, &c.

Names of Authors.	*Genuine Books still Extant.*	*Books Lost.*	*Supposititious Books.*
	Of Works of Mercy and Alms-Deeds. Of Patience. Of Envy. [*Trithemius* tells us that St. *Cyprian* also enlarged *Seneca*'s and *Tyro*'s Characters, by adding of numbers of Technical words that belong'd to the Christian Religion; they are all Printed by *Gruter*, and are commonly bound up with his Body of Inscriptions.]		Of double Martyrdom A discourse of the Cardinal Virtues, by *Arnaldus Bonævallis.* *Ruffinus*'s Explication of the Creed. Of the Baptism of Hereticks Of Mount *Sion*, and Mount *Sinai.* The Supper. Of the Revelation of S. *John Baptist*'s Head *Celsus*'s Preface. Two Books to Martyrs S. *Cyprian*'s Confession. A Kalendar for *Easter.* The Secrets of St. *Cyprian.*
PONTIUS.	St. *Cyprian*'s Life.		
CORNELIUS.	Two Letters amongst St. *Cyprian*'s, and a Fragment of another in *Eusebius.*		
NOVATIAN.	A Letter in St. *Cyprian*'s Works. Of the Trinity Of Jewish Meats.	Of the Passover. Of the Sabbath. Of Circumcision. Of the High Priest. Of Prayer. Of Resolution. Concerning *Attalus.*	
St. *MARTIALIS.* *SIXTUS.*			Two Letters. The Sentences of *Sixtus* the *Pythagorean.*
GREGORY Thaumaturgus.	A Speech to *Origen.* A Profession of Faith in *Gregory Nyssen.* A Canonical Epistle. A Paraphrase upon *Ecclesiastes.*		An Exposition of Faith, published by *Turrian.* A Treatise of the Soul. Sermons.
DIONYSIUS of *Alexandria.*	Besides Fragments produced by *Eusebius*, we have a Letter to *Basilides.*	Two Letters to the *Roman* Confessors. to *Stephen.* to *Sixtus.* to *Philemon.* to *Dionysius.* to *Hierax.* to the Church of *Antioch* against *Paulus Samosatenus.* Paschal Letters. Discourses of Martyrdom. Of the Promises of God, Against the *Sabellians.* Of the Trinity to *Dionysius.* An Apology and Refutation of his former Opinions. Of Nature, and Temptations. Several other Letters mentioned by *Eusebius,*	A Discourse against *Origen*, quoted by *Anastasius* of *Nice.*

A Table of all the Eccleſiaſtical Writers, &c.

Names of Authors.	*Genuine Books ſtill Extant.*	*Books Loſt.*	*Suppoſititious Books.*
THEOGNOSTUS.		Inſtitutions.	
ATHENOGENES.		A Hymn.	
DIONYSIUS, Biſhop of *Rome.*		A Letter againſt the *Sabellians.*	
MALCHION.			A Conference againſt *Paulus Samoſatenus.*
ANATOLIUS.	A Diſcourſe concerning *Eaſter* in *Latin.*		
VICTORINUS.	A Diſcourſe upon the *Revelations.* [This is thought to be Spurious by moſt Men, or at leaſt extreamly interpolated.]	A Book againſt all Hereſies. Commentaries upon *Geneſis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Iſaiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Eccleſiaſtes*, and the *Canticles*, [*Habakkuk*, St. *Matthew*, and the *Revelations.* Dr. *Cave* has publiſhed the beginning of a Diſcourſe of this *Victorinus*, *Of the Fabrick of the World*, which he thinks may be a Fragment of this Father's Commentaries upon *Geneſis* or the *Apocalypſe.*]	
PIERIUS.		Homily upon *Hoſea.* Twelve other Books.	
METHODIUS.	The Banquet of the Virgins, and ſeveral Fragments,	Of the Reſurrection. Of the Witch of *Endor.* Of Free-Will. Commentaries upon *Geneſis* *Canticles*, and ſeveral other Books.	A Homily upon the Preſenting of *J. C.* in the Temple. Another Sermon upon *Palm-Sunday.* A *Latin* Profeſſion of Faith upon the Trinity.
PAMPHILUS.		Letters.	
LUCIAN.		A new Edition of the Verſion of the Bible. Small Tracts, and ſome Letters.	
ZENO Veronenſis.			Homilies.
ARNOBIUS.	Seven Books againſt the *Gentiles.*	Poems upon his Voyage.	
LACTANTIUS.	Inſtitutions in ſeven Books. An Abridgment of the firſt Three Books. Of the Workmanſhip of God Of the Anger of God. Of Perſecution, or the Deaths of the Perſecutors.	To *Aſclepiades.* Eight Books of Letters.	
COMMODIANUS.	Inſtructions to the *Gentiles.*		
JULIUS FIRMICUS, MATERNUS.	Of the Error of Prophane Religions.		

A Table of all the Eccleſiaſtical Writers. &c.

Names of Authors.	*Genuine Books ſtill Extant.*	*Books Loſt.*	*Suppoſititious Books.*
COUNCILS of the three firſt Centuries.	A Letter from the Council of *Antioch* concerning *Paulus Samoſatenus*, *Euſeb. Lib. VII. Chap.* 30.	Synodical Letters in P. *Victor's* time concerning the Celebration of *Eaſter*.	A Letter and a Profeſſion of Faith of the Council of *Antioch*, ſet down by *Turrian*.
		A Decree of a Council held under *Agrippinus*, concerning the Baptiſm of Hereticks.	Decretals of the Ancient Popes before *Siricius*.
		A Decree of another under *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Rome*.	
		A Decree of another held at *Antioch* in P. *Stephen's* time.	
		A Decree of ſome Councils held in *Aſia* concerning *Noëtus*.	

A TABLE of all the *Writings* of *Eccleſiaſtical Authors*, according to the Order of their Arguments, that are mentioned in this Volume.

Apologies for the Chriſtian Religion, and Diſcourſes againſt Gentiliſm.

Juſtin's two Apologies.
——two Orations againſt the *Gentiles*.
Tatian's Book againſt the *Gentiles*.
Athenagoras's Apology.
Hermias of the Ridiculouſneſs of the Heathen Philoſophers.
Theophilus the *Antiochian's* Three Books to *Autolycus*.
Clemens Alexandrinus's Exhortation to the *Gentiles*.
——Eight Books of *Stromata*.
Tertullian's Apologetick.
——to *Scapula*.
——to the *Gentiles*.
——of the Teſtimony of the Soul.
Minutius Felix's Octavius.
Origen's Eight Books againſt *Celſus*.
St. *Cyprian* of the Vanity of Idols.
——to *Demetrianus*.
Arnobius's Seven Books againſt the *Gentiles*.
Lactantius's Inſtitutions.
——of the Deaths of the Perſecutors.
F. Firmicus Maternus of the Errors of Prophane Religions

Books againſt the Jews.

St. *Juſtin's* Dialogue with *Trypho*.
Tertullian's Books againſt the *Jews*.
St. *Cyprian's* firſt Book of Teſtimonies to *Quirinus*.

Books againſt Hereticks.

St. *Irenæus's* five Books againſt Hereſies.
Tertullian's Preſcriptions.
——Five Books againſt *Marcion*.
——*Scorpiacum* againſt the *Gnoſticks*.
——againſt *Praxeas*, *Hermogenes*, and the *Valentinians*.

Diſcourſes upon particular Articles of Religion.

St. *Juſtin* of the Kingdom of God.
Novatian of the Trinity.
Athenagoras of the Reſurrection.
Tertullian of the Reſurrection.
——of the Body of Chriſt.
——of the Soul.
Clemens Alexandrinus's Stromata,
Origen's Principles.
Gregory Thaumaturgus's Profeſſion of Faith.
Lactantius of the Workmanſhip of God.
——of the Anger of God.
A Letter of the Council of *Antioch* againſt *Paulus Samoſatenus*.

Diſcourſes

A TABLE of all the Writings of the Eccleſiaſtical Authors, &c.

Diſcourſes of the Diſcipline of the Church.

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FINIS.

A NEW HISTORY OF Eccleſiaſtical Writers.

Vol. SECOND.

A NEW

HISTORY

OF

Eccleſiaſtical Writers:

Containing an ACCOUNT

Of the LIVES and WRITINGS of the

PRIMITIVE FATHERS;

A

Judicious Abridgment

AND

Catalogue of their *WORKS*;

Their Various Editions, and Cenſures Determining the GENUINE and SPURIOUS.

Together with A

Judgment upon their *Style* and *Doctrine.*

ALSO,

A Compendious Hiſtory of the COUNCILS;

With Neceſſary TABLES to the whole.

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By *Lewis Ellies du PIN*, Doctor of the *SORBON.*

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BIBLIOTHECA PATRUM:
OR, A
NEW HISTORY
OF
Eccleſiaſtical Writers.

TOME II.

CONTAINING

An Account of the LIVES and WRITINGS of the *Primitive FATHERS*, that Flouriſhed in the *Fourth Century* of *Chriſtianity*, with *Cenſures* upon all their *BOOKS*, determining which are *Genuine*, and which *Spurious*.

EUSEBIUS *of* Cæſarea.

Euſebius of Cæſarea.

EUSEBIUS Surnam'd *Pamphilus* (*a*), was Born in *Palæſtine* (*b*), towards the latter end of the Reign of *Galienus* (*c*). He was ordain'd Prieſt by *Agapius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Palæſtine*, and ſettled a Famous School in that City. When the Perſecution of *Diocleſian* aroſe, he exhorted the Chriſtians of *Cæſarea* to Suffer with Courage for the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, and more particularly aſſiſted his dear Friend *Pamphilus*, who ſuffer'd Martyrdom after two Years Impriſonment. Some have accus'd him of offering Incenſe to Idols during this Perſecution, to releaſe himſelf out of Priſon (*d*); but this Accuſation is groundleſs, and 'tis much more probable, that he con-

(a) *Surnam'd* Pamphilus.] From the Name of the Martyr *Pamphilus* his Friend, and not of his Brother, as *Nicephorus* believ'd; for in the 7th Book of his Hiſtory, he ſays, That he was firſt acquainted with him when he was a Prieſt.

(b) *Palæſtine.*] All the Ancients call him *Euſebius* of *Palæſtine*. In the Firſt Book of the Life of *Conſtantine*. he teſtifies, that he had his Education in *Palæſtine*, and in the Second Book of the ſame Work, after he has repeated a Law of *Conſtantine* directed to thoſe of *Palæſtine*, he adds, *This was the firſt Letter which* Conſtantine *addreſs'd unto us.* 'Tis not known who were his Kindred. Some have thought that he was the Kinſman of *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, becauſe in a Letter of *Arius* to this Biſhop, *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea* is call'd his Brother. Neither is it known who were his Maſters. In the Seventh Book of his Hiſtory, he ſays, That he heard *Dorotheus*, a Prieſt of *Antioch*, expound the Scriptures; from whence *Trithemius*, and ſome others, have concluded that he was his Scholar. *Acacius* Succeſſor to *Euſebius* wrote his Life, but 'tis loſt.

(c) *Towards the latter End of the Reign of* Galienus.] There is ſome Proof of this *Epocha*: For in his Hiſtory Book III. Ch. 28. he ſays, That *Denys* of *Alexandria*, who died the 12th Year of the Reign of *Galienus*, liv'd in his time: And in the Fifth Book he ſays, That *Paulus Samoſatenus* reviv'd the Error of *Artemon* in his time; and in his Seventh Book, where he gives an Account of what was done under *Galienus*, he ſays, *After we have related the Tranſactions of former times, we come now to thoſe things which happened in our own time.*

(d) *Some have accus'd him of Offering Incenſe to Idols during this Perſecution*, &c.] This he was charged with by *Potamon* a Confeſſor and Biſhop of *Egypt*, at the Synod of *Tyre*; for if we give Credit to St. *Epiphanius*, in Hereſie 68, this Biſhop perceiving *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea* there preſent, cry'd out, O Euſebius, *How come you to ſit as Judge upon the innocent* Athanaſius? *Who can endure it? Tell me, I pray you, were not we in Priſon together in the time of Perſecution? I loſt an Eye there, for maintaining the Truth, but you have loſt no Part of your Body, you have ſuffered nothing: How then did you get out of Priſon?* Epiphanius adds, That *Euſebius* hearing this, roſe up and diſſolv'd the Aſſembly, ſaying, *Seeing you charge me with things of this Nature, in a place where you are Strangers, it muſt be true which your Accuſers ſay; for if you exerciſe ſuch Tyranny here, much more will you do it in your own Country.* This is confirm'd by the Biſhops of the Council of *Alexandria*, who ſay in their Letter, *That* Euſebius *of* Cæſarea *was accus'd by the Confeſſors of Sacrificing to Idols.* In the mean time, this Charge of *Potamon* is groundleſs: For although it were true, that *Euſebius* was caſt into Priſon for the Faith of Chriſt, it does not follow that he muſt have Sacrific'd to Idols to obtain his liberty, becauſe he loſt no Part of his Body, ſince he might have been delivered from that Perſecution for many other Reaſons, without loſing any of his Members: and it was a raſh Cenſure of his Neighbour in *Potamon*, to accuſe, as he does, a Biſhop of ſo heinous a Crime, upon ſo weak a Conjecture as this: But the Good-man had more Zeal than Prudence.

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Eusebius of Cæsarea.

tinued alway stedfast in the Faith of Jesus Christ (*e*). Immediately after this Persecution was ended, *Eusebius* was chosen Bishop of *Cæsarea* in the room of *Agapius* (*f*), in the Year 313, or 314, from the Birth of Christ: And from that time he was much engag'd in the Controversie of *Arius*, a Presbyter of *Alexandria*, whom he, (as well as some other Bishops of *Palæstine*) at first protected, thinking that he was unjustly persecuted by *Alexander* of *Alexandria*, his Bishop. He did not only write to this Bishop in favour of *Arius*; but finding he could not prevail to restore him, he permitted him and his Followers to keep their Places, and to hold the ordinary Assemblies of the Faithful in their Churches, upon condition that they should submit to their Bishop, and earnestly desire to be re-united to his Communion.

It appears by a Letter of *Eusebius* to *Alexander*, which is produced in the Second Council of *Nice*, that he did verily think that *Arius*, and those of his Party, acknowledg'd the Eternity of the *Word*, and that he believ'd the contrary Doctrine was falsly charg'd upon them, which may in some measure excuse his Proceedings in this Affair: For as soon as *Arius* did clearly discover his impious Sentiments in the Council of *Nice*; *Eusebius*, with all the other Bishops, condemn'd them, and propos'd a very Orthodox Confession of Faith. But because it seem'd not to renounce the Heresie of *Arius* formally enough, therefore the Fathers of the Council added to it the word *Consubstantial*, together with Anathematisms against the Errors of *Arius*. This new term *Consubstantial*, gave some trouble to *Eusebius*, and he refus'd at first to assent to it; but being afterwards fully satisfy'd of its true meaning, he made no scruple of Subscribing to it, and of Signing the Confession of Faith made by the Council of *Nice*, which he was never known afterwards openly to violate, though he always maintain'd an intimate Correspondence with the Bishops of *Arius*'s Party. He was present with them at the Council of *Antioch*, held in the Year 330, wherein they unjustly depos'd *Eustathius*, then Bishop of *Antioch*. But if he was to be blam'd for consenting to that unjust Deprivation of a Bishop who was his Enemy; yet it must be acknowledg'd that he deserves great Commendation for refusing to Succeed him in his See; For being Elected both by the Bishops and the People, in order to his Ordination to the Bishoprick of *Antioch*, after the Deposing of *Eustathius*, he did absolutely refuse it; and when the Bishops wrote about it to the Emperour *Constantine*, that he would oblige *Eusebius* to agree to this Election, he wrote to him himself, humbly praying that he might have leave to refuse this Bishoprick; which at last the Emperour granted, and greatly commended his Moderation. Nevertheless *Eusebius* continued always to take part with *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and assisted at the Council of *Tyre*, held against St. *Athanasius*, in the Year 335, and also at the Assembly of Bishops, which was held at *Jerusalem* at the time of the Dedication of the Church of that City: And, in fine, he was sent in the Name of those Bishops to the Emperour *Constantine*, to justify what they had done against St. *Athanasius*. Then it was that he spoke a Panegyrick in honour of the Emperour, at a time of publick Rejoicing for beginning the 30th. Year of his Reign, which was the last of his Life: And *Eusebius* himself did not long survive this Emperour, whom he mightily lov'd and honour'd, for he also died about the Year 338.

He has written many very Learned Books. The First were his Five Books of Apology for *Origen*, which he compos'd with the Holy Martyr *Pamphilus*, during the Persecution of *Diocletian*; and to which he only added a Sixth, after the Death of this Martyr. About the same time he wrote a Treatise against *Hierocles*, who had written two Books against the Christian Religion. After he was chosen Bishop of *Cæsarea*, he compos'd his Fifteen Books of *Evangelical Preparation*, and Twenty Books of *Evangelical Demonstration* (*g*): After this he wrote a *Chronicle* from the Beginning of the World down to the 20th Year of *Constantine the Great*. After this *Chronicle* follow'd his *Ecclesiastical History* (*h*), divided into Ten Books, which seems to have been finish'd some time after the Council of *Nice*, though it reaches no further than the 20th Year of *Constantine*. About the Year 332, he compos'd a Cycle for *Easter*, at the desire of the Emperour, to whom he dedicated it, and caus'd some very fair Copies of the Holy Scriptures to be written out, as he himself tells us in the Fourth Book of the Life of *Constantine*, Chap. 34, and 35. St. *Jerom* and *Bede* make mention of this Paschal Cycle of *Eusebius*, compos'd, as they say, in imitation of that of *Hippolitus*. His Books against *Marcellus* of *Ancyra* were written after the first Condemnation of that Heretick in the Council of *Constantinople*, held in the

(e) *'Tis much more probable that he continued always stedfast in the Faith of Jesus Christ.*] First, Because we must always think well of our Neighbour, when it does not evidently appear that he has done ill. Secondly, Because 'tis no ways probable, if he had committed such a Crime when he was Priest, that he would have been afterwards chosen Bishop of *Cæsarea*.

(f) *In the room of* Agapius.] *Baronius* and *Blondel* place *Agricolaus* between *Agapius* and *Eusebius*, whose Name is to be found among the Subscriptions of the Council of *Ancyra*. But *Eusebius* in his Seventh Book reckoning up the Names of those Bishops who govern'd the Church while the Persecution lasted, endeth his Catalogue of the Bishops of *Cæsarea* with *Agapius*, of whom he says, that he took a great deal of pains for his Flock during that Persecution: And *Eusebius* himself was ordained immediately after the Persecution; for he assisted in the quality of a Bishop, at the Dedication of the Church of *Tyre*, which was done immediately after Peace was restor'd to the Church, before *Licinius* had taken Arms against *Constantine*, which happen'd in the Year 313. And therefore if there was one *Agricolaus* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, he did not hold that See for any long time, for *Eusebius* was ordain'd to it in the Year 314.

(g) *After he was chosen Bishop of* Cæsarea, *he compos'd his Fifteen Books of* Evangelical Preparation, *and Twenty Books of* Evangelical Demonstration.] These are cited in his *Ecclesiastical History*, B. I. Ch. 2. *Blondel* believes the contrary, that the History is cited in the Sixth Book of his *Evangelical Demonstration*, Ch. 23. but he was deceived by the Translation.

(h) *After this* Chronicle *followed his* Ecclesiastical History.] He saith expressly in the beginning of his History, that the *Chronicle* was written before it, in these Words, *Formerly I made an Abridgement of these things in my* Chronicle, *but now I will give a more ample Declaration of them here in this Work.*

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Year 335, or 336 (*i*). In short, the Four Books of the Life of *Constantine*, were compos'd after the Death of that Emperor, to which he has added three Tracts, *viz.* The Harangue which he made at the Dedication of the Church of *Jerusalem*, The Discourse of *Constantine* to the Convention of the Saints, and a Panegyrick in Praise of this Emperor. *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea.*

Besides these Works, whose Chronology is known, he hath also written, as St. *Jerom* testifies, Five Books of the Theophany, or the Incarnation, Ten Books of Commentaries upon *Isaiah*, Thirty Books against *Porphyrie*, Ten whereof were lost in St. *Jerom*'s time; and a Book of Topography, which is the same that St. *Jerom* translated and entituled, a Book of the Country of the *Hebrews*, which was afterwards Publish'd in Greek by *Bonfrerius* in the Year 1631. There is mention made in this Book of two other Tracts of the same Nature, whereof one contains an Explication of the Names which the *Hebrews* give to other Nations, and the other was a Topographical Description of the Holy Land and the Temple. St. *Jerom* also places in the Catalogue of *Eusebius*'s Works, Three Books of the Life of *Pamphilus*, some little Tracts upon the Martyrs (*k*), the Commentaries upon the 150 Psalms, translated afterwards by *Eusebius* of *Vercelles*, and the Rules for reconciling the Four Evangelists, together with a Letter to *Carpianus*. He mentions also, in an Epistle to *Pammachius*, *Eusebius*'s Commentary upon the First Epistle to the *Corinthians*; and he testifieth in another place, that he caus'd to be Publish'd an Edition of the Version of the *Septuagint*, taken from the *Hexapla* of *Origen*. St. *Basil* cites a Treatise of *Eusebius* concerning the Polygamy of the Patriarchs, of which *Eusebius* himself speaks, *Book* I. *Chap.* 9. of the *Demonstration*, and *Book* VII. *Ch.* 3. and 7, of the *Preparation*. In fine, *Theodoret* tells us, that *Eusebius* wrote Eclogues upon the whole Scriptures: But we must not forget the Letter which he wrote to the *Cæsareans* mentioned by *Theodoret* in his History, nor those Letters to *Alexander* and *Euobration* concerning *Arius*, which are cited in the Second Council of *Nice*, *Act.* 5. & 6. To these we may add, the Letter to the Empress *Constantia*, which is quoted by the Bishops that condemn'd Images, whereof there is a Testimony related in the same Council, *Act.* 6. *Photius* mentions a Book of *Eusebius* entituled, *Apology and Refutation*, that is to say, An Apology for the Religion of Christ, and a Refutation of the Errors of the Gentiles, divided into two Books; and also of two other Books, which were, as he says, very little different from the two former. The Commentary upon the *Canticles*, publish'd by *Meursius*, is falsly ascribed to *Eusebius*, since in it are cited the Testimonies of Authors much later than *Eusebius*, such as *Gregory Nyssen*, *Philo Carpathius*, and many others. It is not certain, that *Eusebius* was the Author of that little Tract of *the Life of the Prophets*, publish'd in Greek before *Procopius*, by *Curterius*, from a Manuscript of the Cardinal of *Rochefoucauld*, and printed at *Paris* in the Year 1580, though it appears to be ancient. To conclude, There are some Treatises or Discourses publish'd by *Sirmondus*, which are believed to be a Translation from the Greek of *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*: But though these Treatises, which seem indeed to be translated from the Greek, were compos'd by some ancient Author, and have something of the Air and Genius of *Eusebius*'s Writings, neither do they contain any thing unworthy of him; yet there is no full assurance that they are his, because they are not mention'd by any of the Ancients, and we cannot now judge with any certainty from a Version, of the Stile of *Eusebius*.

After we have given a Catalogue of all the Writings of *Eusebius*, whereof we have any Testimony, we must now Discourse more largely of those that are come to our Hands. His *Ecclesiastical History* is the most considerable of all his Books, which is a Collection of all the Memorable Things which happen'd in the Church from the Birth of Jesus Christ to his own time. He has exactly noted the Succession of Bishops to the Sees of all the Great Cities in the World; he has given an Account of Ecclesiastical Writers and their Books, together with the History of Heresies, and some Remarks concerning the *Jews*. He has described the Persecutions of the Martyrs, the Controversies and Disputes touching Ecclesiastical Discipline; and, in a Word, all things which concern the Affairs of the Church. He Writes nothing of History as from himself, but almost every where, in his Works, he cites the ancient Authors or their Monuments, from whence he had his Relations, and inserts long Extracts taken out of them, as Men usually do when they write Annals or Memoirs. This manner of writing History, is less agreeable indeed, but much more profitable than any other, and gains Credit and Weight to that which is related: For when a Writer reports the Transactions of Ancient Times without citing the Authors from whence he had them, he cannot so easily gain Credit with his Readers, as when he cites his Vouchers, and produces their Testimonies for the Truth of what he says, since those Relations must certainly be agreeable to Truth, which are founded on the Authority of unquestionable Witnesses. But besides this general Reason, there is also a particular one, why this way of writing History, which is followed by *Eusebius*, is of wonderful Advantage unto us; which is this, That for the most part, those Authors and their Works which were more ancient than *Eusebius*, have been lost since his Death by the injury of time; and therefore we are mightily oblig'd to him who hath preserved in his History, not only the Memory of those Authors, but some considerable Fragments of their Works. In short, without the History of *Eusebius*, we should scarce have any Knowledge, not only of the History of those first Ages of the Church, but even of the Authors that wrote

(i) *His Books against* Marcellus *of* Ancyra *were written after the first Condemnation of that Heretick in the Council of* Constantinople *held in the Year* 335, *or* 336.] They are Dedicated to *Flacillus* Bishop of *Antioch*, who was not chosen Bishop of that Church until the Year 335. Besides, in the First Book of *Ecclesiastical Theology*, Ch. 14. he says, *That* Marcellus *was condemned.*

(k) *Some little Tracts upon the Martyrs*] We have one Book of these Tracts concerning the Martyrs of *Palestine*, but it is probable that he wrote more. The Martyrology supposed to be translated by St. *Jerom*, has been ascribed to him, but that Work is none of his, neither is the Translation St. *Jerom*'s.

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at that time, and their Works; ſince no other Writer but he, has given an Account of thoſe things. For it is obſervable, that the Hiſtorians who followed after him, as *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Theodoret*, begun their Hiſtory where he ended his, either becauſe they thought that he had Collected in his all that was Remarkable of thoſe firſt Ages, or becauſe they had no other way of coming to the Knowledge of them but by him. *Nicephorus Calliſtus*, who pretended to write a New Hiſtory in the Fourteenth Century, has mixt in it a great many fabulous and uncertain Tales, becauſe they were not taken out of *Euſebius*, nor confirm'd by the Authority of any Ancient Author. Nevertheleſs, it muſt be confeſs'd, That even the Hiſtory of *Euſebius* is not altogether ſo perfect as were to be wiſh'd, for it is not written ſmoothly, neither is it always exact (*l*). Our Author does often enlarge too much upon thoſe things that ought to be ſlightly paſs'd over; and on the contrary, ſometimes he expreſſes ſuch things very ſuccinctly, which deſerve a much larger Account. But notwithſtanding theſe Faults, it is a moſt Excellent Hiſtory, and highly to be priz'd.

There is at the End of the Eighth Book, a ſmall Tract of the Martyrs of *Palæſtine*, in which he deſcribes the Martyrdom of thoſe that ſuffered in this Province for the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt. Some have confounded this with the Eighth Book, but againſt Reaſon; for it is a diſtinct Tract, and, as it were, a Supplement to it.

Ruffinus is the firſt who Tranſlated this Hiſtory of *Euſebius*, but he, according to his uſual manner, took a great liberty in doing it. He has paſt over the whole Tenth Book, and has added to it two more which contain the following Hiſtory down to the Death of *Theodoſius*. His Tranſlation is clean, neat, and elegant enough, it gives the Sence and Thought of the Author in a very agreeable Stile, and ſometimes more faithfully than thoſe Interpreters who have Tranſlated him ſince. This Verſion has been the great Magazine to all the Latin Authors, who have drawn from thence whatever they either wrote or underſtood of the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* of the Firſt Ages.

Muſculus the Proteſtant, undertook a new Tranſlation of the Hiſtory of *Euſebius*, which he perform'd happily enough. He ties himſelf up very much to the Letter, and has Tranſlated the Text with much politeneſs and brevity: But he does not always underſtand his Author aright, and ſo he has committed many faults in his Verſion. The Tranſlation of *Chriſtophorſon* is more Elegant, and his Stile more *Ciceronian*, but it is too Copious for an Hiſtorian, whoſe Stile ſhould be conciſe and cloſe. He hath Corrected many Faults of *Muſculus*, and yet his own Verſion is not altogether free.

The Learned *Henricus Valeſius* having obſerv'd the Faults of all former Verſions, undertook to make a new one, more perfect. He publiſh'd it with the Greek Text, Revis'd by Four Manuſcripts, and added to it moſt learned Notes. His Verſion deſerves Univerſal Applauſe, and the ſingular eſteem of all Learned Men, for it has two qualities that rarely meet together, being both Elegant and Literal; And yet the Criticks have obſerv'd ſome Faults in it: But it is impoſſible to ſatisfie all Men, and very difficult to avoid all Miſtakes, in a Work of ſo great a length.

It was very fit that the Hiſtory of *Euſebius* ſhould be Tranſlated, that thoſe who neither underſtand Greek nor Latin might not be depriv'd of the Hiſtory of the Church in its Original Purity. The Preſident *Couſin* has done the Publick this Service, who has Tranſlated this Hiſtory into French, with as great Purity as Faithfulneſs, and has prefix'd to his Verſion a Preface wherein he briefly takes notice of the principal Errors of *Euſebius*, and paſſes a very ſound and ſolid Judgment upon his Hiſtory and his Perſon.

The Chronicle of *Euſebius*, or the Abridgement of the Univerſal Hiſtory of all Times and Places from the Beginning of the World down to his own time, was divided into Two Parts: The Firſt was entituled, *Canons of Univerſal Hiſtory*, or *Univerſal Chronography*; and the Second, *Chronical Canons*. In the firſt, he has collected the Origin and Hiſtory of all Nations ſeverally, the Succeſſion of all Kings and Princes of the World, of the High-Prieſts of the Jews, and the Biſhops of the Chief Churches from the Birth of Jeſus Chriſt. In the ſecond, he has enlarg'd and digeſted theſe Hiſtories according to the order of Time. St. *Jerom* has tranſlated both Parts (*m*): But there was nothing remaining of the Tranſlation of the Firſt, but ſome Extracts containing the Names of Kings, which are Printed with the Verſion of the Second Part. This Tranſlation of St. *Jerom*, which was thus Printed at *Baſle*, was

(*l*) *Neither is it always Exact.*] Many Faults are obſerved in it contrary to the Truth of Hiſtory, and contrary to Chronology. In his Firſt Book he ſaith, That the Taxing which *Joſephus* ſpeaks of in his Eighteenth Book of the Hiſtory of the *Jews*, is the ſame that St. *Luke* writes of. In the ſame Book, *Ch.* 9. he ſays, That *Lyſanias* Tetrarch of *Abylene* was Brother to *Philip*, and *Herod* the younger, which is not true. In *Ch.* 7. he ſays, That *Herod* Junior, was baniſhed to *Vienna*, contrary to the Teſtimony of *Joſephus*, who aſſures us, *Book* XVIII. *Ch.* 9. That he was ſent to *Lyons*. He thinks that Jeſus Chriſt ſpent Four Years in his preaching. He is miſtaken in the *Epocha* of the Voyage of St. *Paul* to *Jeruſalem*. In *Book* XI. *Ch.* 13. he diſtinguiſhes *Cephas* who was rebuked at *Antioch* by St. *Paul*, from the Apoſtle St. *Peter*, tho' he was certainly the ſame. I ſhall not now mention his other Faults, which he committed by taking things upon hear-ſay, nor the Apocryphal Books, which he cites very often. He miſtakes the Jews of *Alexandria*, mentioned by *Philo*, called *Therapeutæ*, for Chriſtians. *B.* II. *Ch.* 10. he confounds *Novatus* and *Novatianus*. *B.* 6. *Ch.* 45. he makes miſtakes in the years of the *Pontificates* of *Sixtus* and *Eutychianus*.

(m) *St.* Jerom *has tranſlated both Parts.*] St. *Jerom* in his *Commentary upon* Daniel, *Ch.* 9. ſaith, That there was found in the Verſion of the Chronicle of *Euſebius* an Explication of two Paſſages of Scripture, both which were in his Firſt Part: *Marcellinus* ſays alſo plainly, That St. *Jerom* tranſlated the Firſt Part. St. *Jerom* in the Preface to his Verſion ſays, That he tranſlated *Euſebius* word for word, from the time of *Abraham* to the taking of *Troy*; and that from the taking of *Troy* to the time of *Conſtantine*, he had added many things of his own Head, particularly about thoſe Matters that concern the *Roman* Hiſtory, which *Euſebius* had neglected; and that he was the Author of what follows after the time of *Conſtantine*, down to the Sixth Conſulſhip of *Valens*.

afterwards

afterwards Publish'd more exactly by *Arnaud de Pontac*, Bishop of *Bazas*, in the Year 1605. But none took care to Collect the Greek Fragments of the Original of *Eusebius*, before the famous *Joseph Scaliger*, who Publish'd them in the Year 1606, in a Book entituled, *The Treasure of Time*; wherein he gives a larger Version of the First Part of the Chronicle than any other Edition, and renders the Version of the Second Part more Correct and Exact; to which he adds many very considerable Greek Fragments, taken out of some later Greek Authors. *Eusebius of Cæsarea.*

This Book of *Eusebius* is a Work of Prodigious Study, and most Accomplish'd Learning: For he must have read an infinite number of Books and Ancient Monuments, to compose such an Universal History; and at the same time he must have a well-poiz'd Judgment, to collect so many Particulars, and relate every one of them in their proper time. This infinite Labour, is an evident Proof, that *Eusebius* was a Man of vast Reading and a Prodigious Memory: Nevertheless, it must be confess'd, that the Chronicle of *Africanus* was a great help to him, and that he took almost all his Chronicle from *Africanus*'s *Chronicon*, which he had Copied. He corrected indeed some of the Faults which he found in him, but then he himself committed many more (*n*): And indeed it is next to impossible, to avoid all Errors in so long and knotty a Work as an Universal Chronicle. These Faults are pardonable in a Book of this Nature, and do not hinder, but that it ought to be esteemed one of the most useful Books of all Antiquity.

The Four Books of the Life of *Constantine*, are, properly speaking, a Panegyrick; in which, he gives an Account as an Orator, rather than as an Historian; but only of the Life of this Emperor, but also of the Revolutions of the Empire, and the Affairs of the Church, in which *Constantine* had a hand. The Stile of this Work is more Sublime and Florid than that of the other Books of *Eusebius*, and yet it is not finer, nor more agreeable. He does nothing for the most part, but give slight hints of the Relations which he has given at large elsewhere, and deliver the Heads of them, leaving out the Circumstances and Particulars.

He has added at the End of those Four Books, *Constantine*'s Oration to the Convention of the Saints, *i. e.* to the Christians, and a Harangue in praise of this Emperor, which he spoke before him at the Festival Solemnity of the 30th Year of his Reign. In this Piece he enlarges upon the Praises of God, the Wonders of his Providence, the Mystery of the Incarnation, the Benefits of Jesus Christ to Mankind, more than upon the Commendation of the Emperor, which he intermixes only now and then; for he praises him as a Christian Prince ought to be prais'd; that is to say, by publishing those Vertues which have a relation to Piety and Religion. This Discourse is the most Eloquent of all his Works, and is compos'd with much Art and Fineness.

The Fifteen Books of *Evangelical Preparation*, address'd to *Theodorus*, (who is believ'd to have been Bishop of *Laodicea*, and is mention'd in the 32d Chapter of the Seventh Book of his *Ecclesiastick History*) were written on purpose to dispose the Minds of Men to embrace the Christian Religion. In them *Eusebius* shows, that the Theology of the Pagans was ridiculous, and contrary to good Sence; and that the Christian Theology was Holy and Reasonable. The First Part of this Proposition, he proves in the First Six Books, and the Second Part in the other Nine. He begins with a General Description of the Doctrine of Christ, and to render it the more enticing, he gives an account of the ineffable Blessings it has reveal'd to Mankind, and how it concludes to Piety, by teaching them to know and honour one God. After this, he alledges some Prejudices in favour of the Christian Religion, such as the Accomplishment of Prophecies, the Holiness of the Lives of Christians, and the wonderful facility, with all Persons, even those that were more dull and barbarous, found in comprehending the greatest and sublimest Truths. After he has thus dispos'd his Readers to be favourable to the Christian Religion, he destroys the Religions of all the Nations of the World, and lays open the Falshood of every one of them in particular, not only as to what concerns their History, but as to their pretended Mysteries and Prophane Morality. In the Fourth Book he confutes the strongest Argument of the Pagans, taken from the Predictions of their Oracles. He shows, that the Gods whom they worship'd were Evil Spirits, call'd *Dæmons*, as the Philosophers themselves have acknowledged. In the Sixth Book he opposes Destiny or Fatal Necessity, and proves there by many Reasons and Testimonies, that Man is entirely a free Agent.

In the following Nine Books, he shews that the Christians had reason to embrace the Theology of the Hebrews, because none but that affords solid Foundations for a Sincere Piety, together with Sound and true Doctrine. This he proves by a particular Induction of their Opinions, because there is no Theology but this which teaches the Immortality of the Soul, which commands Men to Adore one God only; which informs them, that he was the Creator of the World, which teaches them that the Word is the Son of God, and that the Holy Ghost is to be Worship'd with the same Worship that is due to the Father and the Son; There is no other Religion but this, which teaches Men, that they must not Adore the Angels as Gods, but honour them as the Ministers of God; which gives a rational Account of the Fall of some of the Angels, and instructs Man, that he is made after the Image of God: In a word, there is none but this whose Doctrine is agrecable to Right Reason. After this, he subjoins a long Fragment out of a Treatise of *Maximus*, which demonstrates that Matter is not Eternal.

In the Eighth Book he gives the History of the Version of the *Septuagint*, and to prove the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, he makes it appear by the Testimony of the Jews, that their Law is Mystical and very Significant, which he afterwards represents as worthy of all Esteem, by the holiness of

(n) *But then he himself committed many more Errors in Chronology.*] You may see them observed by *Scaliger* in the *Prolegomena* to his *Treasure of Time*.

their

their Lives who have embrac'd it, by the Example of the *Eſſenes*, whoſe manner of Life he deſcribes, and by the Wiſdom of *Philo*.

Euſebius of Cæſarea.

In the Ninth Book, he relates the Teſtimonies of the Pagans, who have ſpoken in favour of the Jewiſh Religion, and of thoſe who allow the Truth of *Moſes*'s Hiſtory. In the 10th. he ſhows, that *Plato* and the Pagan Philoſophers have taken the greateſt part of what they have written, from the Books of *Moſes*. In the 11th. Book he demonſtrates particularly, that the Doctrine of *Plato* is agreeable to that of *Moſes*, and compares many of the Opinions of that Philoſopher with thoſe of the Jews. He carries on that Compariſon in the 12th. and 13th. Books. But in the mean time, he demonſtrates, that this Philoſopher had his Errors, and that no Book but the Scriptures is wholly free. In the 14th. and 15th. Books, he relates the Opinions of the Philoſophers, he ſhows their Contradictions, and oftentimes confutes one of them by another: From all which he concludes, that the Chriſtians had reaſon to forſake the Religion of the Pagans, and embrace that of the Jews.

After he has thus prepar'd the Minds of Men to receive the Chriſtian Religion, by eſtabliſhing the Authority of the Religion, and of the Books of the Jews, he demonſtrates the Truth of it againſt the Jews themſelves by their own Prophecies. This is the Subject of his Books of *Evangelical Demonſtration*, of which there are only Ten remaining of Twenty which he compos'd. In the Firſt Book he ſhows, that the Law of the Jews was calculated for one Nation only, but the New Teſtament was deſign'd for all Mankind, That the Patriarchs had no other Religion but that of the Chriſtians, ſince they ador'd the ſame God and the ſame Word, honour'd him as they do, and reſembled their holy Lives. In the Second Book he ſhows by the Prophecies, that the Meſſias was to come into the World for all Mankind. In the Third he makes it appear in favour of the Faithful, that Jeſus Chriſt is the Saviour of the World, and demonſtrates againſt the Infidels that he was no Seducer, as his Doctrine, his Miracles, and many other Reaſons do evidently prove.

In the Fourth Book he ſhows, that Jeſus Chriſt is the Son of God, and gives an Account of the Reaſons for which he was made Man; he explains the Name of Chriſt, and cites many Prophecies wherein he was foretold by that Name. In the following Books he brings abundance of Prophecies to demonſtrate that the Coming of Jeſus Chriſt, the time of his Birth, the Circumſtances of his Life and Paſſion, and, in a word, all things that concern'd him, were foretold in the Books of the Old Teſtament. What we have of theſe Books, ends with the laſt words of Chriſt upon the Croſs; And in the following Books he recited the Prophecies concerning his Death, his Burial, his Reſurrection, his Aſcenſion, the Eſtabliſhment of the Church, and the Converſion of the Gentiles: But theſe are wholly loſt.

Theſe Books of *Evangelical Preparation* and *Demonſtration*, are the largeſt Work that has been made by any of the Ancients upon this Subject, where a Man may find more Proofs, Teſtimonies and Arguments for the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, than in any other. They are very proper to inſtruct and convince all thoſe that ſincerely ſearch after Truth. In fine, *Euſebius* has omitted nothing which might ſerve to undeceive Men of a falſe Religion, or convince them of the true.

The Treatiſe againſt *Hierocles*, was written againſt a Book of that Philoſopher, publiſh'd by him under the Name of *Philalethes*, againſt the Chriſtian Religion; wherein, to render it ridiculous, he has compar'd *Apollonius Tyanæus* with Jeſus Chriſt, and ſays, That *Apollonius* wrought Miracles as well as Chriſt, and aſcended into Heaven as well as he. But *Euſebius* has prov'd in his Anſwer, That *Apollonius Tyanæus* was ſo far from being comparable to Jeſus Chriſt, that he did not deſerve to be rank'd among the Philoſophers, and that *Philoſtratus* who wrote his Life is an Author unworthy of Credit, becauſe he contradicts himſelf very often, he doubts himſelf of thoſe very Miracles which he relates, and he reports many things which are plainly Fabulous. At the End of this Treatiſe *Euſebius* has given ſome Obſervations againſt Fatal Neceſſity.

In the Firſt of the Five Books againſt *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, *Euſebius* endeavours to prove, That this Biſhop wrote his Book upon no other Motive, but the hatred of his Brethren; he charges him with Ignorance of the Holy Scriptures, and rallies him for the impertinent Explications of ſome Greek Proverbs brought in not at all to the purpoſe. In fine, he blames him for accuſing *Origen*, *Paulinus*, *Narciſſus*, *Euſebius* of *Nicodemia*, and *Aſterius*, of Error touching the Myſtery of the Trinity, and endeavours to juſtifie their Doctrine about it. In the Second Book, he diſcovers the Errors of *Marcellus*, and proves from many Paſſages of his Book, That he believes the Word was not a Perſon ſubſiſting before he was born of the Virgin, That he denies the diſtinction of the Son from the Father, That he is poſitive in aſſerting the Fleſh and not the Word to be the Image of God, the Son of God, the King, the Saviour, and the Chriſt; and in ſhort, That he durſt affirm that this Fleſh ſhall be deſtroyed and annihilated after the Day of Judgment.

After he has diſcovered the Errors and the Malice of *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, he confutes his Opinions in the Three following Books, Entitled, *Eccleſiaſtick Theology*, and Dedicated to *Flacillus* Biſhop of *Antioch*.

In the Firſt Book he propoſes the Faith of the Church which he explains very exactly, rejecting the Errors of the *Ebionites*, *Paulianites*, *Sabellians* and *Arians*. After this, he ſhows that *Marcellus* is guilty of the *Sabellian* Hereſy, and proves by Third Arguments drawn from Scripture, That the Word is a Perſon ſubſiſting of himſelf. In the Second and Third Books, he goes on to confute the Conſequences of *Marcellus*'s Error, and the Arguments which he alledges for it, and proves by many Paſſages of the Old and New Teſtament, that the Word is a Subſiſtence, or a Perſon Subſiſting diſtinguiſh'd from the Perſon of the Father.

From

From these Books we may learn the true Opinion of *Eusebius* concerning the Divinity of the Word. He has declar'd in many places, That the Word is God, and the Son of God; and he says plainly, That he was not made of nothing, nor created in time; but begotten from all Eternity of the Substance of the Father. He does expressly reject the Error of those that say, The Word was made of Nothing, and so place him in the number of Creatures. But he seems to insinuate in some places, and chiefly *B.* II. *Ch.* 7. That the Person of the Son is not equal to the Person of the Father, and that the same Adoration is not due to him (*o*). And it is not only in these Books that he speaks after this manner; for he does the like in all his other Writings; wherein he rejects the impious Opinion of those that say, The Son was made of nothing, That he is not of the Substance of the Father, That there was a time when he was not: But then at the same time he seems to admit some inequality between the Father and the Son, and to acknowledge some sort of Dependance upon, and Inferiority of the Son to the Father. For this reason it was that he made no scruple to declare in the Council of *Nice*, That the Son was God from all Eternity; where he also plainly disavow'd the Impiety of *Arius*, who says, That he was made of nothing, That there was a time when he was not: Yet he found some difficulty to approve the term *Consubstantial*, that is, to confess, That the Son is of the same Substance with the Father; and after he had consented to it by his Signing, he gave such a Sence of the Word in a Letter which he wrote to his Church, as does not at all Confirm the Equality of the Father and the Son: His Words are these, *When it is said, That the Son is Consubstantial with the Father, the meaning is only, That the Son of God has no resemblance to any Creature that was made by him, but a perfect resemblance to the Father by whom he was begotten, and not by any other Subsistence or Substance.* This plainly shews, That *Eusebius* did not approve this term, as it establishes a perfect equality between the Father and the Son (*p*), but only as it signifies the resemblance of the Son to the Father, and that the Son was begotten of the Father. It may be said to excuse *Eusebius*, That he did not admit this Inequality between the Father and the Son for any other reason, but because the Son receiv'd his Substance from the Father: But he does every-where make use of such Emphatical Expressions to denote this Inequality, that it is difficult to explain them in this Sence, especially since he wrote his Books against *Marcellus*, wherein he speaks after the same manner, at a time when this Question was debated and even determined: For those Expressions which might be innocent in former times, ought to be suspected after the Decision of the Council of *Nice*. We might further add the Correspondence which he maintain'd with the Bishops of *Arius*'s Faction, the Praises which he always gave them, his affected Silence in his History, as to what concerns the Council of *Nice*, and the disadvantageous Way that he speaks of it in his Books of the Life of *Constantine*. But though *Eusebius*'s Doctrine could be justified as to the Divinity of the Son, yet it will be much harder to Defend what he says of the Holy Spirit; for he asserts, not only in his Books, of *Evangelical Preparation* and *Demonstration*, but also in his Third Book of *Ecclesiastick Theology*, That he is not truly God: *The Holy Spirit*, say he, *is neither God, nor the Son of God, because he does not derive his Original from the Father, as the Son does, being of the number of those things which were made by the Son.* What we have hitherto said concerning the Opinion of *Eusebius* about the Trinity, does plainly demonstrate on the one side, That *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and some late Authors, are to blame, who do wholly excuse him; and on the other side, That it is a great piece of Injustice to call him *Arian*, and the very Head of the *Arians*, as St. *Jerom* has done, whom many others have follow'd, since he formally rejected the principal Errors of *Arius*, which are, That the Word was made of nothing, That he is not of the Substance of the Father, That he is unlike the Father, and, That there was a time when he was not.

Eusebius of *Cæsarea.* *B.* 1. *Ch.* 2. *B.* 3. *c.* 7. *B.* 8. *c.* 1. *B.* 1. *c.* 9, 10, 11.

Hist. B. 1. *c.* 2. *Præp. B.* 4. *c.* 5. *Dem. B.* 4. *c.* 3. *B.* 5. *c.* 3. *In an Ep. cited in the Second Council of* Nice.

His Sentiments about the other Articles of the Christian Religion, appear to be very Orthodox: He explains the Mystery of the Incarnation in a most Catholick manner (*q*), acknowledging in Jesus Christ

(o) *He seems to insinuate in some places——That the Person of the Son is not Equal to the Person of the Father*, &c.] *B.* I. *Ch.* 2. of his History, he calls the Son the Minister of the Father's Will and the second Cause next to him. He says, That the Father Commands, and the Son Executes, and that 'tis not possible for the Father to assume a Humane shape. In his Oration at the Dedication of the Church of *Tyre*, he calls the Son of God, the Second Cause of our Blessings, the Angel of his Counsel, and the Captain of the Armies of God. Yet these Expressions are more tolerable than that which is found *B.* V. *Of Evangelical Preparation*, Ch. 4. That the Son is not adorable but upon the account of the Father that dwelleth in him; and *Ch.* VIII. That the Son is a Lord inferior to the Father. In short, what he says, *B.* II. *Ch.* 7. *Of Theology*, and in other places, is inexcusable, That the Glory of the Son is less than the Glory of the Father, and that the Son does not deserve Equal honour with the Father.

(p) *That* Eusebius *did not approve this term* Consubstantial, *as it establishes a perfect Equality between the Father and the Son.*] St. *Athanasius* testifies in his Treatise of Synods, and in his Book of the Decision of the Council of *Nice*, that he did by no means approve of the Explication that *Eusebius* gave of this term.

(q) *He explains the Mystery of the Incarnation in a most Catholick manner.*] In a Letter to the Empress *Constantia*, cited in the Second Council of *Nice*, and ascribed to *Eusebius*, he seems to assert, that the humane Nature, was changed into the Divine, from whence some took occasion in the Council to accuse him of the Error of the *Theopassians*: But he teaches the contrary in the Fourth Book of his *Demonstration*, where he formally denies that the Divine Nature suffered. Yet in the 14*th. Ch.* he says, That after the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, the Man was swallowed up of the Divine Nature, and that the Word was become God as he was before he was Man, the Man being made God. But this is only a Figurative Expression, to denote the Glory of the Humanity of Christ, for he plainly rejects this Error, in his Books of *Mystick Theology* against *Marcellus*, especially, *B.* III. *Ch.* 10, 11, *&c.*

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Dem. B. 4. c. 2. B. 3 c. 13. *Euſebius of Cæſarea.* *Eccl. Theol. B. 1. c. 20. and 13.* *Dem. B. 4. c. 2. B. 3. c. 2. and 13.*

two Natures united in one and the ſame Perſon, and yet diſtinguiſh'd by their Properties. His Diſcourſe is very ſound as to the cauſes of Chriſt's coming and his Death, and the Merits of his Sacrifice which he offered upon the Croſs to make ſatisfaction for Mankind, where he ſaith, that his Divinity ſuffered not, but only his Humanity.

Præp. B. 7. c. 6. *Dem. B. 3. c. 9.* *Præp. B. 7. c. 6.* *Dem. B. 3. c. 6.* *Hiſt. B. 1.* *Dem. B. 1. c. 10, and 8. and B. 3. B. 1. c. 9. B 5. c. 3.* *B 4. Of the Life of* Conſtantine.

He Diſcourſeth often of the good Offices of the Angels to Men, and of the Worſhip that's due to them; he gives an Account of the fall of the Evil Angels, and demonſtrates that the Ancient Patriarchs had ſome knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt, and that they were ſaved by the Merits of his Death. He attributes much to the Free-will of Man. He praiſes the State of Virginity as more perfect, and the Celibacy of Prieſts, without blaming Marriage. He acknowledges, that the Monuments of the Saints, have a juſt Right to be Honour'd. He Diſcourſes of the oblation of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, of which he ſaith, The Bread offered by *Melchiſedech*, was a Figure. In fine, He approves the Prayers of the Church for the Dead. *Photius*, Epiſt. 144. accuſes him of denying with *Origen* the General Reſurrection, and at the ſame time takes Notice, that many have not obſerv'd this Error in his Writings, and that it is not to be diſcover'd there but by a careful Examination of them. But, however it may be in other Books, there is not the leaſt footſtep of it in thoſe that are now extant.

St. *Jerom* maintains in his Book againſt *Ruffinus*, That *Euſebius* alone was the Author of the Six Books of *Apology* for *Origen*, which have been aſcribed to *Pamphilus*: But it appears by the Teſtimony of *Euſebius* himſelf, *B.* VI. of his *Hiſtory*, *Ch.* 33. and alſo by that of *Photius*, That he compos'd the 1ſt. Five Books, together with *Pamphilus*, and added the 6th. after his Martyrdom. We have the Tranſlation of the 1ſt. of thoſe Books, which he begins with an Invective againſt thoſe that accuſe the Perſon and Doctrine of *Origen*; and then he produces many Paſſages out his Works to juſtifie him, concerning the Trinity and the Incarnation, the Pains of the Damn'd, and concerning the Nature and State of Souls. St *Jerom* accuſes *Ruffinus* of having changed thoſe Places in his Verſion, which ſeem'd to favour the Error of the *Arians*, about the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Ghoſt: *Ruffinus* does not deny the Charge, but only pretends that thoſe Paſſages had been added. Some Books of this *Apology* contain'd the Life of *Origen*, and a Catalogue of his Writings, as appears by the Teſtimony of St. *Jerom* and the Report of *Photius*, *Vol.* 118. of his *Bibliotheque*.

The Book of *Topography*, or the Names that the Hebrews give to ſeveral Countries, tranſlated by St. *Jerom*, and lately publiſh'd in Greek, is a Geographical Explication of all the Countries, Cities and Places, which were mention'd in the Books of the Old Teſtament. This Treatiſe is very Exact and Curious, and ſhews that *Euſebius* was an able Man in every thing.

The *Harmony of the Evangeliſts*, or the *Rules for Reconciling them*, contains Ten Tables, in each of which, he has mark'd by Arithmetical Figures, with wonderful Art, what is related by 4, by 3, by 2, or by 1 Evangeliſt only: So that in reading the New Teſtament, where the Figures of thoſe Tables are mark'd in the Margin, one may preſently know, by having recourſe to that Table, not only by how many, and by which of the Evangeliſts, but alſo in what places it has been related. He compos'd theſe *Rules* according to the *Harmony* of *Ammonius*, to which they were inſtead of a Table, as he himſelf obſerves in his Letter to *Carpianus* at the beginning of them.

We have a Latin Fragment yet extant, of the *Harmony of the Evangeliſts*, upon the Subject of their apparent contradictions about the time of the Reſurrection of Chriſt, tranſlated by the Monk *Ambroſius*, which is believ'd to be *Euſebius*'s.

It's ſaid, There are ſome Greek Commentaries of *Euſebius*'s upon *Iſaiah*, mentioned by *Heinſius*. St. *Jerom* in his Epiſtle to *Pammachius*, ſpeaks of *Euſebius*'s Commentaries upon the Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*. *Theodoret* in the Firſt Book of his *Hiſtory*, *Ch.* 16. ſays, That he made Abridgments of the Scripture. 'Tis reported that in the Library of *Florence*, there are ſome Manuſcript Commentaries upon the *Pſalms*, which are aſcribed to *Euſebius*; and *Gelaſius* in his Book of *the Two Natures*, cites a Paſſage of *Euſebius* taken out of thoſe Commentaries. I don't mention the Commentaries upon the *Canticles*, publiſh'd by *Meurſius* under *Euſebius*'s Name, becauſe they are none of his, but compos'd by a much later Author, as we have already prov'd.

The Treatiſe of the Lives of the Prophets, is a ſhort Abridgment of their Lives, and of the moſt Remarkable Things that are in their Prophecies.

The Tracts or Diſcourſes publiſh'd in Latin by *Sirmondus*, have much of the Air of *Euſebius*; whereof the two firſt were written againſt the Hereſy of *Sabellius*, to refute that Error, and prove by the Scriptures, that the Word is a Perſon diſtinct from the Father, and there he occaſionally Diſcourſes againſt *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, whom he calls the *Galatian*. In the following Diſcourſe he Treats of the Reſurrection, and having eſtabliſh'd the Providence and Juſtice of God by ſenſible Proofs, he thence concludes, That there is a Reſurrection; becauſe if there were no other Recompence but in this Life, it would follow, that God were unjuſt, ſeeing good Men are oftentimes depriv'd of all the Advantages of this Life, which wicked Men moſt commonly enjoy. He ſhews by the Reſolution that appear'd in *Abraham*, when he went to Sacrifice his Son, and by all the Circumſtances of that Action which he deſcribes very eloquently; he ſhews, I ſay, That this Patriarch muſt needs believe a future Reſurrection, for otherwiſe he would never have attempted with ſo much Confidence and Zeal, to Sacrifice that which was deareſt to him in this World. He confutes the Opinion of the *Phariſees*, who held that Men are raiſed again from the dead to eat and drink, and enjoy the ſame Pleaſures which they had in this Life.

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The Fourth Tract, is a Discourse upon the Day of the Ascension of Jesus Christ, wherein he proves the Truth of his Resurrection and Ascension, by the Constancy of the Martyrs and Apostles, and by the wonderful Promulgation of the Gospel. He observes how impossible it was, that ever the Apostles should undertake to Preach the Christian Religion, and succeed in their Attempt, if God had not encourag'd them by his Spirit, and dispos'd the Hearts of Men to receive their Doctrine. In this Discourse, he describes also the Martyrdom of St. *Romanus* Deacon of *Antioch*. In the Six following Tracts, he discourses of things Spiritual and Invisible; and, in the First, he shows, That God is Incorporeal and Invisible, and demonstrates, that things Incorporeal and Invisible, are infinitely more Excellent than those that are Material and Earthly. In the Second and Third, he proves, That the Soul of Man is Immortal and Spiritual, and describes the great Advantages it gives a Man above the Beasts. The Fourth Tract is, concerning the Thought of Man, which has these Remarkable Properties; First, That it knows it self; and, Secondly, That it resists and checks the Motions of Lust. In the Fifth, He goes on still to prove, That God is Invisible and Incorporeal, and takes Notice as he goes along, That Angels are Spiritual. In the Sixth, He answers some Passages of Scripture which seem to attribute Members to God. *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea.*

The following Discourse is, concerning the Advantages of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, and the great Benefits it hath procur'd to Mankind. There he explains that saying of our Saviour, *I came not to bring Peace, but War*; by shewing, That Jesus Christ, came indeed, to bring Peace; but Men being unwilling to receive it, there must be War, by necessary consequence, as rising only from the bad Disposition of their own Hearts. Towards the end of this Discourse he praises those that suffer for the Religion of Jesus Christ, and continues the same Subject in the following Discourse, wherein he shews upon occasion of those Words of our Saviour, *Preach ye upon the House-tops what has been said to you in secret.* That nothing can dispense with a Christian's suffering for the Religion of Christ. He adds, That tho' there be no Persecution, yet we are oblig'd to suffer, and to be, as one may say, continually Martyrs, because we are always to fight against the World and our selves. The Two last Discourses are concerning good Works; in the First of which, he recommends it to Christians, if they would be happy, to follow after that which is Good, and shun that which is Evil. And in the Second, he exhorts them to the practice of goods Works, and chiefly to giving of Alms. This is the Subject of those Discourses, which are more concerning Doctrines than Morality, wherein there appears a great deal of Wit, good Sence, and Eloquence, but little of Order and Method.

Eusebius was one of the most Learned Men of all Antiquity, as both his Friends and Enemies do equally acknowledge (r); of whom it may be said without fear of mistaking, That there was no Man of so great Reading and Learning amongst all our Greek Authors. Almost all his Books are the effects of prodigious Labour, and very long and laborious Enquiries. And yet it must be confessed, that he had great Helps by the Memoirs of those who had written before him upon the same Subjects, whose Works he makes no scruple to Transcribe. He did not much Study to polish his Discourses, which is the common Fault of almost all those that make Knowledge and Learning their chief Business. His Stile is neither Elegant nor Grateful, as *Photius* has many times observed, but dry and barren, and extremely unpleasant. He is very proper to teach those who apply their minds seriously to Study and search after Truth, and love to consider it absolutely naked, despoil'd of all the Ornaments of Language; but he is not at all proper to entice those who are taken with the manner of Expressing things, and the force of Eloquence. I shall not here add any thing to what I have said concerning his Learning: But as to what concerns his Person, he seems to have been very impartial, very sincere, and a great Lover of Peace, Truth and Religion. For altho' he maintain'd an intimate Correspondence with the Enemies of St *Athanasius*, it does not appear that he was his Enemy, nor that he sided much with any Party in the Controversy of the Bishops of that time. He was present, indeed, in the Councils, wherein unjust things were done to *Eustathius* and St. *Athanasius*; but it does not appear, that he gave any Signs of an angry Temper, nor that he serv'd the Passions of other Men. He was not the Author of New Confessions of Faith, neither did he carry on any Plot, to the Destruction of St. *Athanasius*, or the Ruin of his Party; but he only desir'd to accommodate Differences, and reconcile the two Parties. He did not abuse the Credit which he had with the Emperour, to Advance himself, nor to Destroy his Enemies, as *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* did; but he only made use of it for the Welfare and Advantage of the Church. I do not doubt, but so many good Qualities obtain'd him a place among

(r) Eusebius *was one of the most Learned Men of all Antiquity, as both his Friends and Enemies do equally acknowledge.*] See here a part of the Testimonies which the Ancients have given to the Learning of *Eusebius*. *Constantine* in his Epistle to those of *Antioch*, and in a Letter which he wrote to himself, praises his vast Learning. St. *Basil* in his Book of the *H Spirit*, Ch. 29. calls him an Author worthy of Credit, because of his Universal Learning, διὰ πολυπειρίαν ἀξιόπιστος. St. *Jerom*, tho' the great Enemy of *Eusebius*, could not forbear oftentimes to praise his Learning, to confess that he priz'd his Books, and to say in his Second Book against *Ruffinus*, That he was a most Learned Man, *Vir doctissimus Eusebius; doctissimum dico, non Catholicum: The most Learned* Eusebius; *I call him most Learned, but not Catholick*: It is not to be wondered at, that *Ruffinus* his Friend gives him the same Title. *Antipater* of *Bostria*, tho' he did not favour him, yet gives him the Name of πολυίστωρ, *i. e.* one very knowing in most Matters; and further says of him, That he had read all the Books of the Ancients, examin'd and explain'd all their Opinions, and that he had written himself most useful Books. *Philostorgius* praises him for his History, *Socrates* and *Sozomen* vindicate him, *Victorius* calls him a most Learned Man. *Gelasius* the Pope durst not reject his History, because of its great Learning, and singular usefulness for information. *Pelagius* assures us, That there is no History that deserves greater Esteem, than that of *Eusebius*. *Photius*, who censures the Stile and Doctrine of *Eusebius*, nevertheless, commends his Knowledge and Learning. I take no Notice of the Testimonies of Modern Authors.

Euſebius of Cæſarea.

the Saints in the Martyrologies of *Uſuardus* and *Ado*, and ſome other Ancient Officers of the Church of *France* (f); for tho' I muſt confeſs he kept not peaceable Poſſeſſion of this Honour of Saintſhip, yet in my mind it would be a raſh Cenſure to judge him altogether unworthy of it.

Since the Works of *Euſebius* have been printed ſeverally, we will now give an Account of the ſeveral Editions of every one of them.

There were but two Greek Editions of his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* before that of *Valeſius*. The Firſt was only Greek, printed by *Robert Stephen* in the Year 1544.

The Second was Greek with the Verſion of *Chriſtophorſon*, on the other ſide, printed at *Geneva* in the Year 1612.

The Verſion of this *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, made by *Ruffinus*, was printed at *Rome*, in the Year 1476, in Folio; and in the Year 1479, at *Mantua*, and at *Haguenaw* in the Year 1500.

There was an old Edition printed without date at *Paris*, in 8vo. by *Renaut*, and publiſh'd by the Care of *Godfrey Bouſſard*, Dr. of the *Faculty* of *Paris*, who has put an Elegant and Senſible Preface before it, addreſs'd to *Stephen Poncher*, then Preſident of the Parliament of *Paris*. He obſerves in this Preface, That the Hiſtory of *Euſebius*, tranſlated by *Ruffinus*, had been already printed. There have been ſince that time, ſeveral Editions of the ſame Verſion of that *Hiſtory* in ſeveral places, in the Years 1544, and 1528, and at *Lyons*, in 1523, and with all *Euſebius*'s Works in 1542, and 1559, and at *Paris* in 1541.

The Verſion of *Muſculus* was printed at *Baſil*, in 1554.

The Verſion of *Chriſtophorſon*, [Biſhop of *Chicheſter* in *England*,] was printed at *Cologne* and *Baſil*, in 1570, at *Paris*, in 1571, and with the Amendments of *Suffridus*, in 1581.

At laſt, the Verſion of *Valeſius* was printed with the Greek on one ſide, revis'd by Four Manuſcripts, at *Paris*, by *Vitre*, in the Year 1659, together with the Critical Notes of that Learned Man; to which he has added Four Treatiſes or Diſſertations: The Firſt concerning the Schiſm of the *Donatiſts*, where he has clear'd up many Points of that Hiſtory, which before were very dark and confus'd and diſcover'd ſome conſiderable Errors, into which almoſt all the Hiſtorians of our time had fallen. The Second is a Letter to a Friend, where he ſhews. That it is the ſame Church at *Jeruſalem*, which is call'd by the Name of the *Reſurrection*, and which bears the Name of the *Death of Jeſus Chriſt*. The Third, clears up ſome Difficulties concerning the Verſion of the *Septuagint*. And the Laſt, is a Critical Account of ſome Martyrologies. This is the Faireſt and moſt Correct of all the late Editions in Greek and Latin; which has been ſince Revis'd by *Petit*: But this Second Edition falls much ſhort of the Neatneſs of the Firſt. The *Chronicle* has likewiſe been printed apart in 4to. in the Year 1470, and 1512, and together with the *Hiſtory*, and the other Works of *Euſebius*, as has been noted above.

Monſieur *de Pontac*, Biſhop of *Bazas*, publiſh'd it in 1605, at *Bordeaux*, and it has been ſince printed at *Antwerp*, in 1608.

Scaliger's *Theſaurus*, printed in 1606, contains the Latin *Chronicle* of St. *Jerom*, the Supplements of the two *Proſpers*, the *Chronicle* of *Victor*, *John* and *Idacius*, of *Marcellinus*, of *Marcellus*, and an Hiſtorical Collection in Latin, extracted out of the *Chronicles* of *Africanus* and *Euſebius*, by an ignorant Man, together with the Greek Fragments of the *Chronicle* of *Euſebius*, an Abridgment of Hiſtory from *Adam*, down to the Second Year of *Heraclius*, which bears the Name of the *Faſti Siculi*, or the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, and has been ſince publiſh'd in 4to. Greek and Latin, by *Radeus*, in 1615. [All which Editions have been lately ſuperſeded by an Edition in Folio, printed at the *Louvre* by Mr. *du Cange*.] After this Abridgment, follows the *Chronography* of the Patriarch *Nicephorus*, and an Epitome or Abridgment of many Hiſtories, compos'd by way of Chronicle. After theſe, follow the Notes of *Scaliger*, and a Work, Entituled, *Canon Iſagogicus*, or an *Introduction to Chronology*. There was a Second Edition of this Work, printed at *Amſterdam*, in 1658, wherein the Notes of *Scaliger* are more large and Correct.

The Books of *Euſebius* concerning the Life of *Conſtantine*, have almoſt always been printed with his *Hiſtory*. The Verſion of thoſe Books by *Forteſius* was annex'd to the Verſion of his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* by *Ruffinus*.

Chriſtophorſon tranſlated Three of thoſe Books to add them to his *Hiſtory*, and the Fourth was finiſhed by *Suffridus*. *Valeſius* made a New Tranſlation of them. The Oration made in the Praiſe of *Conſtantine*, was alſo printed by it ſelf in Latin at *Cologne*, in 1581. The Verſion of the Four Books of *Evangelical Preparation*, and of the Ten Firſt of *Evangelical Demonſtration*, made by *Georgius Trapezuntius*, was printed at *Venice* in 1497, and at *Paris* in 1534; but it is very unfaithfully done, becauſe that Author gives himſelf the Liberty to add to it, or take away what he pleaſes, in that which concerns the Trinity. The ~~Thirteen~~ 15 Books of *Preparation*, were alſo printed in Greek at *Paris*, by

(f) *Obtain'd him a place among the Saints in the* Martyrologies *of* Uſuardus *and* Ado, *and in ſome ancient Offices of the Church of* France.] The Author of the Life of St. *Valerian* calls him, *Euſebius* of Holy Memory. *Uſuardus* in *June* 21. calls him St. *Euſebius* of *Paleſtine*, Biſhop and Confeſſor, an Excellent Wit and Hiſtorian. *Notkerus* in *June* 21. ſays, The Depoſition of St. *Euſebius* in *Cæſarea*. *Manecharius* in a Letter to *Ceraunius* Biſhop of *Paris*, which is before the Paſſion of the Martyrs, *Speuſippus*, *Eleſippus*, and *Meleuſippus*, call him *Saint*. There is in a Manuſcript Breviary at *Limoges*, three Lectures to his praiſe. In an Ancient Breviary of the ſame Church, printed in 1587. at *June* 21 there is an Oration in praiſe of *Euſebius*; and in the *Miſſal*, printed in 1484. a Maſs of St. *Euſebius*. In an ancient Manuſcript Verſion of *Euſebius*'s Hiſtory, at the Church of *Paris*, the Name of *Saint* is given to him. Cardinal *Baronius* ſays, That all this is the miſtake of ſome that took *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, for *Euſebius* of *Samoſata*, and upon this Conjecture, he raſes the Name of the firſt out of the *Roman* Martyrology. But *Baronius* affirms this without any ground, and againſt the expreſs Teſtimonies of the Martyrologies, which do plainly mention *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, and diſtinguiſh him from all others by moſt evident Characters, in which no Man can be deceived.

Robert

Robert Stephen in the Year 1544; and the Year following, the same Printer publish'd the Ten Books of the *Demonstration*. Since that time, the Version of the Ten Books of the *Demonstration* made by *Donatus* of *Verona*, together with that of the Fourteen Books of the *Preparation* made by *Georgius Trapezuntius*, and that of the Fifteenth by *Hepperus*, was subjoyn'd to the Versions of the other Works of *Eusebius*, in the Editions which we have already mention'd. *Eusebius of Cæsarea.*

To conclude, The Books of *Evangelical Preparation* and *Demonstration* (which deserve to be separated from the rest, since they belong to different Subjects) have been Printed in Greek at *Paris* in the Year 1628. in Two Volumes in Folio, with a new Version of the Fifteen Books of the *Preparation*, made by the Jesuit *Vigerus*, and *Donatus*'s Version of the Books of the *Demonstration*, which Versions are plac'd over against the Greek. Moreover in this Edition was added the Greek of *Eusebius*'s Treatise against *Hierocles*, which had been already reviséd by *Holstenius*, publish'd by *Morellus* in 1606. together with the Ancient Translation of *Acciolus*, which had also been Printed apart at *Cologne* in 1532, with the Latin Works of *Eusebius*; and in short, the Five Books against *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, with the Translation of *Richard Montague*, and some Notes of his added at the end, which for the most part are in favour of *Marcellus*, and against *Eusebius*.

The Book of the *Holy Land* has been publish'd in Greek, as we have already observ'd, by *Bonfrerius*, the Jesuit, and printed at *Paris* in 1631. In 1580, *Curterius* put forth some Fragments concerning the Lives of the Prophets, which he has prefix'd to the Commentaries of *Procopius* upon *Isaiah*. The Notes upon the *Canticles* ascrib'd to *Eusebius*, have also been publish'd in Greek, without a Version, by *Meursius*, and Printed with *Polychronius* and *Psellus* in the Year 1617. The Tracts publish'd in Latin by *Sirmondus* were also printed at *Paris* in *Octavo* in 1643. In fine, The Letter to *Carpianus* and the *Evangelical Canons* of *Eusebius*, are to be found at the beginning of some Editions of the New Testament, and in Greek at the beginning of the Greek New Testament, printed at the *Louvre*, by *Robert Stephen* in the Year 1550.

CONSTANTINE *the first Christian Emperour.*

THough it be a very rare thing to see the Name of an Emperour, in a Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, yet this of *Constantine* is commonly to be found among them, because of some Discourses which he made and repeated, if we will believe *Eusebius*, and it may be also upon the account of the many Letters which he wrote, and Edicts which he made in favour of the Christian Religion: But before we say any thing of the Writings of this Emperour, it will be necessary according to our usual Method, to give a short Abridgment of his Life. *Constantine the Emperour.*

Constantine was the Son of the Emperour *Constantius Chlorus*, who was the only Person of all those that shar'd the Empire in his time, that did not Persecute the Christians (*a*). His Mother was call'd *Helena*, a Woman of mean Birth, who had not the Title of Empress, while *Constantius* liv'd (*b*).

Constantine in his youth, gave early proof of what might be expected from him afterward; His Conduct and Courage appear'd a little before his Father's Death: For being detain'd as an Hostage by the Emperour *Galerius*, and forseeing plainly that he and his Associates had a design to kill him, that they might Invade that part of the Empire which belong'd to his Father *Constantius*, who could not live long, he made his Escape out of the Hands of the Tyrants, took Post and went in great hast to find his Father in *Britain*. He kill'd all the Horses which he found at the Post-houses on the Road which he past, to hinder his Enemies from pursuing after him. When he came into *Britain*, he found his Father on his Death-Bed, who chose him for his Successor. After his Death, he was Proclaim'd Emperour by the Souldiers on the Sixth day of *August*, in the Year of Jesus Christ 306. He was no sooner Emperour, but he gain'd the love of all his Subjects, by visiting the Provinces under his Government, to give them necessary Orders, and by beating back the *Barbarians*, who would have pass'd the *Rhine* to enter into his Territories; but they were defeated, and two of their Kings kill'd in the Year 312. After this he attack'd the Tyrant *Maxentius*, who had laid *Rome* desolate by his Cruelties. He march'd towards *Italy* with an Army of 40000 Men, seiz'd upon all the Cities that oppos'd his Passage, or constrain'd them submit, and defeated three several times the Troops of *Maxentius*. In short, The Tyrant coming to meet him with a great Army near *Rome*, was entirely conquer'd, and perished by the fall of a Bridge, over which he was passing to save himself. *Eusebius* says, That *Constantine* assur'd

(a) *Who was the only Person of those that shar'd the Empire in his time, that did not Persecute the Christians.*] *The Donatists* in a Petition which they presented to *Constantine*, say, That he was the Son of a Just Father, who did not Persecute the Christians. *Euseb Hist. B.* VIII. *Ch.* 13, 15. And *Ch.* 16. he relates, That *Constantius* was very favourable to the Christians: And *Constantine* himself in his Edict, recited by *Eusebius*, in his Books of the Life of that Emperour, says, That his Father was the only Emperour, who was favourable to the Worship of the True God.

(b) *Who had not the Title of Empress, while* Constantius *liv'd.*] *Eusebius*, *St. Jerom*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Orosius*, make no scruple to give her the Title of *Constantius*'s Concubine; *Eutropius*, altho'a Pagan, sweetens this Expression, by saying, That *Constantine* was born of a Marriage that was but little known, *i. e.* That tho' *Helena* was Married to *Constantius*, yet she had not the Title of Empress; (and those Women that had not the honourable Name of *Augustæ*, were call'd the Concubines of Emperours.) *Helena* had not this Dignity till after the Death of *Constantius*, and then her Son gave it her, as *Eusebius* observes. She was of *Drepane* a City of *Bithynia*, to which *Constantine* gave the Name of *Helenopolis*, in honour of his Mother, It is agreed on all hands, That she was of mean Extraction; and St. *Ambrose* says, She was an Hostess, and by this means *Constantius* first became acquainted with her.

Constantine the Emperour.

him, he saw then in the Heavens, a Cross of Light with this Inscription, [*By this Sign you shall overcome your Enemies,*] and that Jesus Christ appear'd to him when he was Sleeping, and commanded him to make a Standard after the form of a Cross, which he did in Obedience to this Revelation, and after his Victory, he plac'd his Standard among the Trophies in the midst of the City of *Rome*, with this Inscription: [*By this Salutary Sign, which is the Mark of the true Power, I have deliver'd your City from the Yoke of Tyranny, and Establish'd your Senate and People in their ancient Splendor.*] After he had regulated the Affairs of *Rome*, *Constantine* came to *Milan*, where he celebrated the Nuptials of his Sister with the Emperour *Licinius*. In this City 'twas that the two Emperours publish'd their First Edict in favour of the Christian Religion, in which they granted Liberty of Conscience to all their Subjects; and a little after, at their going out of *Milan*, they allow'd the Christians by a second Edict, the Publick Exercise of their Religion, and commanded that those places should be restor'd to them wherein they had usually kept their Assemblies. A short time after this, the two Emperours quarrelled, and declar'd War against one another in the Year 314. *Licinius* lost at first a great Battel in *Pannonia*; but at the second in *Thracia*, the Advantage was equal on both Sides, which induc'd the Emperours to make Peace for that time.

The Wars and Affairs of the Empire did not hinder *Constantine* from concerning himself with the Affairs of the Christians: For having receiv'd Complaints in behalf of the *Donatists* against *Cæcilian* and other *African* Bishops, he appointed for Judges, such as liv'd out of *Africk*, and summon'd a Council to meet at *Rome* under *Miltiades*, about this Matter. But the *Donatists* still complaining of this Decision (c), he call'd a Council at *Arles*, where they were condemn'd anew; and at last when they appeal'd from the Determination of this Council to the Emperour, either because he believ'd that he might take cognizance of the Matter, since there was nothing alledg'd, but a particular Accusation against *Cæcilian*, which was Matter of Fact; or because he would oblige the *Donatists* to yield, as St. *Austin* observes, he himself gave Judgment at *Milan* in favour of *Cæcilian*, condemn'd the *Donatists*, and wrote against them in *Africk*; caus'd an Information to be drawn up against *Silvanus*, who was of their Party, and their Temples to be taken from them; but yet he recommended them to be gently dealt withal, as a means to bring them back again into the Bosom of the Church. About this time he made many Laws in favour of the Christians. He permitted Masters to grant Liberty to their Slaves that were within the Church, in presence of the Bishop and the People. He made Laws for the due observation of *Sunday*, forbidding all sorts of Persons to Travel on that Day; and allow'd Men to leave their Goods to the Church by Testament. On the contrary, *Licinius*, Emperour of the *East*, publish'd Edicts against the Christians, caus'd their Churches to be demolish'd and themselves to be Persecuted, or at least conniv'd at those that did so. *Constantine* declar'd War against him in 324. conquer'd him near *Adrianople* and *Chalcedon*, and then besieged him in *Nicomedia*, whither he had retir'd after his Defeat. *Licinius* seeing that he was not able to maintain the Siege, came and threw himself at *Constantine*'s Feet, who gave him his Life at the instance of his Wife, who was *Licinius*'s Daughter, and then sent him to *Thessalonica*, where a little after he caused him to be put to Death, under pretence that he design'd to stir up Sedition. After this, *Constantine* Abrogated the Edicts of *Licinius* against the Christians, and commanded that those who were Condemn'd to the Mines or Banishment, or had been depriv'd of their Honour or Goods upon the account of Religion, should be releas'd and re-establish'd in their former Estate; That the Goods of the Martyrs which had been Confiscated should be return'd to their Heirs, That the Churches of Christians should be Rebuilt, and their Burial-places restor'd unto them: Then he Exhorted all his Subjects very earnestly in a Letter, to embrace the Christian Religion.

And he did not only take care to preserve the Church in Peace against the Attempts of its Enemies but he us'd his utmost endeavours to hinder all Divisions in its Bowels by the Disputes of those who were its profess'd Members. He applied himself to allay the Controversy between *Arius* and *Alexander*, by writing a Letter to them, wherein he earnestly Exhorts them to peace, in a most moving and persuasive manner, assuring them that he had delay'd his Voyage to the *East*, for fear of finding them there at Variance, and praying them to open by their good Agreement, his Passage to the *East* which they had hitherto, as one may say, stopt up by their Differences. He sent this Letter by *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba*, a Man commendable for his Worth and Prudence. This Bishop having call'd a Synod in the City of *Alexandria*, did all that in him lay to appease their Differences, but not being able to compass his Design, *Constantine* judged, that the best way to restore Peace to the Church, was to summon a General Council of the *East* and *West* in the City of *Nice* in *Bithynia*. He himself Assisted at it, Exhorted the Bishops to Peace, and refus'd to receive the Accusations which one party form'd against the other. He made them agree in the same Doctrine, and approv'd the Decision of the Council, to which they all Subscribed, except *Secundus* and *Theonas*. He wrote himself to all the World, and Exhorted all the Bishops to receive the Decrees of this Council. He banish'd *Arius* and two Bishops that had taken his Part in the Synod; he caus'd the Books of that Heretick to be burnt; forbad all his Subjects to keep them: and wrote in particular two very earnest Letters against *Arius*, and his followers. In short, He treated the Bishops of the Council magnificently, testified a great deal of Friendship to them, and sent them away laden with Presents. *Eusebius* and *Theognis* having publish'd anew their Errors after the Council, altho' they had Subscribed to its Decrees, were by him sent into Banishment.

(c) *But the* Donatists *still complaining of this Decision.*] *Valesius* has prov'd in his Dissertation about the History of the *Donatists*; That the *Donatists* did not appeal from the Synod at *Rome*; but only complain'd to the Emperour that their Cause was not fully examin'd; and that they appeal'd afterwards from the determination of the Council at *Arles*, to that of the Emperour.

After

After this, he caus'd the Sepulchre of Jesus Christ to be found out in *Jerusalem*, and built a stately Church there, as well as at *Bethlehem*, and at the *Mount of Olives*. It's said, That he discover'd the Cross of Christ, and some pretend that many Miracles were then done by it. And yet it is very strange, that *Eusebius*, an Eye-witness of those things, who has exactly describ'd all the Circumstances of the Discovery of Christ's Sepulchre, and who forgets nothing that may be to the Advantage of Religion, should not say one word, neither of the Cross of Christ, nor of the Miracles that are pretended to be wrought by it. About the same time, he gave the Name of *Constantinople* to the City of *Byzantium*, and endow'd it with the same Privileges which *Old Rome* enjoy'd, from whence it had the Name of *New Rome*. After this, he labour'd more than ever he had done, to aggrandize the Church; he made Laws against Hereticks, wrote to the King of *Persia* in favour of the Christians, destroy'd the Temples of Idols, gave great Gifts to Churches, and caus'd magnificent Copies of the Bible to be made: In a word, he did so much for Religion, that he had good right to be call'd Bishop of the Church, as to those things that concern its External Policy. And truly the Church had no reason to complain of his Conduct, till the latter end of his Life, when he gave ear to the Accusations that were brought to him against St. *Athanasius*, by those Bishops that favour'd *Arius*'s Faction: For they being offended with him because he would not appear at a Council held at *Cæsarea*, whither he had been cited to come, mov'd the Emperour to Summon a Synod in the City of *Tyre*, to Judge his Cause. There St. *Athanasius* appear'd, and finding that his Enemies had injuriously oppress'd him, he had recourse to the Emperour, and went to him at *Constantinople*. *Constantine*, although prejudic'd against him, yet heard him favourably, and commanded the Bishops of the Council of *Tyre*, who had called another afterwards at *Jerusalem*, to come to him and render an account of their Proceedings. They deputed Six Bishops to go to the Emperour, and accuse St. *Athanasius*; but those Deputies durst not alledge the Facts, of which they had accus'd him at the Council of *Tyre*, for fear lest the Emperour, being a lover of Justice, should discover their Falsity, and declare him Innocent. They consult therefore how they might charge him with a Crime against the State, by saying, that he threatned to hinder the Transportation of Corn from *Alexandria* to *Constantinople*. This Accusation made such Impression upon the Emperour's Mind, and so stirr'd him up against St. *Athanasius*, that he immediately Banish'd him to *Triers*, a City of *Gaul*. The Enemies of St. *Athanasius* having thus procur'd his Banishment who was the great Opposer of *Arius*, they call'd back again this Heretick, and us'd all the Endeavours to restore him to the Communion of the Church. But *Constantine* would not hear of it, till after he had drawn up a Confession of Faith, which appear'd contrary to his Errors, and had Sworn and Protested that this was his Doctrine; yet, even after he had done this, the Emperour, being always jealous of the Man said to him, "*If thy Faith be right, as thou would'st make us believe, thou hast done well to* "*Swear; but if not, then let God condemn thee to some Punishment for this false Oath.* Which words were follow'd with a suitable Effect; for in a little time after, *Arius* perish'd miserably, the day before he should have been admitted to the Communion of the Church at *Constantinople*.

Constantine the Emperour.

The Reader no doubt may wonder that I have not spoke a word all this while of the Baptism of this Emperour; for it seems very strange, that one who took so great care of the Affairs of Christians, one who was convinc'd of the Truth of their Religion, and was ignorant in no point of their Doctrine, should continue so long a time without initiating himself into the Church by the Sacrament of Baptism. And yet this was certainly so, either because he waited to receive Baptism, when he should be near his Death, that by this Sacrament he might throughly expiate his Sins, and so appear Innocent before God; or else because he had some other reason for this delay; however it came to pass, he never thought of preparing himself for Baptism until he felt himself Sick, nor had he ever the Imposition of the Bishops hands, to make him a *Catechumen*, till the Year 337 (*d*), a few days before his Death, being then at *Helenopolis*, as *Eusebius* observes in the Fourth Book of this Emperour's Life, *Chap.* 61. After this, he receiv'd Baptism from the hands of *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, in the Suburbs of that City, as *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, St. *Athanasius*, St. *Jerom* and St. *Ambrose*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Theodoret*, *Evagrius*, and all the rest of the Ancients unanimously affirm (*e*). It is therefore a fabulous Story which is related in the Acts, falsly attributed to Pope *Sylvester*, That the Baptism of *Constantine* was celebrated at *Rome*. And indeed, nothing can be more fabulous than the Account set down in those Acts: For there it is feign'd, that *Constantine*, being an Enemy to the Christian Religion, and desiring to persecute it, was smitten with Leprosie; That the Soothsayers said unto him, the only way to cure him, was to bath himself in the Blood of New-born Infants; That many of them were sought out to have their Throats cut, but *Constantine* being mov'd by their Tears, and the Cries of

(d) *To make him a* Catechumen, *till the Year* 337.] *Eusebius* says expressly, That *Constantine* then first receiv'd Imposition of Hands, and that he assisted at the Solemn Prayers of the Church; which plainly shews, that he was not a *Catechumen* before. Neither does the Title of the First Book, *Chap* 32. of the Life of *Constantine*, contradict this Observation, for there it is only said that *Constantine* was Catechized, Κατηχεῖσθαι, the meaning of which is, only that he was instructed in the Christian Doctrine, which does not prove that he was a *Catechumen*, and we never read before this time that he assisted at the Publick Prayers of the Church.

(e) *All the Ancients unanimously affirm.*] *Eusebius*, B. I. Of the Life of *Constantine*, Ch. 32. St. *Jerom* in his *Chronicle*, says, *Constantius ultimo vitæ suæ tempore baptizatus est.* St. *Ambrose* in his Funeral Oration upon *Theodosius*, says of *Constantine*, *Cui licet baptismatis gratia in extremis constituto omnia peccata dimiserit.* The Fathers of the Council of *Ariminum*, in a Letter written at the beginning of that Synod, say, That he died a little after he was baptiz'd: which is certainly spoken of *Constantine the Great*, after they had mention'd in the same place his assisting at the Council of *Nice*. I might add to this many other unquestionable Witnesses, such as *Socrates*, *B.* I. *Ch.* 39. *Sozomen*, *B* II. *Ch.* 34. *Theodoret*, *B.* I. *Ch.* 32. *Evagrius*, *B.* III. *Ch.* 42. the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, &c.

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Constantine the Emperour.

their Mothers, restor'd them again, without putting them to Death: That he was afterwards admonish'd in a Dream by St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, that he should be cur'd if he were baptiz'd by *Sylvester*; which having done, he was presently Purify'd by Baptism both from his Sins and from his Leprosie. What Forgeries, what Fables are here! What inconsistent Ravings of Madmen! *Constantine* was never an Enemy to the Christian Religion; he did never Persecute it; he was always a Christian from his heart before he came to *Rome*. There is no Historian that speaks of his having a Leprosie, or that he was cur'd of it by Baptism. How came *Eusebius* to forget so considerable a Miracle in the Life of *Constantine*? With what Face could *Julian* the Apostate object to the Christians, that Baptism never cleans'd any person from the Leprosie, if his own Grandfather had been cur'd by it; St. *Cyril*, to confute this Falsehood, never alledg'd an Example so Illustrious as this of the Emperour had been. But I forbear to mention any more of the many Absurdities and Impertinencies which are contain'd in those Acts (f). It's certain, *Constantine* died in a little time after his Baptism in the Year 337, of the vulgar Account, *May* 22d. in the Consulship of *Titianus* and *Felicianus*, the 64th Year of his Age, after he had reign'd Thirty Years and Ten Months.

This Emperour was one of the greatest Princes that ever was, whether you consider his Conduct or Policy, or take a View of the great Actions of his Life, or reflect on the great Services he had done to the Church. Some accuse him of being an *Arian*, but that's a Calumny; for though he favour'd some Bishops, that were of *Arius*'s Faction, and unjustly Banish'd St. *Athanasius*, yet he always maintain'd the Creed of the *Nicene* Council, and suffer'd it not to be violated while he liv'd. The Greeks have given him excessive Praises, and plac'd him among the number of Saints, but I think the Latines have done more wisely, in suspending their Judgment as to that. We can say nothing of his Stile, because it is very probable, that the Writings which bear his Name, were compos'd by others, though done by his Order: They may be distinguish'd into three sorts; his *Discourses*, his *Letters*, and his *Edicts*.

Eusebius assures us, *B.* III. of the Life of this Emperour, *Ch.* 2. That he had acquir'd so profound a Knowledge of the Liberal Sciences, that even to the end of his Life, he compos'd Harangues for the Instruction of his Subjects; and that the Method which he observ'd in his Discourses, was, first to begin with the Refutation of the Errors of the Pagans, who ador'd many Gods; and then he proceeded to prove the Unity of God, and his Providence by which he governs the Universe: After which, he explain'd the Motives which brought the Son of God down from Heaven to this Earth, and describ'd the Circumstances of the Life which he led here; from whence he pass'd on to the Description of the last Judgment, and terrified his Hearers with the vehemence of his Discourse, threatning the Vengeance of God, and the Just Punishment of their Sins against the Coverous, the Passionate and the Violent. The same *Eusebius*, gives us, *B.* III. *Ch.* 12. a short Harangue of *Constantine*'s to the Fathers of the Council of *Nice*, exhorting them to Peace; to which may be added, that Form of Prayer which he

(f) *I forbear to mention any more of the many Absurdities and Impertinencies which are contain'd in those Acts.*] There 'tis said, That St. *Sylvester* first appointed the Celebration of *Sunday*, that he held a Synod of 75 Bishops at *Rome* in the Year 315, where they found 109 Jewish Priests. The same Author tells a Story of a Font and its Ornaments, which smells rank of a Fable. He makes Laws for *Constantine* which are ridiculous, and which never any heard of before. He reports, That *Constantine* laid the first Foundation of the Church of *Rome*, and carried thither 12 Baskets full of Earth in honour of the 12 Apostles. These Remarks, and many more of that sort, make it as clear as day, that those Acts are Supposititious. And yet there is brought to maintain them, First, The Authority of Pope *Gelasius*, who places them among those Monuments that are Genuine; And, that of *Adrian*, who cites those Acts in his Letter to the Empress *Irene*, for maintaining Images; To which are added, the Testimonies of the Author of a Book call'd, *The Pontifical of* Damasus; of *Nicholas* the First in his Letter to the Emperour *Michel*; of *Anastasius*, *Nicephorus*, and some other Modern Authors. But are all these Authorities to be compar'd with those of the Ancients whom we have cited? and what else do they prove, but that those Acts were forg'd since the time of *Gelasius*? This Pope therefore had never seen them himself, nor does he approve them of his own knowledge, but only saith, That he heard that some Persons had read them. As to *Adrian* 'tis very well known, that he was not very Critical in the choice of the Monuments which he cited, and that he alledges sometimes those that are forg'd, as well as those that are Genuine. The following Testimonies are still of less Authority.

Secondly, *Gregory* of *Tours* is cited for those Acts, who *B.* II. *Ch.* 31. of his History, saith to King *Clovis*, *Behold, a new* Constantine, *who goes to Baptism to heal the Malady of an Inveterate Leprosie, and to wash out the Spots and Stains of his past Life by those most holy Waters.* But this passage proves nothing, because he does not mean the Leprosie of his Body, but only of his Soul; And morever, it were not at all strange that *Gregory* of *Tours*, a very credulous Man, should give credit to those forged Acts.

In short, Our Adversaries not finding any ancient Christian for their turn, have recourse to *Zosimus* a Pagan Author, and a great Enemy to *Constantine*, who says, That *Constantine* was tormented with remorse of Conscience, after he had kill'd *Crispus* his Son, and *Fausta* his Wife; and having fought in vain for some Expiation by the Sacrifices of the Pagans, he applied himself to an Egyptian, who told him, That the Christian Doctrine had Power to expiate all Sins; after which Discourse, he abandon'd the Religion of his Ancestors. But those who employ this passage to prove the Baptism of *Constantine* at *Rome*, do great Injury to *Constantine*'s Reputation, by giving Credit to the Lye of an Heathen, who for this is convicted of Forgery by all Our Writers. Secondly, They do not consider that the Death of *Crispus* and *Fausta* happen'd after the Council of *Nice*, and so this whole Story of *Zosimus* is nothing to their purpose. In fine, *Zosimus* says not that he was Baptiz'd, but that he Embrac'd the Christian Doctrine. I shall not now stay to refute those that pretend *Constantine* was twice Baptiz'd, the first time at *Rome* by *Sylvester*, the second time at *Nicomedia* by *Eusebius*, for the same Authorities we have alledg'd, destroy this Supposition; and besides, it is altogether incredible that *Eusebius* and the other Bishops with him, should have Re-baptiz'd *Constantine* with so much Pomp and Ceremony, if he had been Baptiz'd before; especially at a time when the Dispute about the Trinity was not started.

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prescrib'd to his Souldiers, related in *B.* IV. and the Admonition he gave a Covetous Man of his Court, which is to be found *Ch.* 30. of the same Book: But doubtless the most considerable of his Monuments, is, that great Oration which he made to the Convention of the Saints, translated by *Eusebius* into Greek, and annexed to his Life. The Preface of this Oration is about the Feast of *Easter*, the Goodness of our Saviour, and the Ingratitude of Men; but he concludes it with an Apostrophe to the Church. In the Body of this Discourse, he disputes against Idolatry and the multiplicity of Gods; and shows that there is but one only true God, the Creator of all things, and the Father of the World, who is begotten of Him, tho' the Father suffer no Diminution by it, and who is united to Him: He confutes Destiny, establishes Providence and Free-will, and overthrows the Errors of the Philosophers: He discovers the Advantages which Mankind receiv'd by the Incarnation of the Son of God, and shows that his Coming was foretold by the Prophets, to whose Authority he adds the Prediction of the *Sybils*, which he endeavours to verifie by the Testimony of *Virgil*: He describes the unhappy death of those Emperours who persecuted the Church, and finishes this Discourse with saying, That we ought to attribute all the Good we do to God, and before we undertake any thing, always to implore his Aid by Prayer, as being the Fountain of all Good. The whole Discourse is Sublime, and worthy of the Majesty of such an Emperour as *Constantine* was. *Constantine the Emperour.*

The Letters of *Constantine*, are much more numerous than his Discourses. Here's a Catalogue of them, an Account of their Arguments, the Times when they were written, and the Places where they are to be found.

1. There is a Letter of *Constantine* to *Cæcilian* Bishop of *Carthage*, for distributing the Alms which he gave to the Poor of *Africa*, written in the Year 312, and set down by *Eusebius*, *Hist. B.* X. *Ch.* 6.

2. There is a Letter of his to *Anulinus* for the Immunity of the Clergy, written the same Year, *B.* X. *C.* 7.

3. His Letter to *Miltiades* Bishop of *Rome*, empowering him to Judge the Cause of the *Donatists*, written in the Year 313, *Euseb. B.* X. *Ch.* 5.

4. His Letter to *Ablabius*, [Dr. *Cave* calls him, *Ælaphius* or *Ælianus*,] commanding him to send the Bishops of *Donatus*'s Party, and *Cæcilian*, to *Arles*, to be judg'd there; written in 314, at the end of *Optatus*.

5. His Letter to *Chrestus* Bishop of *Syracuse*, commanding him to repair to the Council of *Arles*; written the same Year, related by *Euseb. Hist. B.* X. *Ch.* 5.

6. His Letter to *Cæcilian*, wherein he commands him to come to *Rome*, to be judg'd there a-new; written in 315, which is to be found at the end of *Optatus*.

7. His Letter to *Probianus*, Proconsul of *Africa*, to seize upon a *Donatist*, call'd *Ingentius*, set down by St. *Austin*, *Ep.* 68. and in his Third Book against *Cresconius*, *Ch.* 73. written in 315, as appears from hence, because *Probianus* did not succeed *Ælianus* in the Office of Proconsul of *Africk*, till this Year.

8. His Letter to *Celsus*, Deputy of *Africk*, written about the end of the same Year, or the beginning of the next, wherein he recommends it to him, to advertise the Bishops of both Parties, that he should come e'er long to judge them; and to advise them in the mean time, to continue in Peace. He testifies in this Letter, That he had a mighty Passion to Establish a good Agreement among them.

9. Another Letter of his to the same *Celsus*, written by his Order by the *Præfectus Prætorio* in favour of Four Bishops of the *Donatists*, and one Presbyter who had obtain'd their Liberty.

10. His Letter to *Eunalius*, Deputy of *Africk*, in which he gives him Notice of the Judgment he had given in favour of *Cæcilian* against the *Donatists*, recited in the Conference of *Carthage*, *Ch.* 516. There is a Fragment of it in St. *Austin*'s Third Book against *Cresconius*, *Ch.* 71. It was written in 316.

11. His Letter to the Bishops of *Africa*, wherein he testifies, That he had done all that was in his Power, to procure Peace to the Church; but since he could not compass it, he must wait till God himself afforded a Remedy for their Divisions. This Letter is at the end of *Optatus*.

12. His Letter to the Bishops of *Numidia*, in which he grants them a place to build a Church upon, in the room of that which the *Donatists* had taken by force, and discharges the Ecclesiasticks from Publick Taxes. *Ibidem.*

13. His Letter to *Eusebius*, for building of Churches at the Charge of the Emperour, written in 324 or 325, *B.* II. of the Life of *Constantine*, *Ch.* 46.

14. His Letter to the Bishop of *Alexandria* and *Arius* the Presbyter, concerning their Differences, wherein he exhorts them to Peace, written about the end of the Year 324, and related by *Eusebius*, *B.* II. of the Life of *Constantine*, *Ch.* 64, &c.

15. His Letter to all the Bishops about the Decisions of the *Nicene* Council, *B.* III. of the Life of *Constantine*, *Ch.* 17.

16. His Letter to the *Egyptians* upon the same Subject, *Ibid.*

17. His Letter to *Alexander* upon the same Subject, *Ibid.*

18. His Letter against *Arius*, mention'd by *Socrates* in the First Book of his *Hist. Ch.* 9. and related at the end of the *History* of *Gelasius Cyzicenus*.

19. His Letter to the *Nicomedians* against *Eusebius* and *Theognis*, related in part by *Theodoret*, *Hist. B.* I. *Ch.* 20. and entirely by *Gelasius Cyzicenus*.

20. His Letter to *Macarius* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, for building a Church in that City, in *Euseb. B.* III. of the Life of *Constantine*, *Ch.* 30.

21. His Letter to *Eusebius* for building a Church in the place where the Oak of *Mamre* stood, where *Abraham* had a Vision; in *Euseb. B.* III. of the Life of *Constantine*, *Ch.* 52.

22. His Letter to those of *Antioch*, upon the Deposition of *Eustathius*, written in 330, set down by *Euseb. B.* III. of the Life of *Constantine*, *Ch.* 60.

23. His Letter to *Eusebius* upon his Refusal of the See of *Antioch*, *B.* III. of the Life of *Constantine*, *Ch.* 61.

24. His Letter to the Synod upon the same Subject, *Ibid. Ch.* 62.

25. His

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25. His Letter to *Sapor* King of *Perſia*, in favour of the Chriſtians, *B.* IV. of the Life of *Conſtantine Ch.* 9, &c.

26. His Letter to *Euſebius* upon his Boock of *Eaſter*, *Ibid. Ch.* 35.

27. Another Letter to him, concerning the Copies of the Bible, *Ch.* 36.

28. His Letter to St. *Athanaſius*, in favour of *Arius*, in *Athan. Apol.* 2. *p.* 778.

29. His Letter to the Church of *Alexandria*, in favour of St. *Athanaſius*, *Ibid. p.* 779.

30. His Letter to St. *Athanaſius*, againſt the Cheats of his Enemies, *Ibid. p.* 785.

31. His Letter to *John*, the Head of the *Meletians*, wherein he congratulates his Reconciliation to St. *Athanaſius*, *Ibid.* P. 787.

32. His Letter to the Council of *Tyre*, in *Euſeb. B.* IV. of the Life of *Conſtantine*, *Ch.* 42.

33. His Letter to the Biſhops of the Council of *Tyre* to cite them to *Conſtantinople*, in *Athanaſius*, *Apol.* 2. *P.* 803.

34. His Letter to *Publilius Optatianus Porphyrius*, who Dedicated ſome Poems to him, that were wrote in Priſon; publiſhed by *Paulus Velſerus*, and annexed to the *Nurenburg* Edition of *Marcus Velſerus*'s Works. [The 6th. Letter to *Cæcilian* is only hinted at in a Letter of *Conſtantine*'s to the *Donatiſt* Biſhops, wherein he tells them, That tho' he had before given Orders that they ſhould return into *Africa*, there to have their Controverſy with *Cæcilian* Examin'd; yet he was now reſolved that they ſhould of both Sides go to *Rome*, as he himſelf had written already to *Cæcilian*. This Letter is in the Collection of Records at the end of *Optatus*.

As alſo another Letter to the Catholick Biſhops in the Council of *Arles*, wherein he congratulates the Concluſion of their Differences, and expreſſes his deteſtation of thoſe Perſons who would not abide by what was already determined: Adding withal, That if the *Donatiſts* would not be quiet, they ſhould be brought before the *Vicarius Præfecturæ*, to whom he had given Orders to ſend them to his Palace, where they ſhould meet with ſuch treatment as they deſerved.]

There are many other Letters, of which *Euſebius* deſign'd to make a diſtinct Volume, as he himſelf teſtifies, *B.* III. of the Life of *Conſtantine*, *Ch.* 24.

Tho' the *Edicts* which bear Names of the Emperours, are commonly Penn'd by their Secretaries of State, yet I muſt give an Account of thoſe that *Conſtantine* publiſh'd in favour of the Chriſtians.

The firſt Edict of *Conſtantine* for the Liberty of Religion, was publiſh'd at *Milan*, in the Year 313, whereof there is mention made in the following Edict.

The ſecond Edict of *Conſtantine*, by which he gave full Liberty to Chriſtians of the publick Exerciſe of their Religion, and commanded that their Churches ſhould be reſtor'd to them, was publiſhed ſometimes after the firſt, and is ſet down by *Euſebius*, *Hiſt. B.* X. *Ch.* 5.

His third Edict reſtrains this favour to Catholicks. 'Tis found in the ſame place.

His fourth Edict in favour of Religion, is dated the laſt of *October*, the ſame Year: It continues the Immunity of Eccleſiaſticks, whom the Hereticks had caus'd to be charg'd with publick Taxes, contrary to the Privileges which had been granted them. The Emperour commands that thoſe who were taxed, be diſcharg'd, and that a Courſe be taken to hinder any ſuch Proceedings for the future.

Amongſt the number of thoſe Edicts, made in favour of the Chriſtians, that which was directed to *Ablabius*, may be reckoned, bearing Date, *May* 12. 315. in which *Conſtantine* commands, That Proviſion be made for the Maintenance of the Children of the Poor in *Italy*.

The fifth Edict of *Conſtantine* for the Chriſtian Religion, is dated *November* 16. the ſame Year, wherein he condemns the *Jews* to the fire, that ſhould abuſe the Chriſtians. It is to be found in the *Juſtinian* and *Theodoſian* Code.

His ſeventh Edict directed to *Protogenes*, dated *June* 7th. 316, grants a very conſiderable favour to the Chriſtian Church, by appointing a new way of giving Liberty to Slaves, in the preſence of the Biſhop and the People. This Law is related in the *Juſtinian* Code, *Tit.* 13. *l.* 1. Beſides this, There are two other Edicts upon the ſame Subject: The firſt, which is dated in the Year 321, related in the ſame place, is added to that, which we have been ſpeaking of, That the Clergy may give Liberty to their Slaves, even out of the Church. The third Edict upon the ſame Subject is loſt.

The firſt which we have of thoſe Edicts of *Conſtantine*, that Eſtabliſhes the Juriſdiction of Biſhops as to Temporals, ſeems to be that which is related in an Addition to the *Theodoſian* Code, publiſh'd by *Sirmondus*, under Title 17th. It imports, That if thoſe who plead a Cauſe, ſhall appeal to the Judgment of the Biſhops, they ſhall be referred thither, altho' the Proceſs be enter'd before another Judge. This Edict is dated *June* 21*ſt.* 318. There is beſides this, another on the ſame Subject, without the date of the Year, related in the ſame Collection under the firſt Title, wherein he Confirms and Explains the former Order, concerning the Judicial Deciſions of Biſhops, and he will have them to ſtand firm, even tho' they are given between Minors, commanding, that at all times, and as oft as any one of the two Parties ſhall deſire an Appeal to the Judgment of the Biſhop, it ſhall be granted him. He Ordains alſo in this Edict, That the Teſtimony of a Biſhop ſhall be received by all the Judges.

In the Year 319, *November* 19th. He confirmed the Immunity of the Clergy by a new Edict, declaring, That they ſhould be free from all publick Taxes. This Law is related in the *Theodoſian* Code, *Lib.* 16. *Tit.* 2. *l.* 2.

There are many more Edicts of the Year 320, and 321, concerning the Church, among which may be plac'd that which abrogates the *Papian Poppæan* Law, which was made againſt thoſe that continued unmarried; this Law, *Conſtantine* ſeems to have aboliſh'd, in favour of the Chriſtians, who honour thoſe that make Profeſſion of continuing in Celibacy all their life. *Euſebius* makes mention of this Edict, *B.* IV. of the Life of *Conſtantine*, *Ch.* 26, and after him *Sozomen*, *B.* I. of his *Hiſt. Ch.* 9. and St. *Ambroſe*, *B.* III. of *Virgins*.

It was also about this time, that he made some Edicts against the *Donatists*, The first is related by St. *Austin*, *B.* II. against *Petilianus*, *Ch.* 92. and in his Letters 167, and 168, wherein he commands that the Churches should be taken from them which they possess'd: It bears Date, *Anno* 320. *Constantine the Emperour.*

The second Edict directed to *Verinus*, dated *May* the 4*th.* in the Year 321, moderates a little the Rigor of the first, for it permits them to return to their own Country, and to live there in quiet, reserving to God the Punishment of their Crime. This is also related by St. *Austin*, *Ep.* 152. and in his Book written after the Conference of *Carthage*. The Edict for the due observation of *Sunday*, of which *Eusebius* makes mention, *B.* IV. of the Life of *Constantine*, *Ch.* 18, and 19. related in the *Justinian* Code, *Lib.* III. under the Title, *De Feriis*. *B.* III. is dated *March* 6*th.* in the Year 321. It imports, That all Judges, People and Artificers, shall cease from their Labour on this Day; yet he excepts Country-men, who are permitted to Till the Ground on this Day, because it often happens, says the Emperour, That a more seasonable time cannot be found to sow their Corn, or Plant their Vines, and it is not fit, that we should lose a favourable Opportunity which Divine Providence has put in our Hands.

There is another Edict of the first of *July*, the same Year, by which he permits all sorts of Persons to leave their Goods by Testament, to the Catholick Church.

In the Year 323, he publish'd an Edict against those who constrain'd Christians to Sacrifice to Idols, which is in the *Theodosian* Code, *Tit.* 2. *B.* V.

In the next Year he made many Edicts after the defeat of *Licinius*, for the Liberty of Christians, and for the Restitution of their Goods and their Honour. *Eusebius* relates them, *B.* II. of the Life of *Constantine*, *Ch.* 20, 24, &c.

He produces likewise in the same place, his Edicts against the Worship of False Gods, and for the Establishment of the Church. *Ibid.* and *Ch.* 48.

After the Council of *Nice*, he publish'd an Edict, in which he condemns the Books of *Arius* to be burnt, and commands his followers to be call'd *Porphyrians*.

The Edict of the Month of *May*, in the Year 326, prohibiting the admitting of rich Persons into the Order of the Clergy, or those that were the Children of such as had born publick Offices, appears but little favourable to the Clergy; but it was necessary, because many rich and great Persons, took Holy Orders, to exempt themselves by this means, from the publick Taxes, which tended to the Oppression of the Poor. Wherefore *Constantine*, says wisely in this Edict, That it Was just, the Rich should maintain the heavy Expences of the State, and that the Poor should be fed with the Riches of the Church. We have this Law in the *Theodosian* Code, *B.* XVI. *Tit.* 2. *l.* 6. Besides this, there is also another Edict publish'd in the Month of *July*, in consequence of the former, altho' it bears the Names of the Consuls for the Year 320, which forbids the disturbing of those that had taken Holy Orders, before the preceeding Law was publish'd, and commands at the same time, that such as had taken Orders since its publication, on purpose to avoid the publick Taxes, should be remov'd from the Clergy, and sent back into the World, and left liable to publick Taxes. This Edict is related in the same place, B. III. After all, by another Edict of the first of *September*, the same Year 326, it is ordain'd, That Clergy-men who were Hereticks and Schismaticks, should not enjoy this Privilege of Exemption, but should be subject to Taxes and Impositions. This Edict is in the *Justinian* Code, *B.* I. *Tit. de. Heret.* and in the *Theodosian*.

He treats the *Novatians* with more moderation than the other Hereticks, permitting them by an Edict of the Month of *September* in the same Year 326, to keep their Churches, their Cœmeteries, and the Goods which they had purchas'd after their Separation from the Church. In the Code of *Theodosius*, *Tit.* 5. *B.* II.

In the Year 330, he publish'd an Edict against the Hereticks, in which he forbids their Assemblies. It is related in *Euseb. B.* III. of the Life of *Constantine*, *Ch.* 63. &c.

There is in the *Theodosian* Code, another Edict of the same Year, in favour of the Clergy that were accus'd, or evil treated by Hereticks.

The Laws concerning the Jews, are the last which *Constantine* made in the favour of the Christian Religion.

By an Edict *September* 27*th.* 330, He grants to the Patriarchs of the Jews, *i. e.* to those that presided in their Assemblies, Exemption from the publick Taxes. He renews the same favour by another Edict *December* 1*st.* in the Year following. It is probable that he granted these favours to the Jews for no other reason, but because they Worship the same God with the Christians, and to leave them some kind of Consolation, as he says in one of his Laws, because their's was once the only true Religion: For at the same time he made very severe Laws against the Jews that should purchase or detain Christian Slaves, and condemn'd those to death, that circumcis'd them. There are many other Laws in the *Theodosian* Code upon this Subject, of the Years 330, 331, and 336.

I do not place among the Number of *Constantine*'s Edicts, the Donation which bears his Name, in which he is suppos'd to give to the Bishop of *Rome* and his Successors, the Soveraignty of the City of *Rome*, and of the Provinces of the *Western* Empire; because this Act has so many signs of Forgery, that it's impossible it can be attributed to *Constantine*. I shall here subjoin some of those Reasons which clearly prove, that it is an Imposture.

1. Not one of the Ancients mentions this pretended Liberality of *Constantine* to the Church: But who can believe that *Eusebius*, and all the other Ancient Historians, who have exactly describ'd all the Benefits of this Emperour to Christians, and especially to the Bishops, should pass over in silence one so considerable as this of the *Western* Empire, to the Bishop of *Rome*?

2. Not one of the Popes who mention the Benefits of Kings and Emperours to the See of *Rome*,

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or who defend their Temporal Patrimony, did ever alledge this pretended Donation, tho' it had been very much for their Advantage ſo to do.

3. The Date of this act is falſe, for it bears the names of the Conſuls, *Conſtantine* (for the fourth time,) and *Gallicanus*: Now *Conſtantine* in his fourth Conſulſhip, had not *Gallicanus*, but *Licinius*, for his Collegue: And this Conſulſhip anſwers to the Year 315, at which time *Conſtantine* was not baptiz'd, even in the Opinion of thoſe that believe he was baptiz'd at *Rome* by St. *Sylveſter*; and yet mention is made of his Baptiſm in this Edict of Donation. We muſt add to this Argument, another Error in Chronology: *Byzantium* is there call'd *Conſtantinople*, tho' it had not that Name, till Ten Years or thereabouts, after the Date of this Edict.

4. The Stile of it is barbarous, and very different from that of the Genuine Edicts of *Conſtantine*: It is full of new Modes of ſpeaking, the Expreſſions are affected, and the Terms ſuch as were never us'd in any publick Acts, till after the time of *Conſtantine*.

5. Who can believe that *Conſtantine* ſhould give the City of *Rome*, all the Provinces and Cities of the *Weſt*, that is to ſay, one half of his Empire, to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and that this ſhould never be known till the Eleventh Age of the Church?

6. There are infinite Numbers of Falſities and Abſurdities in this Edict, which demonſtrate that it was compos'd by an ignorant Impoſtor: take ſome of them as follows. In it the Pope is permitted to wear a Crown of Gold, like that of Kings and Emperours, whereas in thoſe times, Kings and Emperours did not were a Crown at all, but a Diadem. The Fabulous Hiſtory of *Conſtantine*'s Baptiſm by *Sylveſter*, and the miraculous Cure of his Leproſy, is reported there as a thing Certain. There are reckon'd up in this Edict, five Patriarchal Churches, and that of *Conſtantinople* is put in the ſecond place, whereas it had not this Honour, till a long time after. And yet it is ſuppos'd, That *Sylveſter* had already acknowledg'd it for a Patriarchal See. Theſe Falſities and many others that occur in this Edict, do plainly prove, That it is a Forgery.

In ſhort, to deſtroy entirely this pretended Edict, it is ſufficient to obſerve, That while *Conſtantine* liv'd, and a long time after his Death, the City of *Rome*, and the Empire of the *Weſt*, were always ſubject to the Power of the Emperours; That the Popes themſelves acknowledg'd them as their Sovereigns, without pretending that the City of *Rome*, or *Italy*, or any part of the *Weſtern* Empire, belong'd to them: That all the Temporal Power they have obtain'd ſince, is owing to King *Pepin* and the Emperour *Charlemaigne*. The Account of this, deſerves a little Digreſſion, which will not be tedious to the Reader, and will not carry us too far from our preſent Subject.

'Tis certain, that the City of *Rome*, *Italy*, and all the other Provinces of the *Weſtern* Empire, were under the Power of *Conſtantine* and the Emperours that ſucceeded him. Hiſtory informs us, That they were abſolute Maſters of it, That they ſent Governours thither, That the City of *Rome* depended upon their Laws, upon their Power, and the Magiſtrates whom they ſhould appoint; That they made ſuch Changes there as they pleas'd: In a word, That they were no leſs Maſters of it, than of all the other Cities of the World. When afterwards the *Barbarians* begun to invade *Italy*, they ſent thither Generals of Armies to defend it, as being a Country that belong'd to them: But in ſpite of all their Endeavours *Theodorick* King of the *Oſtrogoths* having Conquer'd it, made it Tributary, and govern'd the City of *Rome* with a Power as abſolute as that of the *Roman* Governours. His Succeſſors, *Athalaric* and *Theodat*, maintain'd the Poſſeſſion of it, untill they were chas'd thence in the time of *Juſtinian* by *Beliſarius* the *Roman* Captain, who took the City of *Rome* by Force. A little time after, Count *Narſetes* delivered all *Italy* from the Tyranny of theſe *Barbarians*, and reduc'd it under the Power of the Greek Emperours, to which it had belong'd.

His Succeſſor, nam'd *Longinus*, finding it was difficult to govern all *Italy*, which was divided into many Petty Principalities, appointed Dukes or Governours over the Principal Cities, and reſerv'd to himſelf the Sovereignty over them; taking the Title of Exarch or Viceroy, and all this while acknowledging the Emperour for his Lord. From this time forward, the Emperour ſent Exarchs into *Italy*, who commonly reſided at *Ravenna*, and govern'd all *Italy*. But this Exarchate was diminiſh'd by little and little, and at laſt was wholly deſtroy'd, when the *Lombards* made themſelves Maſters of *Italy*. Until this time it does not appear that the Popes were Sovereigns of the City of *Rome*, and of *Italy*; on the contrary, they themſelves were ſubject to the Emperour or King of *Italy*, and obey'd him as all his other Subjects. The Hiſtory of the Popes furniſhes us with many Inſtances, which prove this clearly. The Firſt is that of Pope *Liberius*, whom the Emperour *Conſtantius* order'd to be made Priſoner, and carried out of *Rome* by *Leontius* Governour of that City, as St. *Athanaſius* teſtifies. The Schiſm of *Damaſus* and *Urſicinus*, does alſo prove, that the Popes were ſubject to the Emperours. *Maximus*, that then govern'd the City of *Rome* for the Emperour, compos'd the Differences that aroſe between thoſe two Competitors, and the Biſhops themſelves addreſs'd to the Emperour, praying him that *Urſicinus* might be forc'd to depart out of the City of *Rome*. The ſame Obſervation may be made upon the Schiſm of *Eulalius* and *Boniface*, which was alſo cur'd by the Order of the Emperour, and afterwards by King *Theodorick*, when he became Maſter of *Italy*. 'Tis remarkable, that this King exercis'd his Power over the Church of *Rome* and its Biſhop with ſo much Haughtineſs, that he appointed a Viſitor to this Church, and ſent poor Pope *John*, being very ſick, to the Greek Emperour, to obtain a Revocation of the Edict he had made againſt the *Arians*; which *John* not being able to obtain, *Theodorick* caus'd him to be impriſon'd at *Ravenna*, where he died. *Theodatus* ſent in like manner from *Rome*, Pope *Agapetus*, to the Emperour *Juſtinian*, and when he became Maſter of *Italy*, he us'd the Popes no leſs roughly than *Theodorick* had done; for he exacted of them great Summs of Money to confirm their Ordination, and caus'd the Popes, *Silverus* and *Vigilius*, to be carried to *Conſtantinople*, where he made them approve the Reſtauration of *Anthimus*, to the Patriarchal See of that City.

Martin

Martin the First, was also banished to the Province of *Pontus*, by the Exarch of *Ravenna*, according to the Orders he had receiv'd from the Emperour. *Justinian* the Younger banish'd also Pope *Sergius*. In short, The Emperour *Leo Isauricus*, would have put to Death, Pope *Gregory* the Second: But the *Italians* growing weary of their subjection to the Power of Strangers, who could not secure them against their Enemies, began to shake off the Yoke and to acknowledge their Dukes for Sovereigns. The Pope nevertheless oppos'd them in it, and did all that lay in his Power to retain them in their Allegiance, acknowledging, as he himself speaks in his Letter written to the Duke of *Venice*, That the Republick of *Rome* was subject to the Dominion of the Emperours. But the *Lombards* afterwards invading *Italy*, and having no expectation of Succors from the Greek Emperour who was entangled by other Wars, the Popes, *Gregory* the Third, and *Zachary*, were oblig'd to have recourse to *Charles Martel* Governour of the *French*. This Prince by menaces obtain'd of *Luitprand* King of the *Lombards*, and his Successor *Rachiseus*, the Restitution of the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, which by his means was twice restor'd to the Exarchs depending upon the Greek Emperours. But at last *Astolphus* the Brother of *Rachiseus* made himself Master of it for ever, and oblig'd *Eutychius*, the last Exarch of *Ravenna*, to retire into the *East*.

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Stephen the Second being afraid, for the City of *Rome* was oblig'd to make a Truce with *Astolphus* for Forty Years in the Name of the *Roman* Republick. But this King breaking his Word, came four Months after with a great Army to Take and Sack the City of *Rome*. In this extremity, *Stephen* writes presently to the Greek Emperour for Succors, but seeing there were no hopes of any from thence, he had recourse to King *Pepin*, who coming to besiege *Pavia*, forc'd King *Astolphus* to sue for Peace; which was granted him, upon Condition that he should not only restore to the Church of *Rome*, all the Lands and Territories which he had possess'd in *Italy*; but also should yield up the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, and the Cities of the *Roman* Dutchy. This Peace was quickly broke by the perfidiousness of this *Lombard* King, who perceiving that *Pepin* was gone out of *Italy*, went forthwith and besieg'd the City of *Rome*. *Pepin* presently reliev'd it, and rais'd the Siege; and yet *Astolphus* found himself in too good a Condition to perform the Articles of Peace, which he had made: But *Pepin* forc'd him to give Hostages, and enlarg'd the Bounds of the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, which *Fulradus* the Abbot of St. *Denys*, receiv'd in his Name, and presently restor'd into the Hands of the Pope. It is observable, that in the time of these two Expeditions of *Pepin*, an Ambassador came from the Greek Emperour, and demanded back again the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, as belonging of right to his Master: But *Pepin* believing that he was lawfully dispossess'd, thought it more convenient to give it to the Pope. In the mean time, the Greek Emperour was still Master of *Sicily*, *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and all the extreme Parts of *Italy*, and had a Governour call'd *George* in the City of *Naples*, who combin'd with *Desiderius* the Successor of *Astolphus*, to Invade the Exarchate of *Ravenna*.

Paul the First knowing of this League, and seeing himself attack'd by this *Lombard*, wrote presently to *Pepin*, his Protector. *Desiderius* fearing the Power of this King, push'd the Matter no further at this time, and promis'd to restore to the *Roman Church* what he had taken from it: But, as it plainly appeared after the Death of *Pepin*, Pope *Adrian* implor'd the Aid of *Charlemaigne*, who came with a great Army, defeated *Desiderius*, and shut him up in *Pavia*. From thence *Charles* went to *Rome*, and restor'd to the Pope all the Cities which his Father *Pepin* had given him, and all the Estates which the *Roman* Church had possess'd in *Italy*. In consideration of which Benefits, *Adrian*, as Head of the *Roman* Republick, granted him, with the consent of the People of *Rome*, the Title of *Patricius*, and gave him the Sovereignity over the City and all the Republick of *Rome*; insomuch that all the People and even the Bishop himself, took an *Oath of Allegiance* to him. After this, *Charles* wanted nothing but the Title of Emperour, which he received in the Year 800, being then Proclaim'd Emperour by the People of *Rome*, and afterwards Consecrated and Crown'd by the Pope. When *Charles* had gotten the Title of Emperour, he regulated all the Affairs of *Italy*; he permitted the *Lombards* to live peaceably under his Dominion; he gave the Name of *Romania* to the ancient Exarchate, and shar'd *Italy* with the Greek Emperour, on condition, that all which was on this side *Naples*, should belong to him; and that the City of *Naples* and all that was on the other side of it, should continue in the Greek Emperour's Power.

From this time the Successors of *Charles* were Kings of *Italy*, and Sovereigns of *Rome*; though the Popes were Temporal Lords of the Cities that anciently belong'd to the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, and some others. *Ludovicus Pius*, the Son of *Charlemaigne*, sent *Bernard*, to *Rome*, to allay the Dissentions that were risen there. After the Death of this *Bernard*, *Lotharius* comes to *Rome* with an Army, to punish some Rebels, and ordains, That for the future the Magistrates of *Rome* should be created by the Emperours. But *Charles the Bald* parted with this Noble Right, and Surrendred up to the *Romans* the Sovereign Power, restoring them, if I may so say, to their ancient Liberty.

In the mean while, the Popes begun to lay by little and little the Foundations of their Sovereign Dominion. For although the Sovereign Power did as yet remain in the Body of the People, who created the Magistrates in *Rome*, and the Neighbouring Cities, nevertheless, the Popes who were now grown Rich and Powerful, us'd all their Endeavours to make themselves Sovereigns, and that the shadow of Sovereginty should only remain in the People. Yet the *Romans* had two Consuls, one Prætor, and one Governor of the City, whom they chose; and oftentimes cast off the Yoke which the Popes would impose upon them; which was the Cause of those cruel Wars that happen'd between the Popes, the Principal Citizens of *Rome*, and the Emperours of *Germany*: But at last the Popes got the better on't, and remain'd sole Masters and Sovereigns of *Rome*, and the Countries about it.

All that we have said concerning the Foundation and Growth of the Pope's Power, plainly shews

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that the Settlement of their Empire is not owing to *Constantine*, but to the Kings of *France*; and by consequence, that the Edict of Donation that bears the Name of *Constantine*, is wholly Suppositious; but it is not so easie to find out who was the Author of this false Monument, and upon what Motives he Forg'd it. 'Tis certain, that it is more ancient than *Hincmar*, since that Bishop cites it in his Third *Ep. Ch.* 13. and *Isidore* * has put it in his Collection. It is also alledg'd by Pope *Leo* the Ninth, in his Epistle to *Michael Cerularius*; and St. *Anselm*, *Ivo Carnutensis*, and *Gratian*, have inserted it into their Collections. To conclude, *Balsamon* a Greek Author, has related a part of it in Greek, in his Commentaries upon *Photius*'s *Nomocanon*. *Baronius*, and those that blindly follow his Conjectures, have suspected the Greeks of this Forgery, pretending that they forg'd this Monument to establish the Antiquity of the Patriarchate of *Constantinople*, by affirming, that the Church of *Rome* owes its Grandeur to the Emperour *Constantine*. But besides, that 'tis no ways probable that the Greeks should forge an Act contrary to their own pretended Right over *Italy*, this Edict is found cited by the Latines 200 Years before it was known to the Greeks. *Morinus* believes that it was written by *John*, a Deacon of the Church of *Rome*, who liv'd in the Year 963: But that cannot be, since it was cited before that time by *Hincmar*. Monsieur *de Marca* maintains, That the Popes fram'd this Monument with the consent of the French Kings, That they might oppose it against the Greek Emperours, who demanded back again the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, as belonging to them: But what probability is there, that the Popes and French Kings should have recourse to this Forgery, which might easily be discover'd, having much better Reasons to alledge to the Greeks, why the Exarchate of *Ravenna* did not belong to them. Some have attributed this false Monument to the Author of the Collection of *Isidore*, a notorious Forger of such kind of Pieces; and this Conjecture is more probable than the rest, but neither is it certain, and therefore it is better to suspend our Judgment about this Matter, than to build it upon Conjectures that have so little solidity.

* *Mercator.*

Besides the Greek Fragments of this Edict recited by *Balsamon*, 'tis said, there are Four Greek Manuscripts of the whole Edict in the *Vatican Library*. The Latin Editions of it do not altogether agree; for *Isidore*'s is different from that which is found in the ancient Manuscript of *Justellus*. One *Bartholomew Picernas*, boasts that he made a new Translation of it from a Greek Manuscript in the *Vatican Library*, which he printed with a Dedication to Pope *Julius* the Second: But he has done nothing but corrected the ancient Latin Edition. A Priest of *Deventer* has also printed this Edition at *Cologne* in the Year 1535. The Differences of all these Editions are to be seen in Father *Labbé*'s First Volume of the Councils. It seems more probable to me, That the Greek was taken out of the Latin, than that the Latin was translated from the Greek. However it be, this Monument has neither Authority nor Usefulness.

JUVENCUS.

Juvencus.

HItherto we have not met with any Poet among the Christian Writers. Here is a very excellent one who flourish'd under the Reign of *Constantine*; he was call'd *C. Vectius Aquilinus Juvencus*, and was descended of one of the Noblest Families in *Spain*. St. *Jerom* assures us that he was a Priest, and that's all that he tells us of his Life. He compos'd a Poem about the Year 329, divided into Four Books; wherein he describes the Life of Christ in *Hexameter* Verse without wandring from the Text of the Four Evangelists. St. *Jerom* also testifies, That he wrote some Books in *Hexameter* Verse about Mysteries; and 'tis said, That he compos'd some Hymns, of which St. *Jerom* says not a Word: But 'tis probable enough, that one who had so fertile a Vein in Poetry, as he had, wrote several other Books. However that be, we have now only Four Books of the History of the Gospel under his Name: In the Exordium of this Poem he says, That if the Verses of those who have publish'd the Actions of mortal Men, which they adorn'd with their Fictions, have purchas'd them a Reputation so lasting for many Ages, he ought to be assur'd of Immortal Glory, who writes the Life of Jesus Christ, and needs not fear that the Day of Judgment shall consume his Work.

Quod si tam longam meruerunt carmina famam,
Quæ veterum gestis hominum mendacia nectunt;
Nobis certa fides æternæ in sæcula laudis
Immortale decus tribuet, meritumq; rependet:
Nam mihi carmen erunt Christi vitalia gesta,
Divinum in populis falsi sine crimine donum;
Nec metus ut mundi rapiant incendia secum
Hoc opus.

After this, he invocates the Assistance of the Holy Spirit, to enable him to recount the Actions of Christ, in such a manner as is suitable to their Greatness.

Ergo age sanctificans adsit mihi carminis autor
Spiritus, & puro mentem riget amne canentis
Dulcis Jordanis, ut Christo digna loquamur.

After

After this Invocation, he begins the History of Christ, and relates in Verse, all that has been said by the Four Evangelists, without wandering from the Text, and without adding any thing uncertain or fabulous. He concludes those Four Books with a Compliement to the Emperor *Constantine*, whom he thanks for the Peace of the Church, and mightily commends, because he was the only King who would not allow the peculiar Names of God to be attributed to him. *Juvencus.*

The Air of the Poem is very Poetical, the Cadence of the Verse is fine and soft; but the words are not always Poetical, and sometimes they are not very good Latin. That which is chiefly to be commended in this Author, is the Faithfulness of his Translation; wherein he has rendred almost word for word the Text of the Evangelists. This was a difficult Undertaking which he has performed with good Success, and one may say, that 'tis almost impossible to have done it better.

There are a great many Editions of this Author. His Book was printed with *Sedulius* and other Christian Poets at *Cologne*, in *Octavo* 1537; at *Basle* in *Octavo*, 1537, 1550; at *Venice* by *Aldus*, in *Quarto* 1502; at *Basle* by *Oporinus*, in *Quarto* also, 1564; at *Lyons* by *Torneſius*, 1588; at *Paris*, in 1543, 1575, 1581, 1624; at *Vienna*, in *Quarto* 1519; and in many other places: And, it is also to be found in the *Bibliotheca Patrum.*

RHETICIUS.

RHETICIUS Bishop of *Autun*, had so great a Reputation in the time of *Constantine*, that the Emperour chose him to be one of the Judges in the Cause of the *Donatists*. He assisted at the Council of *Rome*, wherein *Cæcilian* was Absolv'd, and afterwards at the Council of *Arles*, held in the Year 314. St. *Jerom* says, that in his time, this Bishop's Commentaries upon the *Canticles*, were extant, and also a large Volume against *Novatian*; but he met with no other Books of his. The same St. *Jerom*, speaking of this Author's Commentaries, in his Second Letter to *Florentius*, says, That he gives a lofty sence of the *Canticles*: And lastly, in his *Ep.* 133. to *Marcellus*, he gives a Critical Judgment of these Commentaries, which is very little to their Advantage. He says, They are full of Extravagent Explication; That he found an infinite number of Errors and base Things in them; That the Stile, indeed, is lofty and swelling, but such as is not suitable to an Interpreter, who ought not to aim at the discovery of his own Eloquence, but the true sence of his Author. He relates in the same place some of the gross Mistakes of this author; *e. g.* That he confounds *Tharsis* which is mention'd in the *Psalms*, with the City of *Tarsus* where St. *Paul* was born: that he believ'd the Hebrew word *Ophaz*, which signifies *Gold*, signified a *Stone*, and so confounds it with the Name *Cephas*, which is given in the Gospel to St. *Peter*. In short, St. *Jerom* wrote to *Marcellus*, That he had not sent the Commentaries of this Author as he desir'd; because there were many things in them that displeas'd him, and but few things that he could approve of: And we have nothing more of these Commentaries, nor of the other Works of this Author. *Rheticius.*

EUSTATHIUS *Bishop of* Antioch.

EUSTATHIUS, a Native of *Syda*, a City of *Pamphylia* (*a*), was chosen Bishop of *Antioch*, after he had govern'd the Church of *Berœa* for some time (*b*), in the room of *Philogonus*, in the year 323 from the birth of Christ. He assisted at the Council of *Nice*, where he sate in one of the chief Places (*c*), and there maintain'd the Faith of the Church with great Constancy. After the Council of *Nice*, being one of the Zealous Defenders of its Decisions, and one of the greatest Adversaries to the *Arians*, he *Eustathius of Antioch.*

(a) Syda, *City of* Pamphylia.] As St. *Jerom* observes, this is a Sea-Port Town, call'd at present *Forte*.

(b) *After having govern'd the Church of* Berœa *for some time.*] It is agreed upon all hands that he was Bishop of *Berœa*. St. *Jerom*, *Theodoret*, *Socrates* and *Sozomen* testifie it. He was also Bishop of that Church, when *Alexander* of *Alexandria* wrote his Letter against *Arius*, for *Theodoret* notes expressly, that it was directed to him. *Sozomen* says in the first Book of his Hist. *Ch.* 2. That the See of *Antioch* was vacant after the Death of *Romanus*, and that *Eustathius* was ordain'd Bishop of *Antioch* in the Council of *Nice*: and in *Ch.* 17. of the same Book, he says, that he was already Bishop of *Antioch* when he assisted at this Council; yet S. *Romanus* was not Bishop, but only a Martyr of *Antioch*, and *Eustathius* Succeeded immediately to *Philogonus* some time before the Council of *Nice*, but after the beginning of the *Arian* Controversy, that's to say, in the Year 323, or 324.

(c) *He sate in one of the Chief Places.*] *Proclus of Constantinople*, in a Synodical Letter to the Oriental Bishops, set down by *Facundus*, *B.* I. *Ch.* 1. says, That he was the chief of the Fathers in the Council of *Nice*. *Facundus* gives him the same Title, *B.* XI. *Ch.* 1. and Pope *Felix* III. calls him, in his 6th. *Ep.* to *Zeno*, President of the council. *Theodoret*, *B.* I. of his Hist. *Ch.* 9. says, That he spoke to the Emperour in the Name of the Council; and *Euseb. B.* I. Life of *Const. Ch.* 11. says That he who first Harangued the Emperour, was seated in the Chief Place on the right Hand: But he seems to say at the Beginning of his Books of the Life of *Constantine*, That it was himself that made this Harangue, as *Theodoret* assures us, Hist. *B.* I. *Ch.* 19. The Author of the *Tripartite* Hist. willing to joyn these several Opinions together, says, That *Eusebius* did not speak till after *Eustathius*. *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, says, That *Alexander* of *Alexandria*, was entrusted with that Office. Be that as it will, it does not follow, that he who spoke first must therefore be President of the Council, as having the first Place upon the right hand: for besides that this might be given him only for the time while he spoke, it may be that this place was not the most honourable: Moreover, *Eustathius* might be call'd the Chief, because he was one of the first; But it is more probable, that *Hosius* was President of the Council.

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drew upon himſelf the Hatred of the Biſhops of *Palæſtine*, which burſt forth immediately upon the
Euſtathius of Antioch. firſt occaſion they found: which offer'd it ſelf in the Year 329, when *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, and *Theognis* of *Nice*, return'd from their Baniſhment, and went to *Palæſtine*, under pretence of viſiting the Church of *Jeruſalem*: for then they paſs'd by *Antioch*, where they were honourably received by *Euſtathius*, and they on their part gave marks of their Friendſhip to him. But at their Return they brought with them to *Antioch*, *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea*, *Patrophilus* of *Scythopolis*, *Accius* of *Lydda*, *Theodotus* of *Laodicea*, with ſome other Eaſtern Biſhops, with a deſign to depoſe *Euſtathius*. Theſe Biſhops being then Aſſembled at *Antioch* in the Year 330 (d), did not only falſly charge him with the Error of the *Sabellians*, but alſo accus'd him of infamous Crimes. *Theodoret* ſays, That they hir'd a Woman of an ill Life (e) to ſay, that ſhe had a Child by *Euſtathius*; That this wicked Woman entred with a Child in her Arms into the place of their Aſſembly, and declar'd with a loud Voice, That ſhe had it by *Euſtathius*; That this holy Biſhop having ask'd her, if ſhe had any Witneſs of what ſhe affirm'd; ſhe anſwer'd, ſhe had none; and yet notwithſtanding this, the Biſhops believ'd it upon her Oath, and Condemn'd *Euſtathius* as convicted of the Crime. St. *Athanaſius* ſays nothing of this Story, which appears otherwiſe to be fabulous enough; but he obſerves only that they accus'd *Euſtathius* of having treated the Emperour's Mother reproachfully (f), and that immediately he was ſent into Baniſhment, with many of his Prieſts and Deacons; but the place of his Exile is not certainly known(g). In whatſoever place it was, there he ended his days, and 'tis probable, that he liv'd not long after his Condemnation; for there is no mention made of him in Hiſtory, and 'tis falſe, whatever *Socrates* and *Sozomen* ſay, That he return'd again from Baniſhment in the time of the Emperour *Jovian* (h). This Biſhop is the Firſt, if we will believe St. *Jerom*, that wrote againſt the *Arians*. He compos'd many Books againſt their Doctrine, abundance of Homilies, and infinite number of Letters, many Treatiſes of the Soul, and a Diſcourſe of the *Pythoniſs* againſt *Origen*.

Facundus quotes in Latin, *Ch.* 1. of his *B.* XI. Four Paſſages of *Euſtathius* of *Antioch* whereof the two firſt are taken out of *B.* VII. and the two laſt out of *B.* VIII. againſt the *Arians*. He alledges them in this place to prove, That this Biſhop of *Antioch*, in ſpeaking of the Incarnation, made uſe of Expreſſions, at leaſt as harſh as thoſe that were objected to *Theodorus* of *Mopſueſtia*: in effect, the Paſſages which he relates, ſeem to favour the Error of *Neſtorius* (i). But his Doctrine muſt not be ana-

(b) *Being then Aſſembled at* Antioch *in the Year* 330.] All Hiſtorians agree, That *Euſtathius* was depos'd under the Reign of *Conſtantine*. *Euſebius* an unqueſtionable Witneſs, gives us an Account, *B.* III. *Life of* Conſtantine, *Ch.* 59. of the Tumult that aroſe in the Church of *Antioch* upon the Depoſition of *Euſtathius*, as a thing that happen'd after the Council of *Nice*, but before the Death of the Emperour *Conſtantine*. St. *Athanaſius* begins with this Depoſition, the Hiſtory of the *Arian* Perſecution under *Conſtantine*; and though there be in the Text *Conſtantius* for *Conſtantine*, that is a miſtake; for 'tis plain from S. *Athanaſius*, that *Flacillus*, who was ordain'd in the room of *Euſtathius*, had the Title of Biſhop of *Antioch*, at the Council of *Tyre*, held under *Conſtantine* from whence it evidently follows that *Euſtathius* was then depos'd. The like Error appears in ſome Editions of St. *Jerom*'s Books of *Eccleſiaſtical Writers*; but in the ancient Editions & in the Greek Verſion, we read *under Conſtantine*, & not *under Conſtantius*.

(e) Theodoret *ſays, That they hir'd a Woman of an ill Life.*] *Philoſtorgius* reports alſo this Story, *B.* II. *Ch.* 7. *Socrat.* and *Sozom.* allude to it, when they ſay, That *Euſtathius* was accus'd of Infamous Crimes. S. *Jerom* mentions it in his Apol. againſt *Ruffinus*; *Euſtathius* ſays, he found ſons which he knew not of; *Filios dum neſcit invenit*: and the Emperour *Conſtantine* ſeems to hint it in his Letter to the Biſhops, *the infamous Perſons being driven away*, as he ſpeaks.

(f) *Of having treated the Emperor's Mother reproachfully*] 'Twas to *Conſtantine* that they wrote this Calumny; for *Euſtathius* having recourſe to the Emperour, and being come to *Conſtantinople* to complain of the Injuſtice that was done him, the Biſhops aſſembled at *Antioch* made uſe of this Calumny to ſtir up the Emperour againſt him. They added alſo, that he was the Author of that Sedition which aroſe at *Antioch* after his Depoſition. Theſe things mov'd the Emperour to baniſh him preſently, without inquiring into the Merits of his Cauſe. The *Euſebians* alſo did afterwards make uſe of an Artifice juſt like this againſt St *Athanaſius*.

(g) *But the place of his Exile is not certainly known*] *Theodoret* ſays, that he was ſent to *Illyricum*; *Philoſtorgius* ſays only, that he was ſent into the Weſt: But St. *Jerom* aſſures us, that he was carried away to *Trajanopolis*, a City of *Thracia*. St. *Chryſoſtom* ſays, That he died in *Thracia*: And in fine, *Theodorus Lector* at the beginning of the Second Book of his Hiſtory, ſays, That *Calendion* the Patriarch of *Antioch*, caus'd the Reliques of *Euſtathius* to be tranſported from *Philippopolis* in *Macedonia*, to *Antioch*.

(h) *'Tis falſe,—that he turn'd again from baniſhment in the time of the Emperour* Jovian.] *Theodoret* ſays, That *Euſtathius* was dead when *Meletius* was ordain'd Biſhop of *Antioch*. And certainly *Meletius* ought not to have been ordain'd in his place before, and the *Euſtathians* (ſo call'd becauſe they would not communicate with any Biſhop of *Antioch* that was ordain'd by the *Arian* Faction) would never have ſuffer'd, if *Paulinus* had been ordain'd while *Euſtathius* liv'd. There is no mention of him in all the Diſputes that follow'd after, neither did he return after the Death of *Conſtantine*, when all the baniſh'd Biſhops were recall'd; for it does not appear that he was preſent in any Council, or that he ever demanded to be reſtor'd to his Biſhoprick: In a word, there is nothing more ſaid of him in Hiſtory. From all which I conclude, that 'tis ſomething probable, that he died before the Year 337.

(i) *In effect, the Paſſages which he relates, ſeem to favour the Error of* Neſtorius.] In the Firſt, he ſays, [*That God who united the Humane Nature to the Word for the Salvation of Mankind, has conceal'd from this humane Nature the Day of Judgment, leſt the man ſhould teach Mankind the time of his ſecond Coming.*] In the Second he ſeems to ſay, That Jeſus Chriſt incarnate is another Perſon than the Word, but the word *Perſon* is not always taken in a ſtrict ſence. In the Third, he ſays, *That the word* dwells *in the Humane Nature as in its Temple*: an Expreſſion which *Neſtorius* often made uſe of. In the laſt, he ſays, That the Scepter which God prepar'd for his Son, does not agree to the Father, nor to the Word, but only to the Man Chriſt; *Who is*, ſays he, *the Lord of all the Creatures, becauſe of the Mixture of the Divine Word*] 'Tis evident, that theſe Expreſſions are not exact; but then we ought not for this to accuſe him of Error, for 'tis eaſie to excuſe him, not only becauſe of the time when he wrote, but alſo becauſe 'tis common enough with thoſe that liv'd a long time after him, to make uſe ſometimes of Expreſſions very like this, to diſtinguiſh the Humanity of Chriſt from his Divinity to which it is united. To which we may add, That 'tis plain from the paſſages related by *Theodoret*, that he was far enough from the error of the *Neſtorians*.

thematiz'd,

thematiz'd, says *Facundus*, upon the account of some Expressions that are less exact, which he made use of at a time when he spoke simply and without precaution, because the Error of *Nestorius* did not yet appear. The Passage of *Eustathius* which *Theodoret* gives us in Greek, *Hist. B.* I. *Ch.* 8. is much more considerable than those which are cited by *Facundus*: It is taken out of the same Work against the *Arians*, and probably out of the two First Books. Take it whole as Monsieur *Cousin* has Translated it. *Eustathius of Antioch.*

" A very numerous Council being Assembled about this Matter in the City of *Nice*, where 270 " Bishops. or thereabouts, assisted, (for the Number was so great that I cannot precisely set it down, " and besides, I took no great care to inform my self of it.) When they first began to enquire into the " Faith, a Libel of *Eusebius*'s was produc'd, which contain'd a convincing Proof of his Blasphemies. " The reading of it, caus'd a sensible Grief in all that heard it, and great Confusion in its Author. " The Malignity of *Eusebius*'s Associates being discover'd, and the impious Writing being publickly " tore in pieces, some under pretence of the Peace which they proposed, impos'd Silence upon those " that used to speak better than others. The *Arians* apprehending that they should be cast out of the " Church by the Judgment of so great an Assembly, condemn'd the Impious Doctrine, and sign'd the " Confession of Faith. But having secur'd by their Cabals the principal Dignities to themselves, instead " of suffering Canonical Penance as they ought, they maintain'd the Doctrine that was Condemn'd, " sometimes in private, and sometimes in Publick, by several Arguments which they had invented for " that purpose. The desire they had to sow the Seeds of Division, made them shun meeting with the " Learned, and attacquing the Defenders of the Faith; but we do not think that these Atheists can " overcome God, for whatever Efforts they make will be vanquish'd according to the authentick Te- " stimonies of the Prophet *Isaiah*. *Theodoret* adds, See here what *Eustathius* has written of the *Arians*. There is also another passage in Greek taken out of this Work, related by *Anastasius* in his Collections, wherein *Eustathius* maintains, That Jesus Christ cannot be said to be Created and Begotten according to the same Nature; for if he was Created he was not Begotten, and if he was Begotten he was not Created. The same *Theodoret* citeth in his Dialogues many passages of *Eustathius* about the Incarnation, taken out of his Book upon the soul, and his Discourse upon these words of the Proverbs; *God hath created me in the beginning of his ways*: out of his 15th. and 92d. Homilies upon the *Psalms*, and out of two other Treatises upon the Inscriptions or Titles of some Psalms (k).

All the passages of *Eustathius*, reported by *Theodoret* (l), prove, That there are two Perfect Natures in Jesus Christ, the Divine and the Humane Nature; That He has a Body and a Soul like us; That He is passible according to the Humane Nature, and, That the Humanity is not chang'd into the Divinity: From whence it appears, that *Eustathius* did more formally reject the Error of the *Eutychians*, than that of the *Nestorians*, although there are some Expressions in the same Passages, which plainly enough show that he was perswaded, That these two Natures were united in one and the same Person. But the Oriental Writers have always more applied themselves to remark the distinction of the two Natures in Christ, than their intimate Union; whereas on the contrary, the Egyptians are more addicted to discourse of their Union, than their Distinction; Which things afterwards was the Subject of the great Disputes that were amongst them about the Mystery of the Incarnation.

The Treatise of *Eustathius* concerning the *Pythonis's* (m) cited by St. *Jerom*, was publish'd in Greek in the Year 1629, and translated into Latin by *Allatius*; together, with a Discourse of this Author upon the same Subject. The Question there treated of is, Whether the Witch mention'd *B.* I. of

(k) *Upon the Inscriptions or Titles of some Psalms.*] The First is taken from the Treatise, Εἰς ὑπογραφὰς τῶ ψαλογεφίας, and the Second from the Treatise, Εἰς τὰς ὑπογραφὰς τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν. The 6th. Psalm which is our 5th. has for its Title in the *Septuagint*, Ψαλογεφία τῶ Δαβὶδ, *i. e.* the Inscription of a Title for *David*; and the 57, Τῶ Δαβὶδ εἰς ψαλογεφίαν, *i. e.* an Inscription to *David*, or to *David* for an Inscription. Ψαλογεφία is properly an Inscription upon a Pillar. The Psalms 57, 58, and 59. have the like titles. The Treatise which *Theodoret* cites in this place, Εἰς ὑπογραφὰς ψαλογεφίας, was compos'd upon these Inscriptions; as the Second, Εἰς τὰς ὑπογραφὰς τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν, was compos'd upon the Inscriptions of the Psalms of Degrees. St. *Gregory Nyssen* has since made a Treatise upon the Inscriptions of the Psalms. This Observation I owe to the Learned *Cotelerius*.

(l) *All the Passages of* Eustathius, *reported by* Theodoret.] In the Passages cited from the First & Second Dialogue, he asserts, That Christ had a Body and Soul of the same Substance with ours, and there he calls the Flesh of Christ, the Temple in which the Divinity dwelt. He observes in the last passage of his second Dialogue, that Christ had no need of the legal Sacrifices to purifie himself, because he purifies himself, and sanctifies all things; but he voluntarily submitted to the Law, to deliver us from that Bondage, us who were enslav'd under, and liable to the Malediction of Sin: In the Passages recited out of the last Dialogue, he proves, That the divinity of Jesus Christ was not subject to any Pains or Sufferings but only his Humanity: There he affirms, That Jesus Christ had a Soul, That he truly suffer'd, though voluntarily; and that the Word dwelling in the Body of the Man as in a Temple, restor'd by the Resurrection that temple which Death had destroy'd. In a word, he shows, that all the Properties of the Humane and Divine Nature were found in Christ; but that we must not attribute to the Divinity that which agrees only to the Humanity, or deny because of his Divinity, the Properties which agree only to the Humane Nature.

(m) *The Treatise* of Eustathius *concerning* the Pythonis's.] 'Tis entituled in Greek, Εἰς τὸ τῆς ἐγγαστριμύθου, in Latin, *De ventriloquo*, which cannot be rendred in English, but by a Circumlocution; that is to say *The Discourse which those Pronounce who have a Devil in their Belly*. To understand this, we must observe that the Ancients believ'd, That the *Dæmon* which the Pagans honour'd under the Name of the God *Python*, entred into the Bowels of the Priests and Priestesses, and by strange agitations excited in them a kind of Fury, which made them say many things which were taken for Predictions: For which reason the women that profes's'd to divine things to come, were call'd *Pythonisses*. Such was she, to whom *Saul* addres's'd himself for consulting *Samuel*, whose History is the Subject of this Dissertation, and therefore I have entituled it, *Concerning the* Pythonis's.

Kings,

Eustathius of Antioch.

Kings, *Ch.* 28. did really bring back the Soul of *Samuel* into this World to speak unto *Saul*? *Eustathius* maintains the Negative against *Origen*, who had taught the Affirmative in one of his Homilies: And after he has related in a pleasant manner all the Circumstances of the History, he refutes the Explication of *Origen*. He lays it down for a Principle, that the Devil cannot bring back Souls from the other World: He says, It is ridiculous to give him this Authority over the Souls of the Just, and that there is none but God only who is Lord over them. He demands of *Origen*, Whether the Witch made *Samuel* appear in body and Soul together, or if she only brought back his Soul; and then he shews, that neither the one, nor the other is probable. He rallies *Origen* for attributing to the Holy Spirit the Words which the Witch pronounc'd when she was acted by an Evil Spirit. He maintains that *Saul* did not at all see the Ghost of *Samuel*, but only was astonish'd with the extraordinary Speeches, and violent Motions of the Witch, and therefore cast himself down upon the Ground to worship. He proves, That 'tis contrary to common sence, to say, as *Origen* does, That the Gods which the Witch says she saw ascending out of the Earth, were the Souls of the Just and the Angels: He observes, that the Prediction of the *Pythoniss* was found to be false; and tho' it had been true, it would not therefore follow, that it was from the Holy Spirit, since the Devil has often made such like Predictions, which Chance and the Circumstances of things, that are known to him, have sometimes verified. He does also make it appear from the Circumstances of this Prediction, That it was an Imposture of the Devil, and that it cannot be attributed to the Holy Spirit, without some kind of Impiety. After this, he answers the chief Objection of *Origen*, taken from the Scripture, which gives the Name of *Samuel* to that Apparition: To which he says, That he was astonish'd at an Author, who durst explain the whole Scripture Allegorically, treat as a Fable the History of *Moses* concerning the Terrestrial Paradise, and give Mystical Sences to all the Histories of the Old Testament, that he should endeavour to put off for Truth, the Fictions of a Woman acted by an evil Spirit. He shews, That when the Scripture gives the Name of *Samuel* to this apparition, 'tis not to be understood as if *Samuel* himself in Body and Soul were there; but only that this Woman made him believe by the Representation which she gave *Saul* of this Spectre, that this was the Prophet *Samuel* whom he desir'd to consult. In short, he demonstrates from all the Circumstances of this Story, That there was nothing real in this Apparition; but that it was only an Apparition represented in the imagination of *Saul* and this Prophetess, by the Devil which possess'd them. This is the Sentiment which *Eustathius* confirms in this Dissertation, which is short, beautiful and very close; for as he says nothing superfluous, so he omits no Proof which might be of Advantage to his Opinion. There appear in it much Learning and a well-poiz'd Judgment, and one may venture to say, That there are few Works of this nature in all Antiquity so perfect as this Discourse. Yet I think, he has treated *Origen* a little too harshly, in a Question that does not at all belong to Religion, but is purely Critical. To conclude, The Opinion of *Eustathius* is since his time grown the more common Opinion (n), and I must confess, that 'tis more probable than the other, tho' I cannot affirm any thing for certain in this Matter.

We cannot give any Judgment so much to the Advantage of that Commentary upon the work of the Six Days, or the *Hexameron* which bears the Name of *Eustathius*, publish'd by the same *Allatius*; but on the contrary, 'tis a Work altogether unworthy of a Man of his Sense, and which cannot be attributed to *Eustathius*, without doing him great Dishonour; and there is no probability that it was his. For First, Not only St. *Jerom* and *Theodoret* make no mention of it, but it is not found cited by any Author. Secondly, It is an ill contriv'd Collection of Passages out of *Eusebius*, St. *Basil*, the Old Testiment, *Josephus*, *Artapanus*, the Gospel falsly ascrib'd to St. *James*, and many other Authors. Thirdly, The Stile is perfectly different from that of his Dissertation concerning the *Pythoniss*, and the Fragments of *Eustathius*'s Sermons. Fourthly, The things treated of in this book, do not at all suit with the Genius of *Eustathius*, for in his Dissertation concerning the *Pythoniss*, he reproves *Origen* for studying to make too many useless Remarks and Allegories in explaining the Scriptures, while he neglects the literal sence of them, and the Moral Reflections that should be made upon them: Now this Treatise upon the *Hexameron*, is almost wholly compos'd of such unprofitable Remarks, which

(n) *The Opinion of* Eustathius *is since his time grown the more common Opinion.*] St. *Justin* in his Dialogue against *Tryphon*, is of the same Opinion with *Origen*, and concludes, That all Souls, even those of the Just, fall under the Power of *Dæmons*: But *Tertullian* is of *Eustathius*'s Opinion, in his Book of the *Soul*, Ch. 57. where he says expresly, That we must not believe that it was the Soul of *Samuel* which the *Pythoniss* brought back from the other World; but that 'twas only a Cheat of the Devil. Since *Eustathius*'s time, there are but few Authors of *Origen*'s Opinion, excepting *Sulpitius Severus*. St. *Austin* makes a Problem of this Question, in his Letter to *Simplicianus*, but he inclines to *Eustathius*'s side. *Eucherus*, *Bede*, St. *Anselm*, *Rabanus* and St. *Thomas*, follow St *Austin*. *Theodoret* and some others, have said, That God form'd this Apparition of *Samuel*, or that he made an Angel appear under the form of *Samuel*. St. *Basil* is of *Eustathius*'s Opinion in his Commentary upon Ch. 8. of *Isaiah*; but he seems to approve the contrary Opinion in his Letter to *Eustathius* the Physician. St. *Gregory Nazianzen* touches both these Opinions in his first *Oration* against *Julian*: But *Gregory Nyssen*, in a Letter written on this Subject, expresly refutes the Opinion of *Origen*, and proves that of *Eustathius*. 'Tis no wonder that *Methodius* and St. *Jerom* condemn *Origen*'s Opinion, but 'tis surprizing that *Philastrius* has tax'd it of Heresy, *Hæres.* 28. The Author of the Question ascrib'd to St. *Austin*, Quest. 52. The Author of the Questions concerning the wonderful things in Scripture, *B.* II. *Ch.* 2. and of the Questions of the Old and New Testament attributed to St. *Austin*, Quest. 26. *Isidore*, *B.* VIII. *Ch.* 8. of his *Origines*, *Zonaras* Hist. Tom. 1. *Syncellus* in his *Chronicle*, and many others, approve the Opinion of *Eustathius*. The modern Commentators, are much divided about it: And indeed, the Opinion of *Origen* may better be maintain'd when 'tis suppos'd, That 'twas by the Permission of God, and not by the Power of the Devil, that the *Pythoniss* brought back the Soul of *Samuel*; and so it seems to be more agreeable to the Letter of Scripture; but the other is more rational, and explains the Matter in Dispute more naturally.

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concern neither Religion nor Manners. Fifthly, This Author begins with an Extract out of the *Chronicon* of *Eusebius*, concerning the Antiquity of *Moses*, and then repeats the first Verses of *Genesis*, from whence he takes occasion to make a particular Enumeration of all the different sorts of Plants, Herbs, Trees, Fishes, Birds and Beasts; and to discourse of their Nature and Properties, saying many things very fabulous of them: After this, he makes a very imperfect Abridgment of the History of *Genesis*, adding many Circumstances to it taken out of *Josephus*. He makes a Digression concerning the Genealogy of Jesus Christ, in which he copies out a passage of *Africanus*, and then gives an Abridgment of the Fables which are in the *Proto Evangelium* of St. *James*, concerning the Virgin, St. *Joseph*, *Joachim*, and *Zachary*. Afterwards he resumes the Continuation of his Abridgment of History, which goes as far as the End of *Joshua*'s Government, being nothing else but Extracts out of the Books of Scripture, and the History of *Josephus*; whereby it appears, that there is neither Order nor Design in all this work, and that 'tis nothing else but a heap of Passages confusedly jumbled together by a Man of no Learning or Judgment: which cannot be said of *Eustathius* of *Antioch*, who was a very Learn'd, Judicious and Eloquent Man, as any one may easily perceive by his Dissertation, and the Fragments we have of his Works. *Allatius* has no proof that this Work is *Eustathius*'s of *Antioch*, under whose Name he has publish'd it; but he endeavours to prove, that it was made by some ancient Author, because in speaking of the End of the World, he maintains that it will not continue above 6000 Years, and in giving the Chronology of Time already past, he does not go beyond the 30th. Year of *Constantine*. But this proof is not at all convincing, for 'tis probable, that this Author has taken what he says in those places from one of the Ancients, without adding any thing of his own: But suppose he were the Author of what is related concerning the End of the World, may not an Impostor affect to speak so, on purpose to make us believe that his Work was Ancient? Be it as it will, there is no manner of probability that it was written by *Eustathius* of *Antioch*.

Eustathius of Antioch.

I shall not now commend this Bishop for his Zeal in defending the Faith, his invincible Constancy, his Wisdom, and singular Moderation, which appear'd in suffering patiently the reproachful Accusation, wherewith his Enemies charg'd him, and the unjust Deposition which they pronounc'd against him; but shall content my self to consider him as an Author, and observe with *Sozomen*, *Hist. B.* II. *Ch.* 19. that he had acquired a rare Eloquence, *As appears*, says he, *by his Works, which are most worthy of Commendation, as well for the ancient Purity of Style, as the Sublimity of Thought, the Beauty of Expression, and the Curiosity of his Discourses.* These rare Qualities of this good Writer appear in his Dissertation of the *Pythonists*, and in his Fragments set down by *Theodoret*, which confirm the Judgment that *Sozomen* gives of this Author. I have not seen any other Edition in Greek and Latin of his Works, but that which we have already spoken of, Printed at *Lyons* by *Durandus* in *Quarto*, in the Year 1629.

PETER *of* Alexandria.

PETER of *Alexandria* had his Head cut off *(a)* for the Faith, by the Commandment of the Emperour *Maximinus*, in the Ninth Year of *Diocletian*'s Persecution, that's to say, in the Year 311 from the Birth of Christ: We have the Acts of his Martyrdom; but since they do not agree with the *Ecclesiastical History* of that Time, we ought not to give much credit to them *(b)*. Though St. *Jerom* and others, who have given an Account of *Ecclesiastical Writers*, do not place this Bishop among

Peter of Alexandria.

(a) *Had his Head cut off.*] *Baronius* sets down the Martyrdom of *Peter* at the Year 310; but *Eusebius* says, in two places of his History. That he Suffer'd the 9th. Year of the Persecution, which is 311. according to the vulgar *Æra*: The Author of the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* follows *Eusebius*. *Baronius* cites for himself, *Ch.* 13. of the Eighth Book of *Eusebius*, where *Peter* is numbred amongst the Martyrs; but in this place of his History, he does not reckon up the Martyrs in order of time, but only Discourses of many famous Bishops and Martyrs.

(b) *We ought not to give much credit to them.*] These Acts were publish'd by *Surius*, and afterwards in Greek by *Combefis*: But they neither agree with the History of the Time, nor with that of *Peter*. 1. This Author says in two places, that *Peter* died under *Diocletian*, which is false; since this Emperour abdicated the Empire a long time before the Year 311. 2. *Eusebius* says, That *Peter* was seiz'd, and executed upon the spot. These Acts suppose that he was a long time in Prison, and that he must have written of it to the Emperour who was at *Nicomedia*. 3. He places amongst the Bishops of *Alexandria*, one *Milius*, when, in truth, there was never a one of that Name. 4. He places *Heraclas* after *Dionysius* and *Maximus*, though he certainly preceded them. 5. He feigns that *Heraclas* had Disputes with *Origen*, when there was never any such thing. 6. He says, That the Body of *Peter* was carried into the Church of *Theonas*, which was built by *Alexander* the Successor of *Achillas*, who came after *Peter* to the See of *Alexandria*. In short, he relates, that *Arius* was Excommunicated by *Peter* of *Alexandria*, because of his Impious Doctrine: But the Ancients say not a word of this Excommunication, neither does *Alexander*, nor St. *Athanasius* object it to *Arius*: And indeed can there be any probability, that *Achillas* should receive *Arius* if he had been Excommunicated by *Peter*? Especially, if it be true which is related in those Acts, that *Peter* advertis'd *Achillas* and *Alexander*, that he had seen a Vision, wherein he was given to understand, that *Arius* should rend in pieces the Church of Jesus Christ. Besides, we read no-where that *Arius* publish'd his impious Doctrine before the Pontificate of *Alexander*, and therefore if he had been Excommunicated by *Peter*, it must have been for some other cause. There are found indeed in a Treatise of *Justinian* against *Origen*, some words ascrib'd to *Peter* of *Alexandria*, which are much like those that are found in those Acts; but besides that, they are not altogether the same, *Justinian* is neither so Ancient, nor of so great Authority, as to counter-balance the Reasons which we have alledg'd.

them; yet he certainly wrote some things. There is in the Council of *Ephesus*, a passage or two about the Incarnation, taken out of his Book about the Divinity. *Justinian* in his Edict to *Menna* against *Origen*, quotes two passages of *Peter* of *Alexandria*: The First out of a Homily against Pre-existence of Souls; The Second out of a Mystagogical Discourse composed by him a little before his Martyrdom, this is very remarkable: *I exhort you*, says this holy Martyr, *to watch, for you shall once more be in Affliction; you know how the Heathens caused S.* Thomas *my Father and my Bishop, who bred me up, and my Predecessor in this See, to suffer. Would to God I had also been his Successor in Holiness too. You know the Persecution which the great Saint* Dionysius *endured, and how he was obliged to hide himself, and to be continually changing the place of his Abode, whilst the Heretick* Sabellius *tormented him in another manner: What shall I say of the holy Bishops* Heraclas *and* Demetrius? *What Tribulations did not they endure from* Origen, *who sow'd Divisions in their Church, and who caused Disturbances there which are not yet quieted?* And we have in *Balsamon* in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, and in the last Edition of the Councils, the Canons which are said to be drawn out of one of his Discourses upon Penance. These were written in the Fourth Year of the Persecution in 306, about the Feast of *Easter*; for they begin with these words, [*Seeing this is the Fourth* Easter *since the beginning of the Persecution.*] In these Canons, he regulates the time of Penance. In the first, he ordains, That those who after long Resistance had at last laps'd, being conquer'd by the Severity of Torments, and had been under Penance for Three Years, should after Forty Days not be receiv'd into Communion; during which time, he exhorts them to watch and pray. In the Second, he adds, yet another Year of Penance for those who had faln without enduring Torments, only to deliver themselves from Prison. In the Third, he brings an instance from the Parable of the Fig-Tree, to impose Four Years Penance upon those who had voluntarily faln into Idolatry, without being put in Prison. In the Fourth, he deplores the unhappiness of those that are altogether desperate, and do no Penance at all. In the Fifth, he limits their Penance to Six Months, who had pretended, that they had offer'd unto Idols, or that they had approach'd their Altars, or given up their Names; or had sent Pagans to offer in their stead. In the Sixth he observes, That there were some that sent thither their Slaves, though they were Christians; and in the Seventh Canon he imposes upon them Three Years of Penance, but upon the Slaves one Year only. In the Eighth, he says, That 'tis but just to make them Partakers of the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, of the Prayers of the Church and the Word of God, who after they had been once vanquish'd, return'd again to the Combate, and were committed to Prison: or those who suffer'd Torments, after they had confess'd the Faith of Jesus Christ. In the Ninth Canon, he blames their Conduct, who expose themselves indiscreetly to Danger, and by this means bring Persecution upon themselves and their Brethren. He proves by the Example of Christ and his Apostles, that their Conduct is very much to be blam'd; and yet he thinks we ought not to refuse the Communion to those who thus rashly expose themselves to Temptation, because they do it in the Name of Christ. In the 10th. Canon, he ordains, That the Clergy who had laps'd, should be depriv'd of their Ministry, and content themselves with Lay-Communion, which is not to be deny'd them. In the 11th. Canon, he advises to treat them with Meekness, and receive those Christians into Communion, who having expos'd themselves to Martyrdom for the Encouragement of others by their Example, had at last faln by the Cruelty of their Torments. In the 12th. he says, That those who had given Money to deliver themselves from Torments, were free from Sin in so doing, and moreover praises their Conduct. In the 13th. he makes an Apology for those that fled to avoid Persecution, and justifies their Carriage by many Examples. In the 14th. he says, That they ought to be plac'd in the Rank of Confessors, who had been forc'd against their wills to taste of Meats offer'd unto Idols. The last Canon has no connexion with the former, for there he approves the Fasts of *Wednesday* and *Friday*, [*On which*, he says, *we are enjoyn'd to Fast, according to Tradition; On* Wednesday, *because on that Day the Jews took up a Resolution to deliver up Jesus to Death; and on* Friday, *because he suffer'd on that Day for us: But as to the Lord's-Day, that's a Day of Rejoycing, because on that Day Jesus Christ was rais'd from the Dead, and therefore we do not Kneel on that Day at our Prayers.*] Of all the Canons of Antiquity concerning the Penance of the Lapsed, there are none more Judicious or more Equitable than those we have now describ'd. There appears in them a Wisdom and Prudence that's altogether singular, in tempering the rigour of Punishment by a reasonable Moderation; without which, Justice would be weakned by too much Indulgence. He examines carefully all the Circumstances which might augment or diminish the quality of the Crime; and as he does not lengthen out Penance by too severe Methods, so neither does he deceive the Sinner by too remiss an Easiness. 'Tis probable, that about the time when those Canons were compos'd, *Peter* of *Alexandria* depos'd *Melitius* Bishop of *Egypt*, being convicted of Idolatry, who was afterwards the Author of the Sect of the *Melitians*; as *Athanasius* reports in his Second Apology.

Peter of Alexandria.

ALEXANDER *Bishop of* Alexandria.

Alexander Bishop of *Alexandria.*

After the Death of *Peter* Bishop of *Alexandria*, who suffer'd Martyrdom in the 9th. Year of the Persecution begun by *Diocletian*, *Achillas* was chosen in his room to the See of *Alexandria*. *Alexander*, of whom we now write, Succeeded this *Achillas* in the Year 321, if we follow the Testimony of St. *Jerom*; or according to others, towards the Year 315. He oppos'd the Heresie of *Arius* vigorously, and endeavour'd to stifle it in its Birth, by Excommunicating him who was the Author of it, and his Followers. This he did in a Council assembled into the City of *Alexandria* for that purpose. But *Arius* and those of his Faction, having found some Bishops that receiv'd them into their Communion, though they were Condemn'd by their Bishop, *Alexander* complains in a Letter which he wrote to his Fellow-Bishops, which is related by *Theodoret*, *Ch.* 4. of the First Book of his History; wherein he describes the Troubles that were caus'd in the Church by *Arius* and his Faction, he lays open their Heretical Doctrine, and observes that they had withdrawn to some Bishops who had received them into their Communion, and sign'd Letters in their Favour, because they disguis'd their true Sentiments, and conceal'd the Poison of their corrupt Doctrine. He reprehends the Conduct of those Bishops, and accuses them of having violated the Canon of the Apostles, by Patronizing the Actions of those who deny'd the Divinity of Jesus Christ. Afterwards he refutes the impious Opinion of the *Arians*, and proves from Testimonies of Scripture, That the Word was not a Creature made of Nothing, but that he subsisted from all Eternity, and is equal to his Father, being of the same Nature with him, and that there never was a time when the Son of God was not, and that the Father was always a Father. After having thus Establish'd the Divinity of the Son of God by most convincing Proofs drawn from the holy Scriptures, he proceeds to the Explication of the Articles contain'd in the Creed, concerning the Holy Spirit, the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, and the Resurrection of the Dead. He observes that Jesus Christ had a real Body, and not an imaginary one, that he was Crucified and was dead; but his Divinity suffer'd nothing. He adds, That this is the Doctrine of the Apostolick Church, for which he is ready to die; and says, that *Arius* and *Achillas* were cast out, because they taught another Doctrine: wherefore he exhorts his Fellow-Bishops to avoid them, and to joyn with him to repress their Insolence. After all, he prays them to send him their Letters approving what he had done, and concludes his Letter with the Names of those Hereticks whom he had Condemn'd and cast out of the Church.

When the Bishops who maintain'd *Arius* wrote also on their Side in his favour, *Alexander* found himself oblig'd to write again a large Letter on this Subject to all the Bishops in the World, which is set down by *Socrates* and *Theodoret*, *Ch.* 6. of the First Book of their History. I know very well, that 'tis commonly thought that this Letter was written immediately after the Excommunication of *Arius*, before that which is in the Fourth Chapter of *Theodoret*: But this is a mistake, since this Letter was written at the time when *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* was fully declar'd a Patron of *Arius*. Wherefore *Alexander* having observ'd in this Letter, That since *the Catholick Church was but one Body, and all the Bishops were oblig'd to preserve Peace in it, It was expedient, that they should reciprocally advertise one another of what happen'd in each Diocess; to the end, that when one Member was afflicted, all the rest should mourn, or else rejoice together with it.* "After he had begun his Letter "with this handsom Reflexion, he adds, That he had once a design to have buried this Disorder in "Silence; but since *Eusebius* had taken upon him the Patronage of these Apostates, and had written "on all hands in their favour, he thought himself oblig'd to break Silence, and to give Notice to all "the World of this New Error, and to hinder his Fellow-Bishops from giving credit to the Letters "which *Eusebius* might have written. After this, he inserts the Names of these Hereticks, lays open "their Error, and refutes it in a few words. He says, That their Impiety was the cause why they were thrown out of the Church and smitten with an Anathema; and though he acknowledges that he was sensibly troubled for their loss, yet he must not wonder that such false Teachers should arise and corrupt the Faith and Doctrine of Jesus Christ, since we are forewarn'd of them by Christ and his Apostle.

These Two Letters of *Alexander* were sharp and vehement; wherein he pursues *Arius* and his Party vigorously, and having represented their Doctrine after such a manner, as discovers all that's odious in it, he disputes against it by many solid Arguments, and writes to his Fellow-Bishops with great Assurance, and yet with due respect. In short, one may say, That these Letters are the best in their kind.

Cotelierius has also publish'd a Letter, or a Pastoral Advertisement of *Alexander* to his Priests of *Egypt* and *Mareotis*, written after these Two Letters, in which he tells them, That tho' they had subscrib'd to the First Pastoral Advertisement which he had address'd to *Arius* and those of his Faction, wherein he exhorted them to return from their Impiety, and make Profession of the Catholick Faith; yet he thought it still necessary once more to Assemble the Clergy of *Alexandria* and *Mareotis*, to shew them the Letter which he had written to all the Bishops since the first Condemnation of the *Arians*, and to give them Notice, that *Carus* and *Pistus* Priests, *Serapion*, *Potamon*, *Zosimus* and *Ivenæus*, Deacons, having join'd themselves to the other *Arians*, were depos'd. He demands their Consent and Approbation, because, says he, 'tis reasonable that ye should know what I have written, and imprint it in your Minds, as if you your selves had written it. This Monument of Antiquity, gives us to understand, That according to the Discipline of the Church of *Alexandria*, which was agreeable to that of other Churches, the Bishop of that great See, held Synods of his Priests or Curates

Alexander Bishop of *Alexandria.*

not only of those that were in the City, but also of those that were in the Country, and that he would do nothing without the Consent and Approbation of his Clergy.

The Cause of *Arius* being afterwards carried into the Council of *Nice*, *Alexander* assisted there, and held one of the Chief Places, as appears by the Council's Letter, to the *Alexandrians*, wherein they say, That he was Head of the Council and had a great Hand in all its Decisions. He liv'd but five Months after this Council, and left *Athanasius* Successor to his See, and to his Zeal against the *Arians*.

St. ATHANASIUS.

St. *Athanasius.*

ST. *Athanasius* was born at *Alexandria (a)*, but the precise Year of his Birth is not certainly known, neither do the Ancients tell us any thing of his Kindred *(b)*. He was so young during the Persecution of *Diocletian* and *Maximian*, that when he speaks of it, he does not say, that he had seen what he says, but only that he learn'd it of his Fathers *(c)*. We know nothing either of his Infancy, or Education. *Ruffinus*, indeed, tells us, That St. *Athanasius* being yet a Child, and playing with other Children, imitated the Ceremonies of the Church, and baptiz'd his Comrades; and that St. *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, perceiving it, and having enquir'd the manner in which they were baptiz'd, he approv'd the Baptism, and from that time, design'd St. *Athanasius* for the Clergy. But this Story, which, besides its being so very improbable, cannot agree with the Age of St. *Athanasius*, passes among Learned Men, rather for a Fable than a Truth *(d)*. St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, assures us, in his Panegyrick on St. *Athanasius*, that this Saint applied himself but a short while to the profane Sciences, and proceeded quickly to the Study of the holy Scriptures. Afterwards he entred into the Clergy, and discharg'd his Function, when he was in Orders, with general Approbation, according to the Observation of *Theodoret*. He was particularly taken Notice of by *Alexander* his Bishop, whom he accompanied to the Council of *Nice*, being then but a Deacon, and yet the first of the Deacons of his Church. He oppos'd there the Heresy of *Arius*, and 'tis believ'd likewise, that he maintain'd a Disputation against the Hereticks. When he return'd again to the City of *Alexandria*, *Alexander* cast his Eyes upon him to make him his Successor. *Apollinarius*, says, in a Passage related by *Sozomen*, *B.*II.*Ch.*17. of his *History*, That St. *Athanasius* fled to avoid being chosen Bishop, and that *Alexander* being near his Death, did several times call for him. After the Death of this Bishop, he was chosen Bishop of *Alexandria*, in the beginning of the Year 326 (e), by the common Voice of all the People, and ordain'd by the Bishops of *Egypt*, *Libya* and *Pentapolis* assembled in the City of *Alexandria*. This is the Testimony which the Bishops of these Provinces give of his Ordination in a Synodical Letter reported by St. *Athanasius*; Apol. 2. p. 726, where at the same time they refute the Calumny of the *Arians*, who said, That *Athanasius* was privately Ordain'd by seven Bishops against the Will of all the rest. The *Arians* and the Bishops which Patroniz'd them, assoon as they saw St. *Athanasius* their Adversary promoted to this See, look'd upon this Promotion as a great Obstacle to their Designs, and therefore resolv'd to drive him out of the Church. And that they might execute this Design the more easily, they join'd with the Schismaticks call'd *Meletians*, (or rather (f) *Melitians*) because they had follow'd the Party of an *Egyptian* Bishop call'd *Meletius* or *Melitius*, who being depos'd in a Synod by *Peter* of *Alexandria*, for having Sacrific'd to Idols (g), separated himself from the Church, and made a considerable Faction in *Egypt*.

(a) *At* Alexandria.] He was a Clergy-man of this Church, and the Clergy were commonly of that Place where they discharg'd their Office; but besides this Conjecture, 'tis plain also that he was originally of *Alexandria* by the Letter of *Constantius*, who recalling him from his Exile, says that he would restore him to his own Country, *&c. Apol.* 2. *p.* 769, 770. and he takes his Country and Church for the same thing. *Orat.* 1. *contr. Ar.*

(b) *Of his Kindred*] The Greek Author of his Life, who is very late, says that they were very noble and of great Piety; but he gives us no Name, nor cites any Author to warrant his groundless Assertion: His Aunt was a Catholick, and died during the Tyranny of *Gregory*, *Ep. ad Solit. p.* 817. You may see in a Latin Letter of this Saint related at the end of *Lucifer*'s Works, that during his Persecution, he had not the Liberty to see his Parents, which may be understood of his Father and Mother, according to the proper Signification of the Latin Word.

(c) *But only that he learn'd it of his Fathers.*] In his Letter *ad Solitar p.*855. *I heard from my Fathers, that the Persecution was rais'd under* Maximian *Grandfather to* Constantius.

(d) *Rather for a Fable than a Truth.*] 1. This Story of Children baptiz'd by *Athanasius*, does not at all agree with the Discipline of the Church of *Alexandria* upon the Subject of Rebaptization, and 'tis a thing unheard of that it should be approv'd of, or that any could approve a Baptism of this Nature, as *Alexander* of *Alexandria* is suppos'd to have done. 2. It does not agree with the Age of St. *Athanasius*, for *Alexander* was not ordain'd Bishop of *Alexandria*, according to the Testimony of St *Jerom*, untill the Year 321. and St. *Athanasius* being ordain'd Bishop in 326. was not, in this Interval, of an Age to play such little Pranks. And though it were suppos'd, against the Authority of St. *Jerom*, that *Alexander* was ordain'd in 315, this would not remove the Difficulty; for it cannot be said, that St. *Athanasius* play'd at this Sport when he was above 10. or 12. Years old, from whence it would follow that he was ordain'd Bishop at the 25. or 27*th.* Year of his Age, which is not very probable.

(e) *In the Beginning of the Year* 326.] *Alexander* died five Months after the Council of *Nice*, and St. *Athanasius* succeeded him immediately. St *Epiphanius* says in *Hæres.* 68. and 69. that *Achillas* was chosen by the Catholicks after the Death of *Alexander*, and *Theonas* by the *Melitians*, and that *Athanasius* was ordain'd three Months after: But all this Story is fabulous, because *Achillas* was Bishop of *Alexandria* before *Alexander*, and all Historians testify that St. *Athanasius* succeeded *Alexander* immediately; and St. *Athanasius* says as much expressly in his 2*d* Apology.

(f) *Or rather* Melitians.] Their Leader is call'd by all the Ancients Μελίτιος, and never Μελέτιος.

(g) *For having Sacrific'd to Idols.*] St. *Athanasius* testifies, that this was the Occasion of the Schism of *Melitius*, which is much more credible than what St. *Epiphanius* reports to be the Origin of this Schism, after a fabulous manner, being deceiv'd by the Memoirs of some *Melitians*.

Thus

Thus the Bishops that favour'd *Arius*, not being able to persuade St. *Athanasius* to receive him into his Communion, no more than his followers, tho' *Eusebius* had written him a threatning Letter to that purpose, did for that reason accuse him of laying a New Tax upon all the Linen or Woollen Vestments of the *Egyptians*, for the use of the Church of *Alexandria*; and deputed *Ision*, *Eudemon*, and *Callinicus*, *Melitian* Bishops, to carry this Accusation to the Emperour. But *Alipius* and *Macarius*, Priests of *Alexandria*, being then at Court when this Accusation was brought against St. *Athanasius*, defended him, and demonstrated his Innocence to the Emperour *Constantine*, who thereupon wrote to *Athanasius* to come and appear before him. At that time *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, being resolv'd at any rate to ruin St. *Athanasius* at Court, caus'd these three Informers to stay there, who invented new Accusations, alledging that the Priest *Macarius* had broken a Sacred Chalice by *Athanasius*'s Order, and that *Athanasius* himself had conspir'd against the Emperour, by sending a Chest full of Gold to *Philumenus* who design'd to Usurp the Empire. But the Emperour himself having examin'd this Accusation in one of their Suburbs of *Nicomedia*, call'd *Psammathie*, declar'd St. *Athanasius* Innocent of those Crimes, and sent him back to *Alexandria* with a very obliging Letter in his favour. This was done in the Year 331. The Enemies of St. *Athanasius* not resting satisfied with this Judgment, the next Year renew'd the Accusation of the Chalice broken by *Macarius*, founded upon the Deposition of one *Ischyras* who call'd himself a Priest, altho' he was ordain'd by *Collythus*, who was not truly a Bishop, and therefore had not Power to give him a valid Ordination. *Ischyras* had dwelt at *Mareotis*, a Country of *Egypt*, where there was neither Bishop nor Suffragan, but only a great many Parishes govern'd by Priests. He had one of these Churches, which *Athanasius* understanding, sent *Macarius* to forbid him when he visited his Dioceſs, to Celebrate the Divine Mysteries, and to execute any part of the Sacerdotal Function. This gave the occasion of accusing *Macarius*, that he had broken one of the Sacred Chalices, altho' he found *Ischyras* out of the Church and in his Bed. But to render St. *Athanasius* more odious, they accuse him of having put *Arsenius* to Death, who was Bishop of *Hipsele* in *Thebais*, and of the Faction of the *Melitians*. The Emperour who had already examin'd the first Accusation, (which was likewise confounded by the Letter of *Ischyras*, who acknowledg'd, that he was forc'd to invent this Calumny,) did not take any further notice of that Article, but wrote to *Dalmatius*, to enquire into the second Accusation, concerning the Murder of *Arsenius*. This oblig'd St. *Athanasius* to search every-where for this Bishop whom the *Melitians* had hid in the Monasteries at their Devotion: And at last, he was found at *Tyre*, where he was made known before *Paul* the Bishop. Then St. *Athanasius* having given notice to *Constantine*, that his Accusers were convicted of an Imposture, the Emperour wrote to *Dalmatius*, to stop all further Process, and sent a very obliging Letter to St. *Athanasius*, wherein he exhorts him to Moderation, condemns the Rage of the *Melitians*, and promises him Protection. But for all this, the *Arian* Faction lost not their Courage, nor did they cease to contrive still new Accusations against him: Whereupon the Emperour being tormented with their continual Importunity, thought fit to call a Council, to put an end to all these Differences; which he order'd to meet at *Cæsarea*, in *Palestine*, where St. *Athanasius* was Summon'd to appear. But this Saint, perceiving that the Council was compos'd of his Enemies, would not appear there. His Absence, irritated the Emperour against him, who call'd another Council to meet at *Tyre*, in the Year 335, and wrote to St. *Athanasius*, that he should not fail to come there, which he did in such Terms, as might make him sensible, that he was not satisfy'd with his Conduct. St. *Athanasius* was forc'd to appear there in the quality of a Criminal; but he answer'd the Accusation of the Murder of *Arsenius*, by producing him before the Council. *Ruffinus* says, That they still went on to accuse St. *Athanasius*, by a Woman of an ill Life, who was presently convicted of being a Cheat, because she took for him a Deacon call'd *Timotheus*, who feign'd himself to be *Athanasius*. But this History which is supported by no other Authority, but that of *Ruffinus*, appears very doubtful, because neither St. *Athanasius* nor the Council of *Alexandria*, which relates exactly all the Calumnies and Forgeries which were invented against St. *Athanasius*, say any thing of it, which they had never omitted, if it had been propos'd. There were some other wandring Reports alledg'd against him, but wanting Proof, they insisted upon that of the Chalice, which was suppos'd to be broken by *Macarius*; and to inquire into this Crime, they sent Six Bishops to *Mareotis*, who were very resolute against St. *Athanasius*, who heard many Witnesses to this purpose, in spite of all the Protestations of the Clergy of *Mareotis* and *Alexandria*. In the mean time, St. *Athanasius* retires, and appeals to the Emperour; but the Synod condemns and depose him upon the Information at *Mareotis*. This was no sooner done, but a Letter was brought from the Emperour, directed to the Bishops of the Council, to come presently to *Jerusalem*, to Celebrate the Dedication of a Church. In the mean time, St. *Athanasius* arrives at *Constantinople*, and desires Audience of the Emperour to justify himself: But this was not granted, and all that he could obtain, was an Order, wherein the Emperour sends for the Bishops that had condemn'd him, to come to Court, and give an Account to him of their Proceedings. But instead of coming in a Body, they sent only *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* with Five other Deputies, who without saying any thing of the former Accusations fram'd against St. *Athanasius*, accus'd him now of having threatned to hinder the Exportation of Corn from *Alexandria* to *Constantinople*. The Emperour was so provok'd by this Accusation, that without hearing St. *Athanasius*, he banish'd him presently to *Triers*, a City in *Gaul*; but would not suffer his Bishoprick to be fill'd.

St. *Athanasius*.

After the Death of *Constantine the Great*, the Three *Cæsars* his Sons, *Constantine*, *Constantius* and *Constans*, permitted all the Banish'd Bishops to return to their Churches. St. *Athanasius* was sent back to *Alexandria* with Letters from *Constantine*, after he had been a Year and some Months in Exile.

St. *Athanasius.*

Exile (*h*). This Emperour praises St. *Athanasius* in his Letter, and says, That his Father would not have Banish'd him, but that the *Eusebians* had a design upon his Life, and that he had intended to recall him before his Death. He was no sooner return'd to *Alexandria*, but his ancient Enemies attack him anew: They say, That since his Return, he had stirr'd up Sedition in the City, and caus'd some Persons to be put in Prison, and others to be us'd harshly: but they chiefly insisted upon his Deposition by the Synod, alledging that he was incapable, according to the Canons, of returning to his Church, or performing his Episcopal Function, till he was restor'd by another Synod. They insinuated themselves into the favour of *Constantius*, and moreover accuse St. *Athanasius* of Selling and taking Money for the Corn, which the Emperour had given to be distributed among the Poor, and the Widows of *Alexandria*. This Accusation drew upon St. *Athanasius* a very sharp Letter from the Emperour. And the *Eusebians* not contented to have *Constantius* on their side, would also have gain'd the other two *Cæsars*, and therefore wrote to them against St. *Athanasius*, but they fail'd of their aim, and were refus'd. They endeavour'd also to render Pope *Julius* favourable to them, by offering him the Arbitration of all their differences with St. *Athanasius*. But this Pope having accepted their offer, and Summon'd them to come to a Council, they refus'd it. In the mean time, St. *Athanasius* was absolv'd by a Synod of almost a Hundred *Egyptian* Bishops in the Year 339, who gave an Authentick Testimony of his Innocence in all the Heads of his Accusation. On the other side, the *Eusebians* assembled a Council at *Antioch* in 341, where after they had made a new Creed different from that of *Nice*, they resolv'd to send a Bishop to *Alexandria*: for which end, they first pitched upon *Eusebius* of *Emesa*; but he refusing, they chose one *Gregory*, and went to find out the Emperour, and pray'd that this *Gregory* might be sent to *Alexandria*. St. *Athanasius* having only heard of this Choice, withdrew to *Rome* in the Year 341 (*i*); where he was kindly receiv'd by Pope *Julius*, who admitted him to Communion, and sent presently Legates with Letters to *Eusebius*, and the other Bishops, to cite them to *Rome*. But the *Eusebians* did not come at the day which *Julius* had appointed them, detain'd his Legates till the Month of *January* 342 (*k*), and sent *Gregory* to *Alexandria*, who made himself Master of that Church by force, and used those of *Athanasius*'s Party very ill. While the *Eusebians* thus desolated the Church of *Alexandria*, the Pope held a Council at *Rome* in the Church of *Vito* the Presbyter (*l*), towards the end of the Year 341 (*m*). There all the Accusations of the *Eusebians* against St. *Athanasius* were examin'd, he himself was justified, declar'd Innocent by all the Bishops of the Council, and continued in Ecclesiastical Communion: but they determin'd nothing particularly about his Restauration (*n*) to the See of *Alexandria*. The Eastern Bishops after a long delay at last made answer, towards the Beginning of the Year 342, by the Pope's Legates whom they sent back, excusing themselves because of the War of the *Persians*, that they could not come to *Rome* at the Day that he had appointed, and blaming *Julius* for receiving *Athanasius* into Communion after he was condemn'd, and for hearing a Cause anew, after it had been already determin'd. This Letter was written by a Synod of *Antioch*, held almost a Year after that which we have mention'd: And that which perplexes this Part of History to this Day, is the want of distinguishing these two Councils of *Antioch*, or the placing them at different times. *Julius* having received this Letter, took some time before he answer'd it, thinking that some-body at least would come from the Eastern Bishops, but no-body coming, he wrote them a long Letter (*o*), which is set down by St. *Athanasius*; wherein he gives an account of all his Proceedings, and reprehends theirs with great sharpness.

The Cause of St. *Athanasius* continued in this State till the Council of *Sardica*, Summon'd by the Emperours in the Year 347. The Bishops of the East and the West met there; but those of the East

(h) *A Year and some Months in Exile.*] *Theodoret* B. II. *Ch.* 1. says, that he was there two Years and four Months, but he is mistaken; for he was sent into Banishment at the End of the Year 336, and was restor'd again *June* 15. 337. before the Sons of *Constantine* had taken upon them the Title of Emperors.

(i) *Withdrew to* Rome *in the Year* 341.] *Baronius* makes him go in the Year 339, and supposes he was twice there; but *Valesius* has very well prov'd, that he was but once there, since he mentions but one Voyage. When he withdrew, he had only heard of the Ordination of *Gregory*, and the Persecution which was preparing against him and his Church, as he himself says in these Words, μόνον ἀκούσας.

(k) *Till the Month of* January 342.] For so it must be read in the Letter of *Julius*, and not as *Baronius* thought.

(l) *In the Church of* Vito *the Presbyter.*] So the Words of *Julius* must be understood, συνελθόντες Ἐπίσκοποι ἔνθα ὁ Βίτων πρεσβύτερος συνήγεν, which are ill-translated in these Words, *In the Church where* Vito *the Presbyter assembled them*: For he did not assemble the Bishops but the People, according to the common Phrase, *colligere Populum*, to hold a publick Assembly of their People in the Church. St. *Irenæus* says, *qui præterquam quod oportet colligunt*, which is spoken of Schismaticks, who made Assemblies out of the true Church.

(m) *Towards the end of the Year* 341.] *Valesius* thinks that the Council of *Rome* was not held till the Year 342, after the Return of the Legates: But *Julius*, says plainly, that the Bishops of *Italy* met at the Day appointed, and that the Legates were detain'd a long time after till the Month of *January*, in the Year 342.

(n) *They determin'd nothing particularly about his Restauration.*] *Julius* and St. *Athanasius* say expressly, that he was only assur'd of that Communion which had been granted him, and that his Enemies complain'd of nothing else.

(o) *He wrote them a long Letter.*] *Valesius* thinks that this Letter was written by the Council, but that cannot be; for the Pope's Legates were return'd when it was written, and they were detain'd in the *East* after the Day appointed for the Council, as we have already noted. It does not at all appear by this Letter, whatsoever *Valesius* says, that the Legates were return'd when it was written: On the contrary it is evident that the Council was held on the Day prefix'd, and that the Legates were then in the *East*. And therefore to reconcile these things, it must be said, that the Letter was written after the Council, although by Order of the Council, which had charg'd *Julius* to write his Decision, and to answer the *1st*. Letter from the Eastern Bishops, but not the *2d*, which was not yet arriv'd.

would

would not assist at the Council, unless St. *Athanasius*, *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, and the other Bishops depos'd by them, would appear as Criminals and Persons Excommunicated; and those of the West would not agree to this Condition: Whereupon the former withdrew, and the latter being left alone to the number of a Hundred, or thereabouts, pronounc'd the Sentence of Absolution of *Athanasius*, of *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, and the other Bishops that had been condemn'd, restor'd them to their Dignities, and condemn'd their Principal Adversaries; while the Bishops of the East on the other side, being Assembled at *Philippopolis*, wrote against those Bishops whom they condemn'd and Excommunicated *Julius*, *Hosius* and the other Zealous Partisans of St. *Athanasius*. Things being at this pass, there was no Security for St. *Athanasius* to return to the East, without the Authority of the Emperour *Constantius*, who was Lord of that part of the World, and therefore he stay'd there at *Naisse*, a City of *Dacia*, till *Constans* commanded him to come to *Aquileia*, and granted him his Protection. St. *Athanasius*

The Death of *Gregory*, which happen'd in the Year 348, came very seasonable to remove the chief Obstacle of *Athanasius*'s Return: For then, either because *Constantius* knew his Innocence, and the Malice of his Accusers, or because he was desir'd to do so by his Brother, he would not suffer any to be ordain'd Bishop of *Alexandria*, recall'd St. *Athanasius* who was gone from *Aquileia* to *Rome*, to take his Farewell, of the Church of that City and its Bishop, and was come from thence to find out *Constantius*, and pray him to call his Enemies before him, that he might convict them in his Presence. The Emperour would do no such thing, but only sent him back to *Alexandria*, with Letters directed to the Bishops of *Egypt*, to the Clergy and the People of *Alexandria*, to which he adjoyn'd two Edicts to abrogate and annull all that had been done against this holy Bishop. St. *Athanasius* returning triumphantly with these Letters, was receiv'd even by the Bishops that had been less favourable to him; and two of his greatest Enemies, *Ursacius* and *Valens*, seem'd to be outwardly reconcil'd to him. The Emperour *Constans*, *Athanasius*'s Patron, dying in the Month of *February*, 350; he had some jealousie left *Constantius* should renew that Persecution which he had already made him suffer. But the Emperour sent him word, that he should not trouble himself on that account; That he design'd to keep him always in his See, and forbade his Enemies to attack him. Thus *Athanasius*, who was not yet entred within his Dioceſs, arriv'd there at last in the Month of *March*, 350, where he was receiv'd with the Publick Rejoycing of the Bishops of *Egypt*, his Clergy, and all the People. But he enjoy'd this Repose but a few Years, which seem'd to be granted him for ever; for after the Year 354, the Emperour *Constantius* sent a Courtier of his to the City of *Alexandria* with Letters to him, wherein he gives him leave to retire from *Alexandria*, supposing that he had desir'd it. St. *Athanasius* seeing that this Order was founded upon a False Supposition, was of opinion, that he ought not for this to go out of *Alexandria*. Twenty six Months after, *Diogenes* comes to *Alexandria*, and spreads a Report that the Emperour had given Order to drive away St. *Athanasius* from this City; but since *Diogenes* brought no Letters from the Emperour, St. *Athanasius* made Answer, that he should either show him a Letter from the Emperour, commanding him to depart from *Alexandria*, or at least, that the Governour of *Egypt*, or General of the Army, should deliver him an Order in writing to this purpose. Twenty three Days after, *Syrianus*, General of the Army in *Egypt*, entered with his Souldiers into the Church, on the 27*th*. of *January*, 356, abus'd the Clergy, the People and the Virgins that were there assembled. During this Tumult, St. *Athanasius* being carried out by some Monks, sav'd himself, and retir'd into a Desart (*p*). *Constantius*, understanding what had pass'd, sent an Edict to those of *Alexandria*, wherein he approves what was done against St. *Athanasius*, and exhorts the Youth to pursue him. The Count *Heraclius* publish'd this Edict, and encouraged some lewd young Men of *Alexandria*, who entred into the Churches, beat all those they met with, tore the Veils, the Seats and the Ornaments, and broke the Episcopal Chair in pieces, with such Violence, that none could check those Disorders; which were yet further heightned upon the Arrival of *George*, who was ordain'd Bishop of *Alexandria* by the Enemies of St. *Athanasius*. For this Man being come into the City of *Alexandria* some Days before *Easter*, entred forcibly into the Church, and caus'd all those that were for St. *Athanasius* to be driven away. Who meeting together in the Cœmetery and the desart Places, for the Celebration of the Divine Mysteries on *Easter*-Day, and the following *Sundays*, were driven from thence and beaten by the Souldiers; nay, and some of them lost their Lives. In short, because the Bishops of *Egypt* and *Libya*, were all for St. *Athanasius*, they drove away Eighty of them, and sent Six into Banishment. These Outrages were authoriz'd by the Letter which *Constantius* wrote to the *Alexandrians*, in which he declares against St. *Athanasius*, and enjoins them to obey *George*. Thus it was impossible for St. *Athanasius* to return into the City of *Alexandria*, and therefore he was forc'd to lie hid in the Desart, where he compos'd many Books.

After the Death of *Constantius*, *Julian* the Apostate became Master of the Empire, who taking no side in the Disputes of Religion that were among the Christians, permitted all the exil'd Bishops to return to their Country. It happen'd at the same time, that *George*, who had intruded himself into the Church of *Alexandria*, was kill'd in a popular Sedition in the Year 362. His Death facilitated the Return of St. *Athanasius* to the City of *Alexandria*, and his Restauration to his See in that City. When he was return'd, he assembled a Council to regulate the manner of receiving the *Arians*, who had a desire to return into the bosom of the Church, and to compose some Differences which had happen'd in the Church of *Antioch*. But he could not long employ himself for the good of the Church, for the Pagans having rendred him odious to the Emperour *Julian*, he sent an Order, directed to those of *Alexandria*, importing that *Athanasius* should depart from their City, because he had only permitted the

(*p*) *Retir'd into a Desart.*] *Sozomen* and *Ruffinus* say, that he was hid in a Cistern, but *Athanasius* says, that he retir'd into a Desart, and continued there ever after.

Exil'd

St. Athanasius.

Exil'd Bishops to return into their Country, but not to re-enter upon their Sees. The People of *Alexandria*, who lov'd St. *Athanasius* extremely, sent Deputies to the Emperour, to pray him, that he would not force him out of *Alexandria*. But this Message only provoked the Emperour against him, who thereupon presently banish'd him not only from *Alexandria*, but also from all *Egypt*. It is said also, That he gave Secret Orders to put him to Death. St. *Athanasius* having heard this News, fled beyond the River *Nile*. And 'tis reported, That he was follow'd very close by those that were sent to stop him, and he returning the same way that they pursu'd him, met them on the Road; but when they enquir'd if he had seen *Athanasius*, one of his Company answer'd, That he was not far off, and if they would make haste, they might overtake him; and so having deluded them, he return'd to *Alexandria*. But be this as it will, 'tis certain, That he lay conceal'd till the Reign of *Jovian* a Christian Prince, who succeeded *Julian*. In the Year 363, this Emperour came and found him with some other Bishops of *Egypt*, at the City of *Antioch*, where they held a kind of a Synod (*q*); and there they drew up a Letter which was address'd to the Emperour, wherein they propose to him the *Nicene* Creed, as the Rule of Orthodox Faith, and condemn those that denied the Divinity of the Holy Spirit.

St. *Athanasius* was also persecuted under the Reign of *Valens*, who being baptiz'd in 367, by *Eudoxus*, an *Arian* Bishop of *Constantinople*, made an Edict, wherein he ordains, That all the Bishops that had been depos'd under *Constantius*, should be forc'd away from their Sees. The Governour of *Egypt* having receiv'd this Edict, prepar'd to put it in Execution against St. *Athanasius*, but was hindred by the People. In the mean time, this Saint fearing lest he should be seiz'd, (as they really intended to do afterwards) and seeing the Commotions of the People appeas'd, retir'd to the Country into the Sepulchre of his Fathers, and lay there conceal'd for the space of Four Months; but *Valens* was oblig'd to recall him. We are inform'd by the 47*th*. Letter of St. *Basil*, That at this time St. *Athanasius* had some Difference with the Governour of *Libya*, whom he Excommunicated; but we know nothing of the occasion of this Quarrel. At last, St. *Athanasius*, after so many Revolutions and Persecutions, did happily end the course of this troublesome Life, in the Year 373 of Jesus Christ (*r*), after he had been Bishop of *Alexandria* more than 48 Years. And thus I have given you in a few words the History of this Saint, taken out of his own Works, and the Authors that wrote either his Life, or the History of his time. Let us now give an Account of his Writings.

St. *Athanasius* was one of those Authors who were forc'd to write, and were engag'd to take Pen in hand, rather by an Obligation to defend themselves, than upon any design to make Books; and therefore the greatest Part of his Books, are either Apologies to justify himself, or Invectives against his Enemies, or Treatises of Controversy against the Errors of the *Arians*. They are all written in the form of Letters, a way of Writing which is most simple in the Composure, and at the same time most natural, and most proper for one that is in a place of Retirement.

There is a great probability, that his Two Treatises against the Gentiles, were the first which he compos'd, because he does not there attack the *Arians*, as he does in all the other Books which he made, after he had any personal Differences with them. The last of these Two Books, is entituled at present, *Concerning the Incarnation*, and *Theodoret* cites it under that Name; but St. *Jerom* gives them both the Title of, *Treatises against the Gentiles*, and indeed, they are both written rather to Convert Pagans, than to Instruct Christians.

The next Work of St. *Athanasius*, after these Two Treatises, is his Apologetick (*s*) to the Emperour *Constantius*, which he wrote sometime after he was forc'd away from *Alexandria*, in the Year 356. He wrote also the same Year, Two Letters (*t*) upon the Persecution which the Christians of

(q) *At the City of* Antioch, *where they held a kind of a Synod.*] 'Tis commonly thought that this Synod was held at *Alexandria*: But *Valesius* has well observ'd, that the Beginning of the Letter shows, that it was written by the Bishops, deputed from the Provinces of *Egypt*, who were come to *Antioch*, where the Emperour was at that time.

(r) *In the Year* 373 *of Jesus Christ.*] *Proterius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, places the Death of St. *Athanasius* in this Year, in a Letter to St. *Leo*; and St. *Jerom* says, that *Peter* of *Alexandria* was chosen the same Year. These Authors are more credible than *Socrates*, *Ruffinus* and St. *Cyril*, who place it in the Year 371.

(s) *The next Work of St.* Athanasius, *after these two Treatises, is his Apologetick.*] This was compos'd immediately, after his Retiring. Which he did with a Design to speak it in the Presence of *Constantius*: But understanding the Mischiefs he had done to those that favour'd him, he thought it not safe to come near him. His two Apologies and his Epistle to those that lead a Monastick Life, were written after this, where he speaks with much Sharpness and Freedom against *Constantius*, particularly, in his Letter to those that lead a Monastick Life.

(t) *He wrote also the same Year, Two Letters.*] I say that these Two Letters were written a little while after the Enthroning of *George*, though I know *Baronius* is of Opinion, that the 1st. was written a long time before, when *Gregory* seized upon the Church of *Alexandria* and that the 2d. was written in 361. but this Opinion is not defensible. As to the 1st. *Baronius* was deceiv'd by the Version, where he found sometimes the Name of *Gregory*, and sometimes that of *George*; but this Confusion is avoided in the Greek, where one may always find the Name of *George*, when mention is made of him that came to intrude into the Church of *Alexandria*: But that which can never be answer'd, is, That *Gregory* is mention'd there as one that had been condem'd, long ago, and was no more. See the Place, *p.* 948. *For after all the Churches in the World had anathematiz'd* Gregory, *whom the* Arians *had formerly,* πρότερον, *made Bishop; yet the same* Arians *presently sent* George *thither.* Here you see how *Gregory* and *George* are well distinguisht We may add to this Authority, That the Circumstances related in This Letter agree with the Enthronizing of *George*, and not at all with that of *Gregory*. It may be alledg'd for the Opinion of *Baronius*, 1. That 'tis said in the Letter, *Philagrius* the Governour of *Egypt* introduc'd him, who is there spoken of, and 'tis very well known, that *Philagrius* carried *Gregory* to *Alexandria*: But I cannot see why he might not as well be employ'd to conduct *George* thither likewise. 2. 'Tis alledg'd, that 'tis said in the Letter, that he who was sent to *Alexandria* by

Alexandria suffer'd, when *George* took Possession of that Episcopal See. The First which was address'd to the Bishops of *Egypt*, is improperly call'd *The first Discourse against the* Arians. The Second is written to all the Orthodox Bishops. A little time after, he compos'd his Two Apologies in the place of his Retirement: 'Tis likewise very probable, that he wrote at that time his Four Treatises against the *Arians*, which he address'd to the Monks, as we learn from the beginning of his Letter to *Serapion*, concerning the Death of *Arius*. His Letter to those that lead a Monastick Life, is made up of two different Pieces: The First is a Letter written to the Monks, which is a kind of Preface to some Treatise against the *Arians*, and may be so to that which follows; it contains about a Page and a half, and ends at these words in Page 810. *Gratia Domini Jesu Christi sit vobiscum. Amen.* The following Treatise which was address'd to those that lead a Monastick Life, is a History of all that pass'd from the beginning of *Arianism*, to the fall of *Hosius* and *Liberius*, *i.e.* to the Year 358. There are some Periods in the beginning, which are lost, that not only this Treatise has no Connexion with the Letter that precedes it, but also there is no Sence in the beginning of it: And I am astonish'd to think, that so many able Men should read this Book without perceiving, or at least without observing it. The Letter to *Serapion*, concerning the Death of *Arius*, was written after the Treatise which is directed to those that lead a Monastick Life, as appears by the beginning of it. The Book of Synods was compos'd in 359 (*u*), before the Councils of *Seleucia* and *Ariminum*, were ended: He afterwards added in this Book, what concerns the Council of *Constantinople* in 360, and what is there said concerning the Death of *Constantius*. The two Latin Letters which are at the End of the Works of *Lucifer Calaritanus*, were also written under *Constantius*. The Letter of the Council of *Alexandria*, to those of *Antioch*, was written after the Death of that Emperour, in 362; the Letter of the Council of *Antioch*, under *Jovian*, was written in 363: That which is directed to all the Bishops of *Egypt* and *Arabia*, *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, was written in 368, under the Reign of *Valens*, as well as that which is directed to the *Africans* (*x*). And the Letter to *Epictetus* was written last (*y*).

St. *Athanasius*.

There are besides, many other Works of St. *Athanasius*, of which the Chronology is not known, which it concerns us to distinguish well from those that are doubtful or suppositious. These Works are in the First Volume. The Homily upon these Words, *My Father hath given me all things*, p. 149. The Epistle to *Adelphius*, p. 155. That to *Maximus*, p. 162. Two Letters to *Serapion*, to prove, that the Son and the Holy Spirit are not Creatures, *p.* 166, and 173. An Exposition of the Faith, *p.* 240. A Letter concerning the History of the Decision of the Council of *Nice*, p. 248. A Letter of the Judgment of *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* upon the Trinity, *p.* 548. A Treatise of the Union of the

the *Arians*, was ordain'd by *Eusebius*; and *Eusebius* was certainly dead in *George*'s time: But 'tis easy to answer this Difficulty, for 'tis not in the Greek Εὐσέβιος, but οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιος, the *Eusebians*, which is the Name that St. *Athanasius* commonly gives to his Persecutors. St. *Athanasius* seems to say, that he was at *Alexandria* when this Trouble happen'd: but 'tis well known, that he was out of the City when *George* came thither, since he with-drew before *Easter*, and *George* did not thrust himself into those Churches till that time. To which I answer, That *Athanasius* does not say, that he was at *Alexandria*, when *George* arriv'd there, but only when *Philagrius* publish'd the Edict against him. *Lastly*, 'tis objected, that 'tis said towards the end of this Letter, that they would have a Council assembled at *Rome* in the preceeding Year? but the Roman Church, say they, was not then in a Condition to have assembled in the Year 356, because *Liberius* was then in Exile. *Answ.* This Objection is easily destroy'd, for *Liberius* and the other Bishops of *Italy* had many times desired the assembling of a Council. 1. By their Legates sent to *Milan* in 354. 2. In 355. before *Liberius* went from *Rome*. And, 3. When he was come to Court. St. *Athanasius* therefore might say truly in 356, that those of *Rome* had desired a Council the Year before. The Letter to the *Egyptians* was written before *George* arriv'd at *Alexandria*, for there he is mention'd as one ready to be sent thither, *p.* 290. and he is describ'd as one that was not yet known to the *Egyptians*. There *Cecrops* is mention'd as a Bishop alive; but he was swallowed up by an Earthquake which destroy'd *Nicomedia* in 358. There *Liberius* and *Hosius* are mention'd with Commendation, who fell away in 357. *Baronius* objects Two Things to prove that it was not written till 360. 1*st*. Because it is said there, that it was now 36. Years since the *Arians* were declar'd Hereticks: 2*dly* because mention is made in it of a Creed which they would have sign'd; but we read of none, that there was at this time. In Answer, to the 1*st*. Objection it may be said, that the Figures are wrong, or rather that we must count the 36 Years from the 1*st*. Synod held by *Alexander* against the *Arians*. 'Tis more easy to answer the 2*d*. by saying, That the *Arian* Bishops might make a Creed when they sent *George*; besides that, *Athanasius* says onely that he heard say, they had made one, and not that they had done it. Be it as it will, this 1*st*. Treatise against the *Arians* is a Letter to the Bishops of *Egypt*, which has nothing of Affinity with the Subject and Matter of the other Four: The Oration that follows begins as a new Discourse, and St. *Cyril* cites a Passage out of the 3*d*. Book of *Athanasius* concerning the Trinity, which is found in that which is now call'd the 4*th*. and *Theodoret* cites one taken out of the Second, which is now in the 3*d*. Treatise.

(u) *The Book of Synods was compos'd in* 359.] This is evident, because he does not finish the History of the Council of *Ariminum*, concluding with the Nomination of the 1*st*. Deputies which were sent to the Emperour; and at the End he adds the Letter of *Constantius*, and the generous Answer of the Bishops, which he had learn'd afterwards. He speaks always of that Council as a thing present, and with Commendation; and he says nothing more of what pass'd at *Constantinople* after the Council of *Seleucia*. This Book is probably that which St. *Jerom* says, St. *Athanasius* had Written against *Ursacius* and *Valens*, unless we should rather say, that it was a Work subjoin'd to his Letter to those that lead a Monastick Life.

(x) *As well as that which is directed to the* Africans.] This is to the Bishops of the Western *Africa*, and not to those of *Cyrenaick*, as *Baronius* thought, who says, that these Letters were written under the Pontificate of *Damasus*.

(y) *And the Letter to* Epictetus *was written last.*] He observes in this Letter, that *Auxentius* and the other *Arians*, were anathematiz'd by the Councils of *France*, *Spain* and *Rome*. St. *Cyril* says that it was corrupted, but that which we now have, agrees with that which is related by the Emperour.

St. Athanasius.

Humane Nature to the Word, which is cited by *Theodoret*, under the Name of, *A Book against the Arians*, *p.* 595. Two Books of the Incarnation, against *Apollinarius*, p. 614, 633. A Treatise against the Followers of *Sabellius*, p. 650. An Epistle to *John* and to *Antiochus*, p. 951. An Epistle to *Palladius*, p. 952. An Epistle to *Dracontius*, p. 955. An Epistle to *Marcellinus*, concerning the Interpretation of the *Psalms*, p. 959. The Homily of the Sabbath and Circumcision, *p.* 964. A Treatise upon the Words of Jesus Christ, *Whosoever shall be guilty of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this World, nor in that which is to come*, p. 970.

In the Second Volume, there are few of his Genuine Works; but here follow those which we own. Two Letters to *Serapion*, concerning the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, *p.* 10. and 16. A short Discourse against the *Arians*, p. 22. The Conferences of St. *Athanasius* with the *Arians*, in the presence of *Jovian*, from *p.* 27. to *p.* 29. An Epistle to *Ammon*, p. 35. A Fragment of one, *p.* 39. A Festival Epistle, *p.* 38. An Epistle to *Ruffinian*, p. 40. A Book of the Abridgment of the Holy Scripture, *p.* 55. All these Works, whereof some are cited by the Ancients, agree well enough with the Stile of St. *Athanasius*, and they contain nothing in my Opinion, which gives just cause to suspect them of Forgery (*z*).

There is not any of the other Works, that bear the Name of St. *Athanasius*, besides those which we have already mention'd, that is Genuine, but they are all either manifestly Supposititious, or very doubtful.

The Treatise which has this Title, *That there is but one Jesus Christ*, altho' it be ancient, yet is not written by St. *Athanasius*. For, First, This Author places *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, amongst the Hereticks, whereas St. *Athanasius* always communicated with him as a Catholick Bishop, even in the last Years of his Life, as appears by the Letters of St. *Basil*, which complain of St. *Athanasius* upon this occasion. Secondly, The Author of this Treatise, acknowledges but one only *Hypostasis* in Jesus Christ, whereas St. *Athanasius* always took this Word, rather to signify the Nature, than to denote the Person (*aa*).

For this last Reason we ought also to reject the little Treatise of the Incarnation against *Paulus Samosatenus*, which is in the First Volume of St. *Athanasius*, p. 591. because the Author of it owns three *Hypostases* in the Trinity.

The Refutation of the Hypocrisie of *Meletius*, is rather the Work of *Paulinus* of *Antioch*, or some of his Party, than of St. *Athanasius*, who was neither so conceited of the Notion of three *Hypostases*, nor so transported with anger against *Melctius*, as the Author of this Treatise was.

(*z*) *Which gives just cause to suspect them of Forgery*] Yet there is some Doubt of some of those Works which are mention'd in this place; but the Conjectures which are alledg'd have little Solidity. Some have doubted of the Letters to *Serapion*, but these are written in the Stile of St. *Athanasius*. The two which are in the 2*d*. Volume, are an Abridgment of the 2*d*. which is in the 1*st*. Volume. The Exposition of Faith which is in *p.* 240. of the 1*st*. Volume, is cited by *Facundus*, *B.* XI. *Ch.* 6 The Treatise of the Union of the humane Nature is cited by *Theodoret* in his 2*d*. and 3*d*. Dialogue: And so it cannot be deny'd, that it is St. *Athanasius*'s, especially since it has his Stile, although the Author of St. *Athanasius*'s Life affirms the contrary. The 2*d*. *B.* of the Incarnation against *Apollinarius* is no ways doubtful, but the 1*st*. is call'd in question, which is more obscure and less methodical: Yet *Leontius B.* II. against *Eutyches*, cites the 2*d*. under the Name of the 2*d*. Treatise of St. *Athanasius* against *Apollinarius*. The Letter to *Marcellinus* about the Interpretation of the *Psalms*, is in all Probability that which St. *Jerom* and *Cassiodorus* call a Treatise of the Titles of the *Psalms*, because it contains the Subject and Argument of every *Psalm*. The Epistle to *Serapion* of the Death of *Arius*, is cited by the Ancient Historians. The Homily of the Sabbath and of Circumcision is not wholly of St. *Athanasius*'s Stile, but the Difference is very inconsiderable. Some have doubted of the Tract upon these Words, *Whosoever shall speak Blasphemy against the Holy Spirit*; but unjustly, for this Tract has not only the Stile of S. *Athanasius*, but also is prov'd to be really his, because *Gobarus* in *Photius Cod.* 232. testifies, that St *Athanasius* had many times cited *Theognostus*, who is not found cited but in this Book, and in the Treatise of the Judgment of *Denys* of *Alexandria*. And, *Lastly*, because the Treatise which we now discourse of, is cited in the Council of *Lateran*, held under *Martin* the 1*st*. in the Year 549 I think we ought not to reject the Conferences of St. *Athanasius* with the *Arians* before *Jovian*. 'Tis certain that St. *Athanasius* came to find out this Emperor; and *Philostorgius* says, that the *Arians* came to accuse St. *Athanasius* in his Presence. Moreover, they are written with great Simplicity, and appear to be very Ancient. *Scultetus* doubts of the Letter to *Ammon*, because it preferrs *Cælibacy* to Marriage, alledging that St. *Athanasius* taught the contrary in his Letter to *Dracontius*: But he was mistaken. The Fragment of the 39*th*. Festival Epistle ought to be receiv'd as undoubtedly his, after St. *Jerom*'s Testimony, who says, that St. *Athanasius* wrote those Letters which bear his Name. I say the same of the Abridgment of the Holy Scripture, which is upon the same Subject with this Festival Epistle, and has the same Opinions of the Canonical Writers. Some doubt of this last Treatise; 1. because the Author calls *Lucian*, who was a Ring-leader of the *Arians*, a holy Martyr. 2. Because he does not reckon the Book, entituled *Pastor*, among useful Books, as St. *Athanasius* does in his 39*th*. Letter, and in his Book of the *Nicene Synod*. But 'tis easy to answer these Conjectures. As to the 1*st*, That St. *Athanasius* did not think that *Lucian* was of the same Opinion that *Arius* had afterwards, or that knowing he died in the Bosom of the Church, he thought that he ought not to condemn him: Or *Lastly*, that he cited him as commonly he had been accustom'd to cite him. As to the 2*d*. That he says nothing of the Truth of the Book entituled *Pastor*, but neither does he reject it as a wicked Book, and by Consequence there can nothing be built upon this Conjecture.

(*aa*) *St.* Athanasius *always took this Word, rather to signify the Nature, than to denote the Person*] The Council of *Nice* seems to have taken the Word *Hypostasis* in this Sence, when it condemns those who say, that the Word is another *Hypostasis*, or Substance. St. *Athanasius* says often in his 5*th*. Oration, that the Father and the Son are one *Hypostasis* only; and in his Letter to the *Africans*. That the *Hypostasis* is the Substance. In short, though the Synod of *Alexandria* was persuaded that this Difference concern'd not Matters of Faith, yet they approv'd more the Opinion of those who take *Hypostasis* for Nature.

The

The Book of Virginity (*bb*), has nothing of the Stile of St. *Athanasius*, and it contains some Precepts very remote from the Genius and Discipline of his time. There is a Difference between him that wrote upon this Subject, who is cited by *Theodoret*, and him whom St. *Jerom* mentions. St. *Athanasius.*

The Treatise of Testimonies drawn from the Holy Scriptures, to prove the Essential Unity of the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity, is none of St. *Athanasius*'s. 1. Because the Author there relates some Passages of the Questions to *Antiochus*, which were written a long time after St. *Athanasius* as we shall shew hereafter. 2. The Stile of this Treatise is very different from that of St. *Athanasius*. 3. He uses childish Expressions, and gives impertinent Definitions of Angels and Men.

The Homily of the Annunciation, or of the Virgin, is also written by a later Author than St. *Athanasius*. 1. Because he expresly refutes the Error of *Nestorius*, and that of the *Monothelites*: and yet neither St. *Cyril*, nor any other Catholick Author, alledges this Book against those Hereticks. 2. In explaining the Doctrine of the Church, he uses such Terms, as were not in use till after the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians* time; as when he says, That he acknowledges two Natures in Jesus Christ, *without Confusion or Mixture, without Change or Division*, Terms which were not us'd till after the Council of *Ephesus*. 3. He detests the Error of those that call'd Jesus Christ, a Man-bearing God, an expression which St. *Athanasius* did not reject, and the Ancients sometimes made use of, and which was not condemn'd till after *Nestorius* had abus'd it. 4. He gives a ridiculous Etymology of the Greek Word ἰσία, by saying, that it comes from ἰσὰ, which is not a Greek Word.

The Life of St. *Syncletica* (*cc*), publish'd in Latin, by *Bollandus*, and in Greek, by the Learned *Cotelierius*, in his First Volume of the Monuments of the Greek Church, is suspected of falshood, because no body mentions it before *Nicephorus*; and in some Manuscripts, 'tis ascrib'd to a Monk named *Polycarp*; besides that, it has nothing of the Stile of St. *Athanasius*.

The Life of St. *Anthony* has better Authority (*dd*); for St. *Jerom* and St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, say positively, That St. *Athanasius* wrote the History of the Life of this Father of Monks; but still 'tis doubted, whether that which we now have, be not different from that which was known to these Ancients. *Rivet* and other Protestant Criticks, being Enemies of all those Books which concern Monkery, boldly reject this Life, as a suppositious Work: But their Reasons are not wholly convincing and all the Circumstances of the Life of St. *Anthony*, related by the Ancients, are to be found in this Book, and therefore I think it very probable that this was St. *Athanasius*'s, altho' something might be added or chang'd in it, as it often happen'd to Books of this nature.

The Creed which bears the Name of St. *Athanasius* (*ee*), pass'd a long time without any Contradiction as a Work which was truly this Father's; and yet, now all the World agrees, that 'twas none of his,

(bb) *The Book of Virginity.*] This Book is written in a low Stile, and contains Precepts about the Quality of the childish Clothes of Virgins: There are in it Expressions unworthy of St. *Athanasius*, as when he calls a Virgin, the Dancer of Jesus Christ. *Theodoret*, B. II. of his Hist. *Ch.* 4. cites a Passage out of a Book of St. *Athanasius* address'd to Virgins, which is not to be found in this Treatise, which shows that this is not the genuine Treatise of St. *Athanasius*.

(cc) *The Life of St.* Syncletica.] 'Tis cited as St. *Athanasius*'s by *Nicephorus Callistus*, and there is a Manuscript of it which bears his Name; but in another 'tis ascribed to a Monk named *Polycarp*, which is very likely to be true: For the Stile is unworthy of St. *Athanasius*. It is full of childish Comparisons, which are to be met with almost in every Period, and agree much better to a Monk, than to St. *Athanasius*.

(dd) *The Life of St.* Anthony *has better Authority.*] 'Tis alledg'd against this Life, to prove that it is not St. *Athanasius*'s, that this Saint relates the Death of *Balacius*, after another manner than it is related in this Life: For St. *Athanasius* says, in his Epistle to those that lead a Monastick Life. That the Letter of St. *Anthony* was written to *Gregory*, who gave it to *Balacius*; whereas in the Life of St. *Anthony*, it is said, that this Letter was address'd to *Balacius* himself. 2*dly*, 'Tis reported in the Life of St. *Anthony*, that *Balacius* was killed by *Nestorius* the Governour of *Egypt*'s Horse, who accompanied him: Whereas St. *Athanasius* says, that the Horse upon which *Balacius* rode, did bite him: But these Differences are of little Consequence, and the same Author may relate differently such kind of little Circumstances, either through the Fault of his Memory, or because he is better inform'd at one time than another. The Difference of Stile which is to be met with, between this Letter and the other Works of St. *Athanasius*, gives us more Trouble: But it may be that he proportion'd his Stile in this Life, both to the Matter, and the Capacity of the Monks for whom he wrote it. This is certain, the Ancients do testify, that St. *Athanasius* wrote the Life of St. *Anthony*, and all that they report of it, is found to agree with what is said in that Book which we now have. See St. *Chrysost. Homil.* 8. on *Matth.*, St. *Austin* in his *Confessions*, *Palladius Hist. Lausi. Ch.* 8. *Socrates Lib.* I. *c.* 17. and *Lib.* IV. *c.* 14. All which makes me think, that 'tis not convenient to reject it.

(ee) *The Creed which bears the Name of St.* Athanasius.] The Reasons that convince me that this Creed is none of St. *Athanasius*'s are these. 1. Because 'twas not known till the Sixth Century. 2. Because St. *Athanasius* never would make a Confession of Faith, nor a Creed, being persuaded he ought to keep to that of *Nice*. 3. Because this Creed rejects so plainly the Errors of the *Nestorians*, *Eutychians*, and *Monothelites*, that 'tis easy to perceive, 'twas made since those Hereticks, on purpose to reject their Errors. 4. The Stile and Terms do plainly show, that this Creed was made by a Latin, and not by a Greek, Author. 5. No Account can be given, upon what Occasion, at what Time, and for what Reason, St. *Athanasius* should make this Creed. See *Vossius* in his Book *De Tribus Symbolis*. 6. It appears by the Terms, that 'twas the Work of a Latin Author. 7. 'Tis not found among the ancient Manuscripts of St. *Athanasius*. 'Twas made since the Council of *Chalcedon*, as the Reasons we have now given do clearly prove. 'Tis cited in the Council of *Autun*, in the Year 670, and there we read in the Fourth Council of *Toledo*, in 633, some Phrases which seem to be taken out of this Creed. But it must be confess'd, that this last Council does not say, That they were taken out of the Creed of St. *Athanasius*, and that there is no certainty, that this Canon of the Council of *Autun*, where mention is made of St *Athanasius*'s Creed, is so ancient, as we have said, since it is not found among the Canons of that Council under *Leodegarius*; but in a Collection of those Canons taken out of the Library of the Monastery of St *Benignus* of *Dijon*. *Hincmar*

St. *Athanasius.*

but some Authors that liv'd a long time after him. 'Tis not certainly known whose it is; some have attributed it to some *French*; others, as Father *Quesnel*, think, that 'tis written by *Vigilius Tapsensis*, who liv'd towards the End of the Fifth Age of the Church. However this be, 'tis certain that 'twas compos'd after the Council of *Chalcedon*, because it rejects so formally the Errors of the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians*, that 'tis evident it aims at these two Heresies.

St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, in his Book address'd to Queens, and his Defence of the Eighth Anathematism, cites a Confession of Faith under the Name of St. *Athanasius*, about the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, which is still found among the Works of this Father, in the Second Vol. *P.* 30. St. *John Damascene*, *B.* III. *Of the Orthodox Faith*, *Ch.* 6. and *Theorianus*, attribute it to St. *Athanasius*. *Basil* of *Seleucia*, in the First Act of the Council of *Constantinople*, says, 'Twas reported that St. *Athanasius* was the Author of an Expression which is found in this Confession of Faith, *viz. That the Word had but one Nature Incarnate.* But *Leontius* in his Book of Sects, denies that St. *Athanasius* was the Author of this Sentence, and the Catholick Bishops at a Conference held at *Constantinople* against the *Severians* in the Year 533, have also rejected it, as being falsly attributed to St. *Athanasius*. And truly the Doctrine and Expressions of this Confession of Faith about the Incarnation, do not at all agree with those of St. *Athanasius* in his Books of the Incarnation; in which he does not only say nothing which may favour the Error of the *Eutychians*, but also he formally rejects it, and rather favours the contrary Opinion.

The other Works attributed to St. *Athanasius*, are yet more manifestly Suppositious, and no body almost has acknowledg'd them for Genuine. The Dispute against *Arius* (*ff*) which is in the First Volume, is a Dialogue compos'd under the Names of St. *Athanasius* and *Arius*, by some body that liv'd long after. This is plain, and all the World is agreed in't; but 'tis not known who is the Author of it. Some have attributed it to *Vigilius Tapsensis*; but for my part, I rather believe that 'tis the Work of a Greek, than a Latin Author, and that it may well be attributed to *Maximus*.

The Letter of *Liberius* to St. *Athanasius*, and the Answer of this Saint to *Liberius* (gg), agree not at all with the History of these two Bishops, and have no resemblance of their Stile.

The Explication of these words of Jesus Christ to his Apostles, *Go to the Village that is over against you, and there ye shall find a Colt tied* (*hh*); the Homily upon the Passion (*ii*) of Jesus Christ, and that upon the Seed (*kk*), which are found at the End of the First Volume, have neither the Stile nor the Air of St. *Athanasius*, and contain many things unworthy of him.

and *Abbo*, who liv'd about the Tenth Century; *Radulphus*, *Haimo*, *Hugo*, and some other Ancient Frenchmen have cited it as St. *Athanasius*'s. The Greeks also, as *Manuel Calecas*, Lib. 2. have made no scruple to ascribe it to him, *Pitheus* thought that a Frenchman compos'd it, because the French Authors were the first that expressly cited it: and perhaps some Frenchman did draw this Creed, partly from the Council of *Toledo*, and put the Name of St. *Athanasius* to it. Father *Quesnel* is of opinion, that 'twas the Work of *Vigilius Tapsensis*, and it must be confess'd, that his Conjectures are very probable; For, 1st. This Author has forg'd many Books under the Names of the Fathers, and particularly under the Name of St. *Athanasius*. 2. In all his Writings he opposes the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians*, and this Creed attributed to St. *Athanasius*, is directly against the Errors of those Hereticks. 3. The same *Vigilius* made several Confessions of Faith under the Name of St. *Athanasius*. 4. The First part of the Creed seems to be a Recapitulation of the Chapters of *Vigilius Tapsensis*'s Book against *Varimadus*: and even in the Third Book, the Three first Chapters contain these Propositions, *Deus Pater*, *Deus Filius*, *Deus Spiritus Sanctus*; *Dominus Pater*, *Dominus Filius*, *Dominus Spiritus Sanctus*; *Omnipotens Pater*, *Omnipotens Filius*, *Omnipotens Spiritus Sanctus*, which are word for word in the Creed. These are the Conjectures of Father *Quesnel*, to which one may adhere so much the rather, while there is nothing to be had more certain about this Matter. Be it as it will, 'tis certainly the Work of a Latin Author, which has been since translated into Greek, which is the reason why the Greek Copies differ among themselves.

(ff) *The Dispute against* Arius.] 'Tis evident that 'tis not a Conference made in the Council, but only a fictitious Dialogue made by some body, under the Names of St. *Athanasius* and an *Arian*, and not of *Arius*; for the Catholick says, That his Adversary is a Monster come out of the Sect of *Arius*. The Author of this Dialogue is so ignorant, that he thinks the Council of *Nice* was held in the Year 310.

(gg) *The Letter of* Liberius *to St.* Athanasius, *and the Answer of this Saint to* Liberius.] These Letters neither agree with St. *Athanasius*, nor with *Liberius*: The last to St. *Athanasius* is so written, as if there were some doubt of his being a Catholick: He requires him to Anathematize *Arius* and *Sabellius*, *that I*, says he, *may obey your Commands*. The Letter of *Liberius* and the Answer of St. *Athanasius*, are written as if they were Confessions of Faith, and they favour the Error of *Nestorius*. The Stile of these two Letters is Childish and mean. The Letter attributed to *Liberius*, begins with a *Then*.

(hh) *The Explication of these words of Jesus Christ*, Go to the Village that is over against you, and there ye shall find a Colt tied.] This Homily is a Fragment of some Commentary upon the Gospel. It is not the Stile of St. *Athanasius*. He explains all the passages of Scripture in a mystical sence, and draws from thence Allegories, which have more of subtilty than solidity. It is very different from the Air of St. *Athanasius*, which is grave and serious; and besides, he generally interprets the Scripture in its natural sence.

(ii) *The Homily upon the Passion.*] This also is not written in the Stile of St. *Athanasius*; for though it be something more Sublime than the former, yet it comes not near the Gravity of this Father's Stile. There are ridiculous things related in it of the Fear of Christ. 'Tis said, that he counterfeited the Fear of Death, lest the Devil should not withdraw, and that when the Devil heard him cry out, *Eli*, *Eli*, he had the boldness to attack him: But on the contrary, St. *Athanasius* in his Fourth Dialogue against the *Arians*, does expressly deny that Jesus Christ counterfeited any Fear, and assures us, that as Man he was really afraid. The Author of this Homily disallows all Oaths, whereas St. *Athanasius* approves them upon several occasions.

(kk) *And that upon the Seed.*] Or rather upon the Action of the Disciples, who ate the Ears of Corn upon the Sabbath-Day. 'Tis found only in one Manuscript, and it has nothing excellent, nor is it written in the Stile of St. *Athanasius*.

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The Discourse *against all Heresies*, which is the last Work of the First Volume of St. *Athanasius*, is confus'd, and the Stile mean, as is observ'd in an Ancient Manuscript. He opposes in a few words all Heresies, contrary to the Custom of St. *Athanasius*, who refutes very largely all those he takes in hand. The Oration upon the Ascension of Jesus Christ, is of a Stile more florid than that of St. *Athanasius* the Phrases are forc'd and tumid, whereas St. *Athanasius* writes in a Simple and Natural Stile. The Oration of *Melchisedeck* cannot be St. *Athanasius*'s, since the Author mentions the Fathers of the Council of *Nice* as dead long before. St. *Athanasius*.

The Letter of *Jovian* to St. *Athanasius*, and that of St. *Athanasius* to *Jovian*, which are in the Second Volume, are much to be suspected. That of St. *Athanasius* discovers the Forgery, because it contains a Confession of Faith different from that of the Council of *Nice*, and 'tis certain that he sent no other to this Emperour. The Author of this Letter writes in such terms, as plainly discover that he was not St. *Athanasius*, but rather *Apollinarius*, since he acknowledges but one Nature in Jesus Christ; and indeed, *Leontius* testifies that *Apollinarius* had inserted this Doctrine in a Letter to the Emperour *Jovian*. The Book of Definitions, which are pretended to be Collections out of St. *Clement*, and other Holy Fathers, cannot be St. *Athanasius*'s, since the Author cites in it *Gregory Nyssen*, in the Chapter *of the Act*. Moreover, he speaks of two Natures and one Person in Jesus Christ, as if he had written after the Birth of the Heresies of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*. A good part of the Book is taken out of a Book of *Anastasius Sinaita*, entituled, Ὁδηγὸς, a *Guide*; and in some Manuscripts, the Definitions are ascrib'd to *Maximus*, under whose Name Father *Combefis* has Publish'd them.

All the Learned agree, that the Seven Dialogues of the Trinity, are not St. *Athanasius*'s (*ll*); the difference of the Stile, the Terms, and the Doctrine, are convincing Proofs of it; and 'tis plain, that the Author of this Treatise liv'd since the Council of *Constantinople*, at the time when the Disputes about the Incarnation of Jesus Christ were afoot in the Church. Father *Combefis* has restor'd them to *Maximus* (*mm*), upon the Authority of some Manuscripts, and the Testimony of the Modern Greeks, who cite them often under the Name of this Author. *Garnerius* a very learned Jesuit, ascribes them to *Theodoret*, and has printed them under his Name, in a pretended Supplement to the Works of this Father. But he has nothing to support this Opinion but some slight Conjectures (*nn*); and he does not sufficiently refute the Assertion of Father *Combefis*.

The following Book, entituled, *A Tragedy*, is falsly attributed to St. *Athanasius*. *Photius* in *Cod.* 46. sets down all the Titles of the Questions which are handled in this Book, with some others that are not found there, and ascribes them to *Theodoret*. *Garnerius* upon the Credit of *Marius Mercator* attributes them to *Etherius Tyanæus* a Disciple of *Theodoret*.

The Questions to *Antiochus*, and those that follow them, are yet later (*oo*) than those Books of which we have already spoken: These were made by some Modern Greek, and seem to be all written

(*ll*) *The Seven Dialogues of the Trinity, are not St.* Athanasius's.] 1. The Author speaks there of an Addition made by the Council of *Constantinople* to the *Nicene* Creed. *Annon & vos fidei Nicenæ adjeciſtis?* says the Heretick, and the Catholick answers, *Sed non ipſi pugnantia.* 2. He explains the Six Epithets given to the Holy Spirit by the Council. 3. He treats there of subtile Questions about the Trinity, which were not started in the Time of St. *Athanasius*. 4. He opposes *Eunomius* and *Macedonius*, whom St. *Athanasius* did never particularly attack. 5. The Author of the Dialogue acknowledges Three *Hypostases* in Jesus Christ. 6. The Stile is wholly different from that of St. *Athanasius*. There are cited indeed in the *Lateran* Council under *Martin* the *1st. Secret. 6.* Three Testimonies of St. *Athanasius*; and the *3d.* under this Title, *In Sermone Athanasii qui per modum Interrogationis & Responsionis cum Apollinario ſit*; which Title agrees well enough with these Dialogues: But what is here related, is no where to be found.

(*mm*) *Father* Combefis *has restor'd them to* Maximus]In the Greek Manuscript which *Beza* us'd, 'tis observed on the Margin, *This Dialogue is not St.* Athanasius's, *but some say 'tis* Maximus's. Two other Manuscripts of *Rome* and *Venice*, and that of *Du Fresne*, attribute it to *Maximus*. *Gregorius Protosyncellus*, *Veccus*, *Acyndinus*, *Demetrius*, and some other modern Greeks, cite it often under the Name of *Maximus*, and seldom under that of St. *Athanasius*. It appears by the Stile and by all the Arguments in that Author, that these Seven Dialogues are by one and the same Hand; and the Authorities which we have alledg'd, do plainly show that they ought to be attributed to *Maximus*.

(*nn*) Garnerius *has nothing to support this Opinion but some slight Conjectures.*] He has no Manuscripts, nor Citations from the Ancients. All that he says to prove it, is, *1st.* That *Theodoret* writ against the *Arians*, the *Eunomians*, the *Macedonians*, and the *Apollinarists*, as he testifies in many Places of his Works. 2. That the Doctrine, the Expressions, and the Reasons of this Author resemble those of *Theodoret*, and this Author denies as well as he, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. These Conjectures are very slight, when there are no Manuscripts for him; for it may so happen that Two Authors, writing upon the same Principles, may agree very near in these Things; besides the Resemblance of the Stile is not so great as *Garnerius* would have us believe. The Proofs which he brings to show that this Treatise is none of *Maximus*'s are not of any greater Weight: He says this Book was written before the Creed of *Ephesus*, because there is no Mention in it of the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians*: That from *Maximus*'s Time the Question was no longer treated of *de Genito & Ingenito*: That there is no Probability, that *Maximus* should dispute against the *Anomæans*, with opposing the *Eutychians*, and *Monothelites*. 'Tis easie to confute these Conjectures, by saying, that *Maximus* in these Books disputed against the ancient Heresies, and that he sufficiently oppos'd those of his own Time in his other Books.

(*oo*) *The Questions to* Antiochus, *and those that follow them, are yet later.*] In these Questions to *Antiochus*, the Author cites many Writers more modern than St. *Athanasius*, as *Gregory Nyssen* in his *8th.* The Author of the Book ascribed to St. *Denys*, *Ibid.* St. *Epiphanius* Question 3. And many others in other Places. They have nothing of the Stile of St. *Athanasius*, and the Author in many Places is of a contrary Opinion: in short, in *Athanasius*'s Time, those kind of Questions that were more Curious than useful, were not suffer'd. The Questions that follow about the Explication of some Doubts upon Places of Holy Scripture, and the other anonymous Questions are by the same Author as the preceding, and are only a Collection of Passages.

by

St. *Athanasius.*

by the same Author. The Homily of the Vigils of *Easter*, has nothing of the Stile of St. *Athanasius*, but is dry and barren, and full of affected Figures. The Fragments of the Commentary upon the Psalms, related by *Nicetas* in his *Catena*, are very dubious, and so much the more, because we have no account in the Ancients that St. *Athanasius* ever compos'd a Commentary upon the Psalms. The same must be said of the Passages taken out of the *Catena* upon *Job*; for there is not much Credit to be given to these *Catena's* made by the Modern Greeks. But the Passages cited by *Theodoret*, are more valuable, for they are almost all found in some of the Works of St. *Athanasius* which we have mention'd, excepting only those which he cites as taken out of a large Discourse of this Father *about Faith*. We must also acknowledge for Genuine the Fragment of a Treatise of St. *Athanasius* upon these words, of Jesus Christ, *My Soul is troubled*, which is recited in the Sixth Council, *Art.* 14. for besides the Authority of this Council, which cites it as St. *Athanasius*'s, 'tis easie to perceive, that it has the Stile and Air of this Father. 'Tis also very probable, that the Passages cited by *Gelasius* and St. *John Damascene*, and set down at the end of the Second Volume, *P.* 547, and 548, are St. *Athanasius*'s. The Passage of a Letter to *Eupsychius (pp)*, recited in Latin in the Sixth Council, is not so certainly his, for it is not written in his Stile, and we read no-where else that St. *Athanasius* ever wrote to *Eupsychius*. *Photius* mentions a Commentary of St. *Athanasius* upon *Ecclesiastes*, and the *Canticles*: we have nothing of it at present, and I doubt very much, whether it was St. *Athanasius*'s, since *Photius* himself confesses, that it had not the Stile of his other Works, and that none of the Ancients mention it. The Eleven Books of the Unity of the Godhead in the Trinity, belong to *Vigilius (qq)*, a Deacon of *Africk*, and afterwards Bishop of *Tapsa*, as well as the Dialogue, or Conference of *Arius* and St. *Athanasius*, which follows these Eleven Books.

The Exhortation to the Monks, and to the Spouse of Jesus Christ, which is in the Collection of *Holstenius*, has nothing of the Stile of St. *Athanasius*, no more than the Book entituled, *Instructions abridg'd for Monks and Christians*, publish'd not long ago in Greek and Latin, by *Arnoldus*, and printed at *Paris* by the Widow *Martin*, in the Year 1685. These Books are written in a mean Stile, and contain such Rules and Precepts, as neither agree with the Person, nor the Genius of St. *Athanasius*.

The Letters of St. *Athanasius* to the Bishops of *Egypt*, to the Popes *Marcus* and *Felix (rr)*, and those of these Popes to these Bishops, are notoriously False and Supposititious.

The Relation of the Passion of the Image of Jesus Christ in the City of Berytus *(ss)*, cannot be St. *Athanasius*'s

taken out of St. *Chrysostom*, St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, St. *Gregory Nyssen*, St. *Climacus*, St. *Maximus*, which are sometimes recited under their Names. The Author of these Questions calls the *Occidentalists* by the Name of *Franks*, and says that the *Romans* are a Nation of the *Franks*, ἔθνη τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἦγεν τῶν Φράγγων τὸ γένος: Which plainly discovers that they were compos'd by the Modern *Greeks*, after the Empire of the *West* came to the *Franks*. The modern *Greeks* have made many such Collections, which they have put forth under the Name of ancient and famous Fathers.

(pp) *The Passage of a Letter to* Eupsychius.] *Theodoret* and the Council of *Chalcedon* cite a Letter of *Atticus* of *Constantinople* Successor to St. *Chrysostom*, directed *to Eupsychius*. St. *Athanasius* mentions one *Eupsychius* Bishop of *Cappadocia*, *Orat.* 1. against *Ar.* But the sixth Council says, that the *Eupsychius* mention'd by him was a Priest of *Cæsarea*.

(qq *The Eleven Books and the Conference of* Arius *and St* Athanasius, *belong to* Vigilius Tapsensis.] It has been observ'd long since that these were the Works of a Latin Author, who wrote long after St. *Athanasius*. *Sirmondus* first discover'd that they were written by *Vigilius Tapsensis*. This he observ'd in his Notes upon *Theodolphus* of *Orleans*, where he says, that these Two Books are found in an ancient Manuscript, together with the Books of this *African* Bishop against *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*, in which he testifies himself that he compos'd these Dialogues under the Name of St. *Athanasius*.

(rr) *To the Popes* Marcus *and* Felix.] 1. The Author of this Letter to *Marcus*, uses the Words of the Epistle to *Felix*. 2. The Author of this Letter places the Persecution against St. *Athanasius* which happen'd in 355, under *Liberius*, Nineteen Years after the Death of Pope *Marcus*. 3. This Letter is compos'd of Passages of Authors who liv'd since St. *Athanasius*, as St. *Leo*, *Atticus*, St. *Cyril*, St. *Celestine*, &c. 4. He says, that there were Eighty Canons of the *Nicene* Council, Forty Greek and Forty Latin, which is a manifest Falshood. 5. He adds, that he reduc'd them to Seventy, that there might be as many Canons as there were Disciples of Jesus Christ, and Languages in the World, which is the Heighth of Impertinence. 6. The Stile is very different from that of St. *Athanasius*, and is of a Latin Author. 7. In 336, when this Letter is suppos'd to be written, St. *Athanasius* was in *Gaul*, and consequently could not write from *Alexandria*. In a Word, the Letter is dated the 1*st.* of *December*, and *Marcus* died the same Year, in the Beginning of *November*. The same Reasons, prove that the Answer could not be written by *Marcus*, for 'tis dated about a Month after his Death. The Letter written to *Felix* has as many Marks of Falshood. 1. St. *Athanasius* never communicated with this false Pope. 2. It has not the Stile of St. *Athanasius*, but of a Latin Author. 3. 'Tis compos'd of Passages taken out of St. *Innocent*, *Celestine*, the Roman Council, and *Adrian*. 4. When *Felix* was chosen, St *Athanasius* lay conceal'd, and could not then assemble a Synod. The Answer of *Felix* is compos'd of Passages out of the decretal Epistles forg'd by *Isidore*, and of Testimonies out of the Fathers; and the Date of the Consuls is false.

(ss) *The Relation of the Passion of the Image of Jesus Christ in the City of* Berytus.] *Sigibert* in his Chronicle, relates this Story at the Year 765, and so the Treatise which he cites cannot be St. *Athanasius*'s. I shall give a short Account of the Story; and leave the Reader to judge whether it be fabulous or no. 'Tis said, that a Christian having over-against his Bed an Image of Jesus Christ which was of his natural Bigness, removing out of his Lodging, forgot it in the Lodging where it was, though he knew that Jesus Christ gave it to *Nicodemus*, who left it to *Gamaliel*, and that from *Gamaliel* it pass'd to St. *James*, and from St. *James* to *Simeon*, and from him to *Zacheus*, and so it pass'd from Hand to Hand till the Destruction of *Jerusalem*: That a Jew having hir'd the House where this Image was, for some time did not perceive it: but having invited some of his Friends to eat with him, they discover'd it, and after that; all the *Jews* assembled together to beat it, and one of them having pierc'd it with a Lance, there came forth Blood and Water, which wrought Abundance of Miracles. The Title of this Story says, that it happen'd under *Constantine* and *Irene*. 'Tis related also in the 2*d.* Council of *Nice*, and 'tis said, that it made the Fathers of the Council to weep.

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nasius's; since the History which is there related, happen'd not, as is pretended, till the Year 765, and moreover, it is full of Fables, and unworthy of St. *Athanasius*.

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The Fragment upon the Incarnation, against the Disciples of *Paulus Samosatenus*, is done by an ancient Author; but we have it not in Greek, and there is no proof that it was St. *Athanasius*'s.

The other Fragment of the Sabbath, is an Extract from part of the Homily upon the same Subject, which is in Greek, *Vol.* 1. of St. *Athanasius*'s Works.

The Seven Homilies publish'd by *Holstenius*, have nothing of the Stile of St. *Athanasius*, but are written by some late Greek Declaimer. There is nothing in them that is useful or sublime; and they come not near the Noble Simplicity of St. *Athanasius*'s Writings, as those who have any relish of such things, are all agreed.

The Four other Discourses publish'd by Father *Combefis*, tho' they are more useful than the former, yet they are not St. *Athanasius*'s. The First rejects so expresly the Errors of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*, that 'tis plain, 'twas compos'd after these Two Hereticks had publish'd their Doctrine.

The Two Last about *Easter* and *Ascension*, are attributed in some Manuscripts to St. *Basil* of *Seleucia*, and 'tis probable that they are all Four written by him. St. *John Damascene*, or the Author of a Discourse upon the Dead, cites a Discourse of St. *Athanasius*, upon the same Subject; but we have none that bears this Title; and 'tis probable that this which is cited by this Author, is suppositious. I say nothing of the Commentary upon the *Psalms*, which in its First Edition, bore the Name of St. *Athanasius*, because now 'tis certainly known, that 'twas written by *Theophylact*.

When we consider the Works of St. *Athanasius*, with respect to the Subject on which they treat, they may be distinguish'd into Four sorts: The First, are Historical, and relate to the History of his own time; the Second sort, are purely Dogmatical; the Third concern Morality; and the Last, are upon the Holy Scriptures. His *Apologies* ought to be rank'd under the First Head. The First *Apology* was written immediately after he was driven out of *Alexandria*, and is address'd to the Emperour *Constantius*. There he refutes the Calumnies which his Enemies had made use of, to render him odious to *Constantius*. And the better to insinuate himself into the Emperour's Favour, he begins his Discourse with saying, That he made his Defence with much assurance before an Emperour, who had been long a Christian, and whose Ancestors had embrac'd the true Religion: That having made use of the Words of St. *Paul*, for his own Defence, he took him for his Intercessor with the Emperour, to whom, no doubt, he would give a favourable Hearing. Then he adds, That 'twas not necessary for him to purge himself from the Accusation relating to Ecclesiastical Matters, which his Enemies had formerly fram'd against him, since as to them he was sufficiently justified by the Testimony of an infinite Number of Bishops, and by the Retraction of *Ursacius* and *Valens*, who had acknowledg'd, that all those Accusations were pure Calumnies invented by them to destroy him; and that tho' these things were not so, yet he ought not to have any regard to an Information made in his absence by his Enemies, which should be of no weight, according to all Laws both Divine and Humane. And therefore without insisting upon those former Accusations in this *Apology*, he refutes those which were made use of since his Return, to blacken his Reputation with the Emperour. First of all, he is accus'd of having spoken ill of this Emperour to his Brother *Constans*. But he takes God to Witness, that he never did it, and says, That it had been a madness in him, to have attempted so bold a thing: That *Constans* would never have suffer'd it: That he had not so great an Interest in him, as to dare say any thing against his Brother: That he never spoke to him, but in the presence of many Persons who were Witnesses of what he said. But to prove the falseness of this Accusation beyond exception, he makes a faithful Relation of all that pass'd in his Voyage to *Italy*; wherein he says, That he parted from *Alexandria*, to put his Person and Reputation under the Protection of the Church of *Rome*; That he assisted at the Assemblies of the Faithful there; That he wrote but twice to *Constans*, while he staid at *Alexandria*: The First time to defend himself against some Letters full of Calumnies, which his Enemies had wrote to him; And the Second time, to send him some Copies of the Holy Scriptures; and that he never went to wait on him but twice, and both times by his own Order. At Last, he says, That the Emperour may judge by the manner of his speaking of his greatest Enemies, whether he was capable of speaking ill of him to his own Brother. The Second Accusation was no less heinous, for they accus'd him of having written a Letter to the Tyrant *Magnentius*, and they said, That they had the Original of his Letter. To which St. *Athanasius* answers, That this Accusation had no appearance of Truth; That he had never seen nor known *Magnentius*; That he never had occasion to write to him; That he had all the reason in the World, to detest him, and to hold no Correspondence with him; That the first Calumny destroy'd this, since 'twas incredible, that one who was so much for the Interest of *Constans*, should be of this Tyrant's Faction, who had revolted from him, and cruelly kill'd him. And as to their pretending to have this Letter, he says, 'Twas not to be wondred at, that they had found out an Impostor, since 'twas very well known, that they had counterfeited the Emperour's Letters. But he prays *Constantius*, to enquire from whence they had this Letter, and who gave it them; and to Summon before him the Secretaries of *Magnentius*, and inform himself, if they had ever receiv'd it: He conjures him to examine this Cause, as if Truth it self were present at his Decision; for, says he, If they had accus'd me before any other Judge, I might have appeal'd to the Emperour; but being accus'd before the Emperour, to whom can I appeal, but to the Father of him who is call'd *the Truth*, that is, *to God?* Then he addresses to him in a lively and elegant Prayer, That he might enlighten the mind of the Emperour, to judge in a Cause which concern'd the whole Church. The third Accusation is concerning his Celebration of the Holy Mysteries in the *Great Church* before it was Consecrated: To which he answers, That he did not Celebrate the Dedication of this Church, which he could not do, without the Order of the Emperour; but he confesses

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fesses, that he did Celebrate there the Divine Mysteries before its Consecration. He excuses himself upon the account of the great Concourse of People that came to *Alexandria* on *Easter-Day*; and says, That the old Churches were small and few in Number, and that the People demanding earnestly to Assemble in the *Great Church*, there to make Prayers for the Safety of the Emperour, he us'd much entreaty, but in vain, that they would delay it, and rather Assemble, tho' with some inconvenience, in the other Churches; and they would not obey him, but on the contrary, were ready to go out of *Alexandria*, to keep their Assembly in the Fields: That this was the reason which oblig'd him to Celebrate in the *Great Church* before it was Consecrated, which he did so much the rather, because during the Fast of *Lent*, many Persons had been hurt in the press of the People. That 'twas not a thing without Example, that he had Celebrated Divine Offices in a Church, before its Dedication. That his Predecessor had done the like in the Church of St. *Theonas*, which he had built, and he had seen the same done at *Aquileia*: That 'twas much more convenient to Celebrate in a place that was intended for the Assemblies of the Faithful, tho' it was not yet Consecrated, than to do it in the Fields, or in those Churches, where the People were in danger of being stifled. He observes, That tho' there had been no such fear of Danger, yet 'twas more expedient, that all the Faithful should offer up their Prayers together in one and the same Place, (tho' 'twas not yet Consecrated,) than that they should do it apart in several Places. He was also accus'd of disobeying the Emperour's Orders, when he commanded him to depart from *Alexandria*. To which he answers, That he was not disobedient to his Orders, but that *Montanus* having brought him the Letter in which the Emperour permits him to depart from *Alexandria*, and go for *Italy*, as if he had ask'd leave; he did not think 'twas the Emperour's Intention that he should withdraw, but that his Enemies had inform'd the Emperour, that he desir'd to retire. That afterwards *Diogenes* came to *Alexandria*, without bringing any Letter or Order from the Emperour, and at his Arrival, 'twas sufficiently publish'd, that he must withdraw, but still there was no Order for it to him from the Emperour, either by Word of Mouth, or in Writing: That he always said, He was ready to depart, whensoever the Emperour should Write to him, or Command him to do so; but 'twas agreed not to trouble the Church, till such time as he should receive his Orders: That Twenty Three Days after, *Syrianus*, General of the Army in *Egypt*, entered into the Church with his Souldiers, the People being there at Prayers, on the *Vigil* when we ought to Celebrate Divine Mysteries; that there he committed great Outrages, and oblig'd him to retire into a Desart; and so he was neither Guilty for Flying, nor for Disobeying the Orders of the Emperour. He says, That if he had retir'd sooner, he had been Guilty both before God and Men, for 'tis a great Crime in a Bishop, to abandon his Flock, when he is not absolutely forc'd to do it. He adds, That he intended to go and wait upon the Emperour, and was come out of the Desart upon this Design, and tho' he knew very well the Ill treatment those Bishops had met with that refus'd to Sign against him, and the Violence that had been us'd against those of *Alexandria*, who took his part; yet he did not give over his intended Voyage upon that Account, but having seen an Order to seize him, sent to the Magistrates of *Auxumis*, he apprehended the Rage of his Enemies, and therefore return'd again to hide himself in his Solitude.

In the First Apology for his Flying, he justifies himself against the *Arians*, who accus'd him of timorousness: He describes the Deadly Effects of their Fury, and the Mischiefs they had done to the greatest Bishops of the World, *Hosius*, *Liberius*, *Paul* of *Constantinople*, and many others. He shows by the Examples of *Jacob*, *Moses*, *David*, *Elias*, St. *Paul* and *Jesus Christ*; and by the Command of Christ in *Matt.* 10. That 'tis lawful to fly from Persecution, and that 'tis oftentimes of greater Use than to expose our selves to danger: He observes, That the Saints who deliver'd themselves up to their Persecutors, did it by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. He demands of his Adversaries, where they had learn'd, that 'tis permitted to Persecute, and not permitted to Fly: He objects to them, that the Devil is the cause of Persecution, and that Jesus Christ has advis'd Flight. At last, he complains of the Violence they used against himself, and the Mischiefs they still do to the Church.

In the Second Apology, he justifies himself from the former Accusations made against him, by setting down the Judgments given in his Favour, in the Councils of *Egypt*, *Rome* and *Sardica*, whose Letters he produces at full length. These Monuments are very considerable for the History of that Time, because there are particular Remarks in them about the Discipline of the Church: As, for instance, we learn from the Letter of the Synod of *Alexandria*, that the Bishop of *Alexandria* was chosen by the People, and ordain'd by the Bishops of the whole Province of *Egypt*; That the Ecclesiastical Laws forbid the Translations of Bishops; That the Mystery of the Eucharist was carefully conceal'd from those that were no Christians; That 'twas an Impiety to break a Chalice, and to spill the Blood of Jesus Christ; *That the Eucharist was given to the Laicks in both kinds*; That 'twas Consecrated on *Sunday*, and that 'twas kept for some time; That none but Priests lawfully ordain'd could consecrate and distribute it; That the Bishop had a Throne, or a Seat, that was rais'd higher than other Seats. *Julius* the Bishop of *Rome*, maintains in his Letter, That he could examine anew in one Synod what had been ordain'd in another, and alledges the Example, rather than the Authority of the Council of *Nice*. He lays claim to this Power, and complains that St. *Athanasius* was condemn'd without sending him notice: He blames the *Eusebians* for sending a Stranger, that liv'd almost 60 Leagues off from *Alexandria*, to take Possession of the Episcopal See of that City. After this, he recites two Letters from the Council of *Sardica*, one address'd to the Church of *Alexandria*, and the other to all the Bishops of the World, which contain an ample Justification of St. *Athanasius*; and the last contains the Subscriptions of many Bishops who Subscribed in this Council afterwards. And after these Letters, there follow three Letters of *Constantius* to St. *Athanasius*, commanding him to return; one

Letter

Letter of *Julius* to the Church of *Alexandria*, wherein he congratulates the *Alexandrians* upon the Return of their Bishop; the Letters of Recommendation which *Constantius* gave him to return to *Alexandria*, the Letter of the Synod of *Jerusalem* to the Church of *Alexandria* in favour of St. *Athanasius*, and last of all, the Retractation of *Ursacius* and *Valens* address'd to *Julius*, wherein they declare, That all which was said against *Athanasius* was false, that they acknowledg'd *Arius* for an Heretick, and anathematiz'd his Error; and one Letter from the same Bishops address'd to St. *Athanasius*, wherein they declare, that they are of his Communion. After St. *Athanasius* has thus produc'd these Instruments of his Absolution, being desirous to show that he had done nothing partially, out of favour to himself, goes back again as far as the beginning of the Schism of *Meletius* and the Heresie of *Arius*, and gives an account of all that pass'd upon this occasion until his Exile, reciting the Authentick Acts to justice all that he Asserts: So that for the future, to read the History of that time, one should begin at the Second Part of this Apology, which begins towards the middle of *P.* 777. of the Greek and Latin Edition at *Paris*, and then resume the Beginning of the History, when he shall have finish'd this Second Part. St. *Athanasius.*

He wrote also this History long before with more order, and deduces it higher in his Book which is call'd, *A Letter to those that lead a Monastick Life.* After he has there related all that pass'd about the Cause of *Arianism* till the Council of *Sardica*, he insists upon the Circumstances of the Banishment of Pope *Liberius.* He says, That the *Arians* did not at all spare him, that they had not any respect for the City of *Rome*, the Metropolis of the whole *Roman* Empire, nor for the holy Apostolical See; that by their Instigation, the Emperour had sent a Bishop to *Rome*, to perswade the Bishop there to Condemn St. *Athanasius.* But *Liberius* refusing him, answer'd, That it was against the Canons to condemn a Man that is absent, who had been judg'd worthy of Communion while he was present at *Rome*; That if the Emperour would determine the Controversies of the Church, he should assemble a Free Council, where there was neither Prince, nor Courtier, and where all things might be decided in the Fear of God, and according to the Doctrine of the Apostles; and where every one should follow the Faith of the Council of *Nice*, and from whence those should be excluded that would not profess to follow it; and afterwards the Council might Examine the Matters now in Debate. He adds, That the Bishop having entred into the Church of St. *Peter* to consecrate the Presents that were brought to *Liberius*, as soon as he understood that they were intended to procure his Subscription against St. *Athanasius*, he reproved the *Sacristan* for receiving them, and threw them out of the Church as Sacrilegious Offerings: That when these things were told to the Emperour, he caus'd him to be brought to *Constantinople*, and that the Pope spoke to him more sharply than he had done at *Rome*, whereupon he was sent into Banishment; and there he was forc'd at last to subscribe for fear of Death, after he had resisted for the space of two Years. After this he describes the Fall of *Hosius*; and tells us, that *Constantius* being sollicited by the *Arians*, who would fain engage to their Party a Bishop of so great Authority, exhorted him to Subscribe; and that the Holy Man not only could not endure the Proposal, but perswaded the Emperour to let him alone, and retir'd into his own Country: And that the *Arians* still continuing to sollicit the Emperour, he wrote many Letters, fill'd sometimes with fair Promises, sometimes with Threats, to oblige him to Condemn *Athanasius.* But the Generous Old-man answered him in a Letter which St. *Athanasius* produces, wherein he declares to him that he had suffer'd under the Reign of *Maximian* for the Faith, and that he was still ready to suffer, and to shed his Blood for the defence of Innocence and Truth; he advises him not to hearken to those Easterlings any more than he would do to *Ursacius* and *Valens.* He tells him, That he was Mortal, and that he ought to be afraid of the Day of Judgment; That he ought to meddle no more in Ecclesiastical Matters, than the Bishops should in Temporals. His words are excellent, which are these; [*Remember*, says he, *that you are Mortal, fear the Day of Judgment, keep your self in Purity, that you may appear there amongst the number of the Elect: Do not meddle at all in Ecclesiastical Affairs, and Command us nothing about those Matters; but learn them of us. God has given the Power of the Empire into your hands, and has entrusted with us that which concerns the Church; and as he who Invades your Empire, acts against the Order of God, so take heed that you render not your self Guilty of a very heinous Crime, by assuming to your self a Power in those things which are of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.* 'Tis written, Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's; *So then we are not permitted to govern the Empire of the World, and you, Sir, have no Power at all in things that are Sacred.*] After this St. *Athanasius* relates the Violence that was done to *Hosius* to make him Subscribe, and how the Emperour caus'd him to go to *Sirmium*, where he detain'd him till he had communicated with *Ursacius* and *Valens.* The rest of this Letter is a very vehement Declamation, against the Outrages and Persecutions of *Constantius* and the *Arians*; to which is added, a Protestation of the People of *Alexandria*, concerning the Violences that were used against St. *Athanasius.*

The Book of the Synods of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia*, contains not only the History of these two Councils, but also of the Principal Creeds made by the Bishops of *Arius*'s Faction after that which was made by the Council of *Nice*, which he sets down in its full length. From thence he takes occasion to treat of the word, *Consubstantial*, which he maintains against the *Arians*; and yet he acknowledges, that they are not to be treated as Hereticks, who scruple to make use of this word, though they confess the Faith of the Divinity of the Son: He explains in what sence this word was condemn'd in the Council of *Antioch*, held against *Paulus Samosatenus*, and alledges for his sence the Testimony of the two *Dionysii*, who made use of this word.

Besides these Works of St. *Athanasius*, which contain the Deduction of the History of that time, there are some others which concern particular Facts.

St. *Athanaſius.*

The Firſt is the Book of the Definitions of the Council of *Nice*, wherein he defends the Deciſions of this Council, and takes notice of the conſiderable Circumſtances of it. He ſays, That the Biſhops of the Council, who were about 300 in number, deſir'd the *Arians* with great meekneſs, to juſtifie themſelves, but ſcarce had they begun to ſpeak, when all the Biſhops diſapprov'd them; That the Hereticks could not agree among themſelves, but were oblig'd to keep ſilence, and then the Biſhops made the Creed, which was ſign'd by the *Euſebians*; That *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea* in *Palæſtine*, who had refus'd to ſign the day before, approv'd of it next day, and wrote to thoſe of his Church about it. After this, he Diſputes againſt the Impiety of the *Arians*, who had relaps'd into their former Error, and proves that the Son of God was from all Eternity. He Juſtifies the Terms which are us'd by the *Nicene* Council in their Creed, and ſays, The word *Conſubſtantial*, has a very good ſence, and that there is none more proper to expreſs a formal Condemnation of the Error of the *Arians*: And he adds moreover, that this word is not new, ſince *Theognoſtus*, *Denys* of *Alexandria*, *Denys* of *Rome*, and *Origen* have us'd it long before the Council of *Nice*; that this Synod had not eſtabliſh'd any new Doctrine, but confirm'd that which was approv'd by Scripture and Tradition. He obſerves, that in Matters of Faith, its Deciſions did not run in the ſame manner as thoſe that were made about the Celebration of *Eaſter*, when this Phraſe was us'd, *It pleaſes us, we will have it ſo*; for now they only ſay, *This is the Catholick Faith*; Ita credit Catholica Eccleſia.

The Second Book of this Nature, is a Letter to the Biſhops of *Egypt*, which is improperly called, *The Firſt Diſcourſe againſt the* Arians. There he deſcribes the Outrages which the *Arians* committed againſt the Catholicks, and exhorts his Brethren to ſhun their Snares: He warns them by no means to Subſcribe their Confeſſion of Faith, how Catholick ſoever it may appear to them, but to adhere to that of the Council of *Nice*, in which the Impiety of *Arius* was condemn'd. Then he recites the principal Heads of his Error, and refutes them by the Teſtimonies of Holy Scripture. He deſcribes the miſerable End of this Heretick; and concludes with an Exhortation to the Catholicks to maintain the Faith unto Death; repreſenting unto them, that he is not only a Martyr who ſuffers Death for refuſing to offer unto Idols, but alſo he that dies rather than betray the Truth.

The Letter to all the Orthodox Biſhops was written about the ſame Time, and upon the ſame Subject: There he gives an Account of the violent manner of introducing *George* into the Church of *Alexandria*, and deſcribes the Fury of the *Arians*, and the Damage the Church has ſuffer'd by them very particularly.

In the two Letters to *Lucifer*, he deſcribes the Perſecutions which the *Arians* ſet on foot againſt the Catholicks, and repreſents the lamentable State of the Church.

In the Letter to *Serapion* concerning the Death of *Arius*, he relates the Unhappy End of this Heretick, who periſh'd in a Jakes the very Night before he was to be receiv'd into the Church. St. *Athanaſius* ſays, That he learn'd this Story from the Relation of *Macarius*, a Presbyter.

The Letter written by St. *Athanaſius* concerning the Opinion of *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, concerning the Trinity, may be numbred amongſt his Hiſtorical Books, becauſe it teaches us a very conſiderable Point of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, which we ſhould not have known if St. *Athanaſius* had not reported it there; namely, That *Denys* of *Alexandria* wrote againſt the *Sabellians* of *Pentapolis*, and that in Diſputing againſt them, he made uſe of ſuch Expreſſions, as would make one believe that he favour'd the contrary Error; That he was accus'd of this in a Synod held at *Rome*; That he wrote a Treatiſe to the Pope, entituled, *A Refutation and Apology*, wherein he defends himſelf and confutes his Adverſaries; and that he taught in this Book a Doctrine perfectly contrary to that of the *Arians*: All which St. *Athanaſius* proves in this Treatiſe, by citing ſeveral Paſſages out of the Book of *Denys* of *Alexandria*.

The Letter of the Council of *Alexandria*, to thoſe of *Antioch*, concerns the State of the Church of *Antioch* after the Death of *Conſtantius*. St. *Athanaſius* and the other Biſhops of this Council, adviſe the Church of *Antioch* to receive the *Arians* who expreſly condemn their Error, to joyn themſelves to *Paulinus* and thoſe of his Party, to admit into their Communion thoſe that held their Aſſemblies in the Old City, that is to ſay, thoſe of *Meletius*'s Party, without requiring any other Profeſſion of Faith, but that of the Council of *Nice*. They give them notice, That there was no Creed made in the true Council of *Sardica*; they adviſe them to have no Diſputes among themſelves about the *Hypoſtaſes*, ſince thoſe who acknowledg'd Three in the Trinity, and thoſe who own'd but One, were both of the ſame Judgment, and only differ'd in the manner of Expreſſion.

St. *Athanaſius* ſpeaks after the ſame manner of the Reception of the *Arians*, in a Letter to *Ruffinian*, where he mentions the Deciſion of this Synod.

In a Letter to the Emperour *Jovian*, St. *Athanaſius* and the other Biſhops of *Egypt*, propoſe to him the *Nicene* Creed as the only true one: They ſay, That this contains the Faith which was maintain'd by many holy Martyrs, who are now with Jeſus Chriſt, that it had never had any Adverſaries, if the Malice of the Hereticks had not endeavour'd to corrupt it; but that *Arius* and his Followers intending to introduce a new Doctrine contrary to the Truth, the Council of *Nice* condemn'd it, and made a Confeſſion of Faith to eſtabliſh the Truth, and extinguiſh the Flame that was kindled by his Partizans: That this Creed was prais'd and ſincerely believ'd in all the Churches of Chriſt, till ſome Biſhops, having a mind to revive the Error of the *Arians*, began to deſpiſe it; and yet they did not openly declare themſelve againſt it, but only in their Explications of it they reflected obliquely upon the *Conſubſtantiality*, and ſpoke Blaſphemies againſt the Holy Spirit. After they have thus explain'd the *Nicene Creed*, they ſet it down, and tell the Emperour, That this is the only Creed to which we muſt adhere.

I ſay

I say nothing of the Conferences of the *Arians* and St. *Athanasius*, because they contain little remarkable. St. *Athanasius.*

The Catholick Epistle to the Bishops of *Egypt*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Phœnicia*, was written, as well as the preceding Letters, in the Name of the Synod of *Egyptian* Bishops, in which St. *Athanasius* presided. They Exhort the Bishops to whom they write, to separate themselves from the *Arians*, to act unanimously in the Defence of the Faith, and not to dissemble the Truth for Fear or Ambition; and to acknowledge the Divinity of the Holy Spirit: and at last they propose to them as a Badge and Test of the true Faith, these words, *The Consubstantial Trinity.*

The Letter to the *Africans* was written upon the same Subject in the Name of St. *Athanasius*, and 82 *Egyptian* Bishops; wherein they recommend the Faith of the *Nicene* Council established by 318 Bishops, publish'd and receiv'd by all the World, because this Synod had follow'd the Doctrine, and manner of Expression us'd by the Holy Scriptures, and the Fathers.

In the Letter to *John* and *Antiochus* Presbyters, St. *Athanasius* rejoyces because he understood by their Letters written from *Jerusalem*, that a great number of Brethren were re-united in one and the same Communion; he reproves those that would trouble the Church by their Disputes about words, and wonders that any should dare to reprehend the Doctrine of St. *Basil.*

In the following Letter to *Palladius*, he commends him for being Orthodox, and approves of his staying with *Innocent*. He rebukes those Monks that would not obey St. *Basil*, but praises this Bishop, saying he was the Glory of the Church, for he contended for the Truth, and taught those that needed Instruction, and none could be good Catholicks that had any Dispute with him. He adds, That he had written to his Monks to obey him as their Father, and that they were to blame for complaining of him. Probably 'twas about the Question of the *Hypostases*, that the Monks had some Dispute with St. *Basil.*

After we have spoken of his Historical Works, let us now come to the Dogmatical.

The first of these, are the two Treatises against the *Gentiles*, whereof the Second is now entituled, *Of the Incarnation.* In the First of these two Books he Opposes Idolatry, and Establishes the Worship of the true God: he discovers the source of Idolatry, that it comes from the Corruption of Man's Heart, who being created after the Image of God, fell under the guilt of *Adam*'s Sin, and inherited from him an unhappy Inclination to Sin, which the Will does very often follow, though it be free to resist it. From this Principle he concludes, in the first place, against the Hereticks, That 'tis not necessary there should be two Principles, or two Gods, one Good, the Author of Good; and another Evil, the Author of Evil. He refutes this Impious Opinion by Reason and Authority, and concludes that Sin is not a Substance, but that it entred into the World by the Fall of the First Man. He observes that this is the source of all Idolatry, that Men being fallen from their first Estate do no longer raise their Heart and Spirit to things Spiritual, but fix them on things Terrestrial and Sensible. He refutes afterwards the different kinds of Idolatry, and shows that we ought not to Worship, nor Acknowledge for Divinities, either the Gods of the Poets, or the World, or any part of it. After he has thus overthrown all kinds of Idolatry, he establishes the Existence and Worship of the true God: He demonstrates, that God may be known by the Light of Nature, 1. From our selves, that's to say, by Reflection upon our own Thoughts, that he is neither Corporeal, nor Mortal. 2. From the Beauty of the Universe, which discovers the Existence of him as the Cause of it: Then he shows that this God is the Father of Jesus Christ, and that he created all things, and governs them by his Word.

The Second Treatise against the *Gentiles*, is that which is entituled, *Of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ*; because there he treats of that Mystery. For explaining the Causes of it, he goes back as far as the Beginning of the World, and proves that it was not made by chance, nor fram'd of an Eternal Matter, but that God the Father created it by his Word. After this he speaks of the Fall of Man, who being created after the Image of God, addicted himself to things corruptible and perishing, and so became the Cause of his own Misery and Corruption. He says that the Fall of Man was the cause of the Incarnation of the Word; because God pitying Man, resolv'd to send his Son to Save him, and to give him the means of obtaining that Immortality which he had lost. Upon this Principle he founds the Necessity of the Incarnation of the Word; which he proves, First, Because the Son being the Essential Image of his Father, there was none but he that could render Man like to God, as he was before his Fall: 2. Because as the Word is the Reason and Wisdom of his Father, there is none but he can teach Men and undeceive them of their Errors. From the Causes of the Incarnation, he passes to its Effects, and after he has described the Graces which the Word has merited for Mankind by his Incarnation, he speaks of his Death; and shows, that he was to die as he did, by the Torments of the Cross, that by his Death he might conquer Death both in himself and us. Lastly, He proves the Resurrection of Jesus Christ by the wonderful Effects that follow'd his Death, and by the contempt of Death wherewith it inspir'd his Disciples. After he has thus explain'd the Doctrine of Christians, he refutes the Jews and Pagans, the former by proving from the Prophets that Jesus is the Messias promis'd in the Old Testament; and the latter from the Miracles of Jesus Christ, from the destruction of Idolatry, and the Establishment of the Doctrine of the Gospel; which, though contrary to the Lusts and Passions of Men, was entertain'd without difficulty, and in a little time by the greatest part of the World. He concludes these Discourses with an Advertisement to his Friend *Macarius*, to whom they are directed, That he should have recourse to the Holy Scripture, which is the Fountain from whence these things are drawn; to which he adds this Remark, that for the better understanding of it, we should lead a Life like to that of the Authors of these holy Books.

St. *Athanasius* wrote but two Treatises against the *Gentiles*, for his other Dogmatical Treatises are either about the Trinity, or the Incarnation. The Four Discourses against the *Arians* are the chief of

St. *Athanaſius.* his Dogmatical Works. In the Firſt, which is call'd the Second, he convicts the Sect of the *Arians* of Hereſie; for which end, he firſt makes uſe of an Argument which he employs againſt all Hereticks, which is the Novelty of their Sect, and the Name which it bears; Then he explains their Doctrine, and proves, that 'tis Impious, full of Blaſphemies, and comes near to that of the *Jews* and *Gentiles*. Laſtly, He refutes their Reaſons, and clears up a great many difficulties which they propoſe againſt the Doctrine of the Church.

In the Second Treatiſe, which is the Third in the common Editions, he explains ſome of the Paſſages which the *Arians* alledge, to prove that the Son is a Creature, and inſiſts chiefly upon that in *Chap.* 8. of the *Proverbs*, *The Lord hath created me in the beginning of his ways*, &c. He ſays towards the end, "That the *Arians* run a hazard of having no true Baptiſm; becauſe, to make this Sacrament valid, 'tis "not ſufficient to pronounce the words, but we muſt alſo have a right underſtanding of them, and "a right Faith. He adds, That if the Baptiſm of other Hereticks who pronounce the ſame words, be "null and void, becauſe they have not a true Faith, 'tis to be thought, that we ought to give the "ſame Judgment of the Baptiſm of the *Arians*, who are become the worſt of all Hereticks. Theſe words of St. *Athanaſius* ſhew, That in his time, thoſe that had been Baptiz'd by Hereticks, were Re-baptiz'd in the Church of *Alexandria*, though they had been Baptiz'd in the Name of the Trinity.

In the Third Diſcourſe, which is reckon'd for the Fourth, he proves, That the Father and the Son have but one and the ſame Subſtance, and one and the ſame Nature, amd that they are one God only, though they be two diſtinct Perſons. Afterwards he ſhows that all that is ſaid of Jeſus Chriſt in the Scriptures, which ſeems unworthy of his Divinity, ſhould be applied to his Humane Nature, becauſe Chriſt being a Perſon compos'd of the Divine and Humane Nature, the Properties of both theſe Natures may be attributed unto him. At laſt, he examines a Queſtion propos'd by the *Arians*. viz. Whether the Father begot his Word voluntarily or neceſſarily: To which he anſwers, That he begot him naturally and not by conſtraint, and ſo in this ſenſe he begot him voluntarily, becauſe he would beget him, though he could not but beget him.

In the laſt Diſcourſe he refutes the *Arians*, proving that the Word is Eternal and Conſubſtantial to the Father, and the *Sabellians*, who deny'd that the Son was a Perſon diſtinct from the Perſon of the Father; and the *Paulianiſts*, who diſtinguiſh'd the Word from the Son of God, and the Paraclete from the Holy Spirit.

The Diſcourſe upon the words of the Goſpel of St. *Matth.* Ch. 11. *My Father has given me all things*, &c. contains a Refutation of that falſe Concluſion which the *Arians* drew from thoſe words, by ſaying, That if the Father had given all things to his Son *in time*, ſo that there was a time when he had not all things, and by conſequence he had not always a Supreme Empire over the Creatures, from whence it would follow, that he was not equal to the Father: To which St. *Athanaſius* anſwers, That this Paſſage does not treat of the Abſolute Power of God over his Creatures, but concerns the Myſtery of the Incarnation. That the Father has given Mankind to Jeſus Chriſt, as a Sick Perſon is left to a Phyſician for his Cure: That Man having ſinn'd, and Death being the Puniſhment of his Sin, the Word became Man, and God gave all Mankind unto him, that he might heal them, and reſtore to them that Life and Light which they had loſt.

In the Letter to *Adelphius*, St. *Athanaſius* proves againſt the *Arians*, that we muſt worſhip *the Word* in the Perſon of Jeſus Chriſt.

In the following Letters to *Maximus*, he ſhows, That Jeſus Chriſt is truly God, and truly Man. The Titles of the Letters to *Serapion*, ſufficiently ſhew what they treat about: *Againſt thoſe that ſay, that the Son and the Holy Spirit are Creatures.* The Treatiſe againſt the *Sabellians*, is a Collection of paſſages out of Holy Scripture, which prove the Trinity of Perſons and the Divinity of the Word. The deſign of the Treatiſe about the Union of the Humane Nature with the Word, is rather to prove the Divinity of the Son of God, than to explain the Incarnation. The Expoſition of Faith, which is in the Firſt Volume, *P.* 240. is an Explication of the *Nicene* Creed, concerning the Unity and the Incarnation. The ſhort Diſcourſe againſt the *Arians*, is a Writing of the ſame Nature. The Letter to *Epictetus*, is the principal Treatiſe of St. *Athanaſius*, concerning the Incarnation of Jeſus Chriſt, where he refutes the Error and the Arguments of thoſe that maintain that the Fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt, was of the ſame Subſtance with his Divinity; That the Divinity was chang'd into the Humanity, or the Humanity into the Divinity; That the Word had adopted a Body without being naturally united to it; That the Body was not aſſum'd in the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*; That the Divinity did ſuffer; or in a word, That the Word was a Perſon different from the Man. In ſhort, he there refutes the foundations of the Error of the *Apollinarians* and *Eutychians*, and the principle of the Error of the *Neſtorians*, by ſhewing, That Jeſus Chriſt is one Perſon compos'd of a Divine and Humane Nature, wherein all the Properties of thoſe two Natures are found. He refutes the ſame Errors in the Books of the Incarnation againſt *Apollinarius*, in which he proves particularly againſt this Heretick, That Jeſus Chriſt took one Humane Nature entire and perfect, That it was not deſtitute of a Soul, nor of Underſtanding and Will.

There are few Moral Treatiſes amongſt the Works of St. *Athanaſius*. The Epiſtle to *Dracontius* is one of the Chief. [This is rather concerning Diſcipline, tho' urg'd with Moral Arguments.] *Dracontius* was a Monk that had been choſen Biſhop: But, either becauſe he was afraid of Perſecution, or elſe becauſe he thought himſelf unworthy to govern a Biſhoprick, he fled and hid himſelf, leſt he ſhould be oblig'd to take care of the People, of whom he had been ordain'd Biſhop. St. *Athanaſius* in this Letter, reproves his Puſillanimity, and exhorts him to return to his Biſhoprick. He repreſents to him, That his Conduct ſcandaliz'd many Perſons; That being ordain'd Biſhop, he was

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no longer at his own disposal, but ow'd himself to those for whom he was ordain'd; That he was oblig'd to take care of them, and that he should be answerable for the Salvation of those that should perish for want of Instruction; That he should improve the Talent that God had given him, and take Care of the Flock that God had entrusted him with; That if the Fear of Persecution made him flee from a Bishoprick, it was a great weakness in him; but if it was from any dislike of the Episcopal Function, 'twas an injurious Contempt of the Authority and Mystery of Jesus Christ; That he could not excuse himself, by saying, That he had Sworn or Vow'd to the contrary, since *Jeremy* and *Jonas* were oblig'd to do contrary to what they had resolv'd; and besides, That many Monks whom he names, had accepted of a Bishoprick, and that this Profession was no hindrance to their Ordination; That a Bishoprick was so far from being an occasion of Sin, as some would perswade *Dracontius*, that it would be rather a means to Sanctify him by his imitating the Apostles; That this State did not hinder, but he might still observe the Customs of the Cloyster: [*You will be permitted*, says he, *being a Bishop, to fast, or to abstain from Wine: We have known Monks great Eaters, and Bishops great Fasters: We have seen Monks that drink Wine, and Bishops that drink none: Bishops for the most part live in Celebacy* *, *and we have seen Monks married: In a word, 'tis permitted to every one, in whatsoever State he is, to use such abstinences as he pleases,*] He concludes, with exhorting him to return to his Bishoprick before *Easter*, that his People might not be abandon'd, and oblig'd to Celebrate that Feast without him; and with earnest Entreaties, that he would not hearken to their Counsels, that would hinder his Return: *They would*, says he, *have Priests among themselves, Why then are they unwilling that the People should have Bishops?* St. *Athanasius.*

* [St. *Athanasius*'s Words are these, *Many Bishops never married, and Monks have been Fathers of Children.* (Πολλοὶ ὧν ἐπισκόπων οὐδὲ γεγαμήκασι, μοναχοὶ δὲ πατέρες τέκνων γεγόνασιν, p 958. *D. Vol.* 1.) As these Words are translated, they have quite a different meaning from that which was at first designed by St. *Athanasius*. He makes his Comparison between those that practised, and those that omitted the Austerities there mentioned, in such a manner as shews that he thought them absolutely indifferent; and besides, there is a great difference between *many* and the *most part*.

Yet I should not have taken notice of it, if in his account of St. *Athanasius*'s Doctrine, Mr. *du Pin* had not repeated what he had before observed in this place, and with some Additions; for there he says, *That there were Priests and Bishops married, tho' but few.* Here is a double mistake; for neither does St. *Athanasius* say, that there be *but few* Priests or Bishops married, nor does he speak a word of *Priests*. Monks were not constantly Ordain'd in those days. St. *Anthony*, their great Master, was a Lay-man, and in this very Letter to *Dracontius*, St. *Athanasius*, amongst other Arguments to perswade him to accept the Bishoprick to which he was Canonically Elected, tells him, That if the Monks desire to have *Presbyters* among them, to instruct them in their Duty, they ought not to envy others, who for the same Reason were earnest to have *Dracontius* for their Bishop.]

In the Letter to *Ammon* the Monk, he refutes the Error of some Monks, who condemn'd the use of Marriage; and shews by the Scripture, that 'tis permitted, and that 'tis Impiety to condemn it, tho' Virginity is a more perfect State, and deserves greater Rewards.

The Life of St. *Anthony* may be reckon'd among his Moral Writings, for it contains excellent Instructions for all Monks.

We must also place among the Moral Works of St. *Athanasius* his Homily of *Circumcision and the Sabbath*. There he treats of the Institution of the Sabbath, and thinks that the principal end of its Celebration was not merely to rest, but that it was Instituted to make known the Creator; that the Reason why 'tis abrogated in the New Law, and the Feast of *Sunday* establish'd in its room, is, because the first Day was the end of the first Creation, and the second was the beginning of the New: For the same Reason he believes that Circumcision was appointed on the eighth Day, to be a figure of that Regeneration which is made by Baptism.

Lastly, That I may say something of the Treatises of St. *Athanasius* upon the Holy Scriptures, the Abridgment of the Scriptures, is the most useful of them. There you may see in one view, an Enumeration of all the Canonical Books of the Old Testament according to the Catalogue of the Hebrews, which contains but 22; and he adds those that are not Canonical, but yet are read in the Church to the *Catechumens*, which according to him, are the Books of *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Esther*, *Judith* and *Tobit*; with this Observation, That some plac'd the Books of *Esther* and *Ruth* amongst those which they esteem'd Canonical. In the Catalogue of the Canonical Books of the New Testament, he places all those which we acknowledge at present. After he has given us these Catalogues, he makes a very faithful Abridgment of what is contain'd in every Book, and gives the Reason, why 'tis call'd by such a Name and Discourses of the Author that wrote it. Afterwards, he gives a Catalogue of those Apocryphal Books which are of little or no use at all. He speaks particularly of the Four Gospels, their Authors, and the places where they were compos'd; he treats in a few Words of the Greek Versions of the Old Testament, and at last gives a Catalogue of some Books cited in Scripture that are lost. The Fragment of the 39th. Festival Letter is upon the same Subject, and it contains also a Catalogue of the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, and of those that are useful, tho' they be not Canonical, which he distinguishes from these Apocryphal Books, that have been forg'd by Hereticks; and here he follows the same Catalogue which is in the Abridgment: But, he adds to the number of these Books, that may be read to the Catechumens, *The Doctrine of the Apostles*, and the Book, entituled *Pastor*.

The Book to *Marcellinus* upon the *Psalms* is also of the same Nature. St. *Athanasius*, shows there the Excellency of the Book of *Psalms*, and relates the Subject of many of them, those that are Historical, and those that are Moral. He observes there, That the Book of *Psalms*, referrs to all the Historics of the Old Testament; That it includes all the Prophecies of Jesus Christ; That it expresses

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all the Opinions which we ought to have; That it contains the Prayers that ſhould be made, and comprizes all the Precepts of Morality: He obſerves, That there are ſome *Pſalms* Hiſtorical, ſome Moral, ſome Prophetical, beſides thoſe that conſiſt of Prayers and Praiſes; all which he diſtinguiſhes, and places in their proper Rank and Order. He ſhews, that the *Pſalms* repreſent to every one of the Faithful, the State of his own Soul, that every one may ſee himſelf there repreſented, and may obſerve from the different Paſſions there expreſs'd, what he feels in his own Heart, and that in whatever State any one is, there he may find Words ſuitable to his preſent Diſpoſition, Rules for his Conduct, and Remedies for his Troubles. Wherefore he divides the *Pſalms* according to the different Matters of which they treat, that every one may make uſe of them according to his Neceſſities, and according to the different States that he falls into. He adds, That thoſe who Sing, ſhould be of a free and quiet Spirit, that the Melody of their Song, may agree with the Harmony of their Spirit. And laſt of all, He would not have any Words of the *Pſalms*, which may appear ſimple, chang'd, under pretence of making them more Elegant.

The Treatiſe upon theſe Words of Jeſus Chriſt, *Whoſoever ſhall ſpeak a word againſt the Holy Spirit, his ſin ſhall not be forgiven him, neither in this World, nor in the other*, is an Explication of this difficult place of Scripture, wherein he firſt obſerves, that *Origen* and *Theognoſtus* thought, That the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, was the Sin of thoſe who after they were baptiz'd loſt the Grace of Baptiſm by their Crimes. But St. *Athanaſius* maintains, That this Explication is not Natural, becauſe thoſe that violate their Vows of Baptiſm, ſin no more againſt the Holy Spirit, than againſt the Father and the Son, in whoſe Name Baptiſm is adminiſtred: And to ſhew that this Opinion of the Ancients, is not defenſible, he obſerves, That theſe Words of Jeſus Chriſt were addreſs'd to the *Phariſees* who were never baptiz'd, and yet ſinned againſt the Holy Spirit, by ſaying, That Jeſus Chriſt caſt out Devils in the Name of *Beelzebub*: He adds, That if this Explication were admitted, it would give up the Cauſe to *Novatus*. He explains the Paſſage of St. *Paul* to the *Hebrews*, where the Apoſtle ſays, *'Tis impoſſible that thoſe who were once baptiz'd ſhould be renew'd again, which does not exclude*, ſays St. *Athanaſius*, *Repentance after Baptiſm, but only a ſecond Baptiſm.* After he has rejected this Explication, he advances a New one of his own; and is of Opinion, That to ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, is to deny the Divinity of Jeſus Chriſt, by attributing to the Devil, as the *Phariſees* did, his moſt Divine Actions. Thus he explains himſelf, Thoſe, ſays he, who obſerving the Humane Actions of Jeſus Chriſt, conſider'd him as a Man only, were in ſome meaſure excuſable; Thoſe alſo who obſerving his Divine Actions, doubted if he was a Man, were not ſo much to be blam'd: But thoſe who ſeeing his moſt Divine Actions, deny'd his Divinity, by attributing his Actions to the Devil, as the *Phariſees* and the *Arians* do, commit ſo enormous a Crime, that they cannot hope for Pardon. The former ſin againſt the Son of Man, *i.e.* againſt the Humanity of Jeſus Chriſt; and the latter ſin againſt the Spirit, *i.e.* his Divinity. This in ſhort, is the ſum of the Explication that St. *Athanaſius* has given of theſe Words of the Goſpel, whereof he treats, and I leave it to the Judgment of the Reader, if he can find another more probable than this of the Ancients.

We may add likewiſe to thoſe Treatiſes of St. *Athanaſius*, upon the Holy Scripture, the Fragments that are found at the end of his Second Volume, and particularly, that which is taken out of the Sixth Council, upon theſe Words of Jeſus Chriſt, *My Soul is exceeding ſorrowful.*

I ſhall make no Extracts out of thoſe Books which I have rejected, as being none of St. *Athanaſius*'s, tho' there be ſome things in them which may be uſeful, becauſe I would make no Confuſion, by mixing the Doctrine of another Author with that of this Saint, and therefore without ſtaying to ſpeak of theſe Books, I proceed to his Character.

His Stile cannot be better deſcrib'd than 'tis already by the Learn'd *Photius*; in *Vol.* 140 of his *Bibliotheque.* "The Diſcourſes of St. *Athanaſius*, ſays he, are clear, ſimple and natural, and yet they have much ſtrength "and gravity: He places the Reaſons which he uſes in a wonderful Light; He ſhews great copiouſneſs of "Invention, and a wonderful eaſineſs of Thought. There is in his Works, a Depth of Logick, I do not mean "of that barren Logick which propoſes Reaſonings and Syllogiſms, without any Ornament, and makes "uſe of Dialectical Terms as School-Boys do, who would make a ſhew of Wit; but of a Logick like that "of the ancient Philoſophers, who propos'd their Idea's and Reaſonings in an excellent manner, accom-"panied with great Ornaments of Eloquence. He makes uſe alſo of Teſtimonies of the Holy Scrip-"ture, and draws from thence convincing Proofs of what he advances. In a word, His Books alone "are ſufficient for the Refutation of *Arianiſm*, and he that ſhould ſay, That St. *Gregory* and St. *Baſil* "drew from this Fountain thoſe great Torrents of Learning which they employ'd againſt this Error, "would not be much miſtaken. The ſame *Photius* ſays alſo in another place, ſpeaking of the Letters and Apologies of this Father, "That they are written with Clearneſs, Elegance and Grandeur; That "he has given a turn at once perſuaſive and agreeable to all that he ſays. This Character appears chiefly in his *Apology* to the Emperour *Conſtantius*, which is a Maſter-piece in its kind, for never any Book had a greater Air of Candor and Simplicity than this, never was any Diſcourſe more Elegant, more beautified with Figures, or more perſuaſive: Here was St. *Athanaſius*'s great Excellency in all his Works; they appear ſimple and open, and yet being cloſely conſider'd, one may perceive, that they are compos'd with wonderful Artifice: He obſerves all along an admirable fitneſs of Expreſſion, and always adapts his Stile to the Subject of which he treats, and to the Perſons to whom he ſpeaks. He inſinuates himſelf ſo dextrouſly into the mind by his manner of expreſſing things, that one entertains his Reaſons, and feels himſelf often perſuaded by them, before he is aware. How ſoft ſoever his Diſcourſe appears, it wants nothing of ſharpneſs; for when he attacks his Enemies, he ſpares them not in the leaſt, but on the contrary, uſes the moſt ſmart and emphatical Words that can be found to cover them with Confuſion; and to render them Odious, he makes no ſcruple to load them with the

the reproachful Names which they have deserv'd, and to represent the Crimes they have committed, in the most lively Colours that can be drawn with a Masterly Hand: And yet he does it after such a manner, that it seems rather to proceed from a Zeal for the Truths of Religion, than from any Personal hatred which he bears to the Men themselves. The Conduct of this Saint is less admirable than his manner of Writing. St. *Basil* gives this Character of him in his 48 Letter, address'd to himself. "Who can be found, says he, That has more Prudence than you? Who has a clearer Inspection into "the Affairs of the Church, and who has a greater Facility in executing his Designs? Is there any that "has more Charity and Compassion for his Brethren? Are not you the Bishop in all the World, that "is in most Veneration with those of the *West*. And in the following Letter he has these Words; "The more the Miseries of the Church encrease, the more are we oblig'd, says he, to have recourse "unto you; we have no hopes of any Consolation under our Afflictions but by your means, since you "can do much, both by your Prayers which are very Effectual, and also by the sharpness of your "Wit, whereby you understand at the same time what is most advantageous to the Church. And again in another Letter, "When we consider our Calamities, and the State to which we are reduc'd, we "do almost Despair of Safety; but when we cast our Eyes upon you, we take Courage, and consider "you as a Physician whom God hath given to heal all our Maladies. Who can be a fitter Pilot in this "Tempest, than he who has all his Life time endur'd the like Persecutions for the Faith? And truly, 'Tis hard to say, which of the two is most to be admir'd in St. *Athanasius*, his unmoveable Constancy and Firmness, which he always show'd, or the Prudence that appear'd in his Conduct under all his Persecutions. I say nothing of his Humility, his Charity, Pastoral Vigilance, and his other Vertues, because they don't fall directly within the Compass of that Design which I have propos'd to my self in this Book. St. *Athanasius*.

His Doctrine is very pure, and his Opinions are not only very Orthodox, but his Expressions are very just and exact. He proves the Existence of a God, the Creation of the World, and Providence, in his Books against the *Gentiles*. He establishes the Trinity of Three Divine Persons, and the Unity of the Nature and Substance, almost in all his Works; but he explains this Mystery with much simplicity; for he would not amuse the Reader with Disputes about Words, nor search too profoundly into this Matter. He confesses, That he cannot comprehend it, and he will not employ humane Reasonings to Prove or to explain the Mystery of the Trinity and the Generation of the World: In short, He shuns as much as he can, to enter upon any of those subtile Questions, which have since unprofitably exercis'd the Wit of so many School-Divines. He speaks admirably of the Fall of the first Man, of the Punishments of Sin, of the Necessity and Effects of the Incarnation of the Son of God. He explains this Mystery in such a manner as is equally contrary to all the Errors of the Hereticks of either side; for he teaches against the *Paulianists*, That the Word is united to the Humanity; against the *Valentinians*, That it took a Body like ours in the Womb of the Virgin; against the *Arians* and *Apollinarians*, That it took a Soul and Spirit; against the *Nestorians*, That the Divinity is united in the same Person with the Humanity, so that the Virgin may be called the Mother of God; against the *Eutychians*, That these two Natures subsist in the same Person with their Properties, without Confusion, without Mixture, without Change. He believes, That the Soul is Spiritual and Immortal, and makes no scruple to affirm it as a thing certain, That the Saints are happy and with Jesus Christ. He speaks of the Efficacy of Baptism, and rejects that of the Hereticks: He acknowledges not only in his *Apology*, but also in his *Treatise of the Faith*, cited by *Theodoret*; He acknowledges, I say, in both places, That the Eucharist is the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ *. He praises Virginity, and prefers it to Marriage, tho' he thinks, that 'tis not forbidden. He condemns the Error of the *Novatians*; He acknowledges the Holy Scripture to be the Rule of Faith, and joyns

* [That is to say, St. *Athanasius* calls the *Bread* the *Body*, and the *Wine* the *Blood of Christ*: He had no occasion to Dispute the Question, nor to determine of either side, concerning the *Real Presence*. This is plain from his Second *Apology* to the Emperour *Constantius*, for his Flight, wherein he clears himself from the Crime that was laid to his Charge in the Synod of *Tyre*, That he abetted one *Macarius* a Presbyter in *Mareotis*, who broke the Cup in which the Wine was usually Consecrated: The Council of *Alexandria*, that was call'd to examine the Cause of St. *Athanasius*, in their General Epistle, always call the Cup, Ποτήριον μυστικὸν, *the Mystical Cup*: and speaking of Presbyters, (*p* 732. *ap.* St. *Athan. Vol.* 1.) say, μόνον ὑμῶν ἔξεστι προσφέρειν τὸ αἷμα τῷ Χριστῷ; *it belongs to you alone first to drink of the Blood of Christ*; that is, *to receive before the Congregation*: This determines nothing as to the Nature of the *Presence*; and our Saviour had sufficiently warranted such Expressions by his Discourse in the sixth Chapter of St. *John*.

If St. *Athanasius* had said any thing to declare his Opinion, upon a Question at that time not started in the World, his Arguments could have been consider'd, and his Notions might have then been known: But since all his Writings bend to one scope, from which he hardly ever wanders any occasional Expressions relating to other Disputes, cannot be urg'd any further than as they do in all probability shew what was the Stile of that Age; and it is certain, That the Elements were after Consecration, call'd, the Body and Blood of Christ, at that time; as well, they might, since the Church then believ'd, what our Church likewise professes, That worthy Communicants do Spiritually eat the Body, and drink the Blood of Jesus Christ, when they eat the Bread and drink the Wine in the Lord's Supper. Mr. *Du Pin*, takes a great deal of Pains in his First Volume, to Vindicate the Fathers who liv'd before the Council of *Nice*, from the imputation of *Arianism*: And he observes all along, That before those Questions were professedly Examin'd and Determin'd by the Church, Men did not speak so exactly as they did afterwards: His Observation is certainly right, and it has always been the receiv'd Excuse, whenever the Opinions of these earliest Fathers have been urg'd on behalf of the *Arian* or *Socinian* Doctrines. If therefore this Excuse be just in one Cause, it is equally so in another; and an occasional Expression can no more be urg'd in Favour of *Transubstantiation* than in Favour of *Arianism*, when we otherways know, what was the Opinion of that Age, in which the Question was never put concerning it. There will be no necessity therefore to take notice in every place, where our Author fancies, that the Ancients favour'd his Cause, of the particular Reasons, why they spoke in such a manner, or of the Sence in which their Words are to be understood; since it has been so often prov'd by those who have examin'd all the contested Passages in the Writings of these more Ancient Fathers, that either they favour our Opinions, or that they speak nothing to the purpose of the Dispute that has so long been manag'd between us and the Church of *Rome*.]

with

St. *Athanaſius.*

with it Tradition and the Authority of the Holy Fathers. He obſerves that the Faith is always the ſame, and that it does not change, and that the Councils do nothing but declare what is the Doctrine of the Church. He attributes much to Free-Will, and yet he confeſſes, that ſince the ſin of *Adam* Man is enclin'd to Evil, and fix'd upon ſenſible things. He teaches, That the Soul of Jeſus Chriſt, without diſſolving the Union to his Divinity, deſcended into Hell, to fetch thence the Souls of the Juſt, and alſo of thoſe who had liv'd well under the Law of Nature, who were there in Sorrow waiting for their Deliverance. As to what concerns Diſcipline in his time, one may obſerve in his Works, That the Communion in both kinds was then given to the Laicks; That the Prieſts only Conſecrated; That the Euchariſt was offer'd upon an Altar of Wood; That the Myſteries were hid from the Catechumens and Gentiles; That the Faithful aſſembled in Churches, where they were a long time at Prayers; That there were then a Multitude of Monks that were ſubject to their Biſhop as their Father, and that ſome of them were made Biſhops; That there were alſo Virgins who religiouſly kept their Virginity; That they were not ſhut up, but aſſiſted at the Divine Myſteries in the Church; *That there were Prieſts and Biſhops married, tho' but few*; That Eunuchs could not then be ordain'd; That the Tranſlation of Biſhops was condemn'd; That the People and Clergy choſe them, and other Biſhops ordain'd them; That they muſt be choſen out of thoſe that were born in the place, rather than Strangers; That they had a Reverence for Churches and Sacred Veſſels; That Churches were dedicated with Ceremonies, and that 'twas not permitted to celebrate Divine Myſteries in them before their Dedication, without ſome kind of Neceſſity; That there were Fonts in Churches, and that the Biſhop had a Chair rais'd on high, call'd *the Epiſcopal Throne*; That Oyl and Wine, and Bread for Offerings were kept it the Font; That they had Cœmeteries where they aſſembled in caſe of Neceſſity; That the Churches there were govern'd by Prieſts, who kept there the Aſſemblies of the People; That the Biſhops made their Viſitations in their Dioceſſes; That the Church of *Rome* was conſider'd as the Firſt; That the Church of *Alexandria* had much Authority over all *Egypt*; That they us'd to make the ſign of the Croſs, and believ'd that it drove away Devils; That they receiv'd not the Offerings of the Impious, but only thoſe of the Juſt; That a Biſhop was not allow'd to abdicate his Church; That they Faſted in *Lent*; That they celebrated the Feaſt of *Eaſter* with great Solemnity; That they us'd the Prayers of the Church, and read the Goſpel in the Vulgar tongue, which was underſtood by the People. I ſhall not ſtay to relate the Principles of Morality which are to be found in his Writings, becauſe they are but few, and thoſe few are not handled in their full extent, excepting only what concerns flight from Perſecution, and from a Biſhoprick, and the defence of the Truth.

The Firſt Editions of St. *Athanaſius*'s Works are very imperfect, and the Laſt are confus'd. The moſt Ancient that we have found, is a Latin Edition of ſome Books, which one *Barnabas Celſanus* printed at *Vicenza* in the Year 1482, and which he Dedicated to *Peter Brutus* a Biſhop. This Edition is entituled, *Treatiſes of St.* Athanaſius *againſt the Hereticks*, and it contains the Four Treatiſes againſt the *Arians*, that of the Union of the Humane Nature, together with the Diſpute againſt *Arius*, which was alſo printed in 1500.

This Edition was follow'd by that of *Paris* in 1520, which contains a good part of the Works of St. *Athanaſius* in Latin, tranſlated by different Authors, together with the Commentaries of *Theophylact* upon the Pſalms, which were alſo publiſh'd under the Name of St. *Athanaſius*, by *Chriſtopher Perſona*, who caus'd them to be printed at *Rome* in the Year 1477, [in *fol.* and afterwards in 1496. in *fol.*] and by *Reuchlin* at *Tubing*, in the Year 1515.

Theſe Diſcourſes were reprinted at *Francfort* by *Knobulchus* in 1522, and at *Baſle* by *Froben* in 1527. *Euſtachius Cornecef* Printer at *Cologne*, printed them in 1532, without the Commentary of *Theophylact* upon the Pſalms, and they were alſo printed the ſame Year at *Lyons* by the *Treſchels*.

After theſe, *Epiſcopius* and *Froben* undertook a new Edition of the Works of this Father: They were aſſiſted by *Nannius* Profeſſor at *Louvain*, who made a new Verſion of the moſt part of the Books which bear the Name of St. *Athanaſius*, and compar'd the Greek with three Manuſcripts. They divide the whole into Four Tomes, and place in the laſt ſome Diſcourſes attributed to St. *Athanaſius*, which had not been tranſlated by *Nannius*: This Edition was finiſh'd at *Baſle* in 1558, and reprinted in 1564.

Nivelle added a Fifth Tome, wherein he put the Life of St. *Anthony*, the Five Dialogues of the Trinity publiſh'd by *Beza* at *Baſle* in 1570. This Edition was printed twice at *Paris*, and the Letter to *Ammon*, in the Year 1572, and in the Year 1581.

Hitherto we have ſaid nothing of publiſhing the Greek Text of the Works of St. *Athanaſius*. *Commelinus*, a famous Printer at *Heidelberg*, firſt undertook it, which he happily finiſh'd in the Year 1600; and the ſame Year he publiſh'd in Greek and Latin, over againſt one another, all the Works of St. *Athanaſius* in two Volumes, whereof the Firſt contains thoſe that were tranſlated by *Nannius*, and the Second all that could be found beſides. The Greek Text is revis'd by many Manuſcripts, and printed very exactly. He took care alſo to add at the End, the different Readings collected by *Flecmannus*; but theſe are only in ſome Copies. This Edition, though very large, is very confus'd; for the Books are without any order, without any Obſervations, and many times the Verſion is very faulty.

It was a little while after corrected by *Fronto Ducæus*, and printed at *Paris* without the Greek in 1612, but he has left many Faults.

At laſt in the Year 1627. the Bookſellers of *Paris* made a New Edition Greek and Latin of the Works of St. *Athanaſius*. They follow'd *Commelin*'s for the Greek, and that of 1612, for the Latin; and though they ſay in their Advertiſement that they have exactly revis'd the Greek Text by the Manuſcripts in the Royal Library, and have corrected an infinite number of places in it, yet they have ſtill left a good number of Faults behind. They have added in this Edition the Greek of the Life of

St. *Anthony*

St. *Anthony*, which was publish'd before by *Hæschelius* in 1611, a Homily upon *Easter*, publish'd by *Plantin* at *Antwerp*, in 1508, the Homilies of *Holstenius*, and some other Fragments: But they have neither chang'd the Order of the Books, nor distinguish'd the Genuine from the Suppositious. St. *Athanasius.*

What I have now said, sufficiently discovers the Necessity that some very Skilful Person, or rather, some Religious Society, should undertake to publish a New Edition of the Works of St. *Athanasius*. And to make it perfect, they must compare the Greek Text exactly with Manuscripts, make a new Version of all the Books, distinguish the Genuine from the Suppositious, and make a separate Volume of these Last, dividing the First, as we have done, into Four Parts: The First should comprehend the Historical Books; the Second, the Dogmatical: the Third, the Moral; and the Last, those upon the Scriptures. In the Historical, they must observe the Order and Thread of the History; in the Dogmatical, they must keep the Order of the Subject Matters; and in those upon the Scripture, they must first place those that are more general, following very near the Order which we have observ'd in our Abridgment. As to the Suppositious Books, 'twere good to distinguish them into three Ranks: The First, should contain the Books of ancient Authors unknown; the Second, those of Modern Authors; and the Third, those whereof the Authors are known unless you would rather pass by the Last, and remit the Reader to the Books where they are printed, [with the other Works of those Authors to whom they do of right belong.]

JACOBUS NISIBENUS.

ST. *JAMES*, a Native of *Nisibis*, a City of *Mesopotamia*, which was anciently the Boundary of the Empire between the *Persians* and *Romans*, having led a very austere life in the Desart, and becoming famous by his Confession under *Maximinus*, and by the great number of Miracles which he wrought, was chosen Bishop of that City, where he was born: though he did not for that forsake his manner of life, nor work fewer Miracles than before; nay, 'tis said, that he even rais'd up the Dead. He assisted at the Council of *Nice*, where he condemn'd the Heresie of *Arius*: and *Theodoret* says, that being at *Constantinople*, when they would oblige *Alexander* Bishop of that Church to receive *Arius* into Communion, he advis'd the Catholicks to have recourse to God by Fasting and Prayer, and to Pray altogether for the space of Seven Days, that they might agree among themselves what was best to be done. The *Persians* coming about the Year 338, to Besiege the City of *Nisibis*, St. *James* upon this occasion did the Office both of a Governour and a Bishop; for he not only made fervent Prayers for his People, but encourag'd them by his Exhortations to Re-build a Wall in the room of that which the Besiegers had beat down; he mounted upon the Walls of the City, and appear'd Miraculously cloathed with Purple, as if he had been an Emperour. 'Tis said also, That at his Prayer God rain'd an infinite Multitude of Gnats, which so annoy'd the Besiegers, that they were forc'd to retire in disorder. This Story is related not only by *Theodoret*, who has written the Life of this Saint in his Book entituled, *Philotheus* [which is an Historical Account of Thirty eminent Asceticks] and who speaks also of this Circumstance in his *Hist. Ch.* 30. of his Second Book; but also by *Philostorgius*, who cannot be suspected of too much favour to so great an Enemy of the *Arians*. *Jacobus Nisibenus.*

St. *Athanasius* speaks of this Saint, as of a Bishop who had written for the Church: And if St. *Jerom* has not plac'd him among the number of Ecclesiastical Writers, *it is because, as* Gennadius *has observ'd, that this Father understood not the Syriack Tongue*, having never read those Syriack Writers, [This, with *Gennadius*'s leave, is something strange: for it is not credible that a Man who lived so long in *Palastine*, where Syriack was the Mother-Tongue, and who understood Hebrew so well as St. *Jerom* did, should not understand Syriack, which is but a different Dialect.] whom he mentions but in their Version; so that we must not wonder, that he says nothing of his Works, because they were never translated into Greek. *Gennadius* has made a Catalogue, wherein he says, That the Work of this Author contain'd 26 Books, but he names but 23. The 1st. is *concerning Faith*; The 2d. *against all Heresies*; The 3d. *of Charity in general*; The 4th. *of Charity towards our Neighbour*; The 5th. *of Fasting*; The 6th. *of Prayer*; The 7th. *of the Resurrection*; The 8th. *of the Life after Death*; The 9th. *of Humility*; The 10th. *of Patience*; The 11th. *of Penance*; The 12th. *of Satisfaction*; The 13th. *of Virginity*; The 14th. *of the Life of the Soul*; The 15th. *concerning Circumcision*; The 16th. *concerning the Benediction of the Grape*, which is the cause that the Bunch of Grapes is preserv'd, which is mention'd by the Prophet *Isaiah*, Ch. 65; The 17th. *of Jesus Christ, to prove that he is the Son of God and Consubstantial to his Father*; The 18th. *of Chastity*; The 19th. *against the Gentiles*; The 20th. *of the Building of the Tabernacle*; The 21st. *of the Conversion of the Gentiles*; The 22d. *of the Empire of the Persians*; The 23d. *of the Persecution of the Christians*. *Gennadius*, says also, That this Father made a *Chronicle*, less studied indeed than that of the Greeks, but more bold; for by using the words of Scripture, he stops the mouth of all those that question the Coming of Jesus Christ upon vain Conjectures. "This holy Man *as* Gennadius *goes on*, died under *Constantius*, and was buried by *Constan-*
" *tine*'s Order in the City of *Nisibis*, to be a kind of a Defender of it after his Death; but some time
" after, *Julian* entring into this City, either because he could not endure the Glory of this Saint, or
" because he would reproach the Memory of *Constantine*, commanded, that the Relicks of his holy
" Body should be thrown out of the City; wherefore in a few Months after the Emperour *Jovian*
" was forc'd, to save his Empire, to Surrender it to the *Persians*, under whose Dominion it still re-
" mains. [*Theodoret* gives us another Account of the removal of St. *James*'s Body: He says, That when *Jovian* Surrendred up *Nisibis* to the *Persians*, the Inhabitants who left the Town, carried the

Martyr's Bones along with them: His Teſtimony is the more valuable becauſe he lived near the place, and alſo, becauſe, as he tells us himſelf in his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, he took a great deal of pains to collect and write down the Wonderful Things which were related of this Saint.]

MARCELLUS *of* Ancyra.

Marcellus of Ancyra.

MARCELLUS, Biſhop of *Ancyra*, aſſiſted at the Council of *Nice*, where he defended the Faith and oppos'd the *Arians*, as Pope *Julius* affirms, upon the Report of St. *Sylveſter* the Pope. After that Council he wrote a Book againſt *Aſterius* and other Biſhops of the *Arian* Faction, entituled, *Concerning the Submiſſion of Jeſus Chriſt*; wherein he advances many Propoſitions favouring the Error of the *Sabellians*. The *Euſebians* immediately accus'd him of this Hereſie, and it is ſaid, that he promis'd in the Council of *Jeruſalem* to burn his Book; but refuſing to do it when he was at *Conſtantinople*, he was condemn'd and depos'd in a Council held in that City by the *Euſebians* in the Year 336. There is ſome probability that he was reſtor'd again to his See after the Death of *Conſtantine*; but he was driven away at the ſame time that St. *Athanaſius* was forc'd out of *Alexandria*, and oblig'd to fly for Refuge into the Weſt, where he was Abſolv'd in the Councils of *Rome* and *Sardica*. *Socrates* and *Sozomen* ſay, That after this laſt Council, he was reſtor'd to his Biſhoprick as well as St. *Athanaſius*, but that he could not live there in quiet, becauſe *Baſil*, who was Ordain'd in his room in the Year 336, was in Poſſeſſion of his See; and what became of him afterwards is not known. St. *Hilary* and *Sulpitius Severus* affirm, That St. *Athanaſius* having diſcover'd that he favour'd the Error of *Photinus*, depriv'd him of his Communion; and this Biſhop ſeeing himſelf condemn'd by his Judgment, refrain'd from coming to the Church-Gate. But this Relation is not true; for St. *Athanaſius* does always ſpeak of him in his Writings as a Catholick Biſhop, and we underſtand by the Letters which St. *Baſil* wrote to St. *Athanaſius* a little before his Death, that this Father continued always in Communion with him. St. *Jerom* places *Marcellus* of *Ancyra* among the number of Eccleſiaſtical Writers; and ſays that he compos'd many Volumes upon different Subjects, but chiefly againſt the *Arians*. We have nothing of his Works remaining, but ſome Fragments recited by *Euſebius* in the Books which he wrote againſt this Author: Theſe paſſages are very intricate, and favour the Error of the *Sabellians*. Some have accus'd *Euſebius*, that he took for a poſitive Aſſertion what *Marcellus* had only propos'd by way of Doubt or Objection: but the contrary appears ſufficiently from *Euſebius*'s Book, where 'tis plain, that in the greateſt part of the paſſages which he recites, *Marcellus* of *Ancyra* propoſes his true Sentiment, which 'tis very difficult to explain in a Catholick Sence. It appears by theſe Fragments, that *Marcellus* was a Man that talked much, who had little Wit, or Knowledge, or Eloquence, and was altogether void of good Sence. St. *Epiphan. in Hæreſ.* 72. recites a Letter of *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*.

HOSIUS.

Hoſius.

HOSIUS, Biſhop of *Corduba*, a City of *Spain*, did generouſly confeſs the Faith of Chriſt, in the Perſecution of the Emperour *Diocleſian*. The *Donatiſts* affirm, That he was condemn'd for his Crimes by the Biſhops of *Spain*, and was afterwards Abſolv'd by thoſe of *France*: But this is a Notorious Calumny, of which they have no Proof, and which is ſufficiently confuted by the great Reputation that *Hoſius* had all his Life-time; beſides, that his Enemies never charg'd him with any ſuch thing. His Name is found amongſt the Names of thoſe Biſhops that Subſcrib'd to the Canons, which are believ'd to be made in the Council of *Elvira*. He was known to *Conſtantine*, while this Emperour was in the Weſt, and follow'd him into the Eaſt; where he was ſo much eſteem'd by him, that he was choſen to be ſent into *Egypt*, to ſettle the Controverſies that were riſen there about the Hereſie of *Arius*, and the Celebration of *Eaſter*. There he aſſembled a Council, to which the Egyptians have not ſcrupled to give the Name of *Oecumenical*, and us'd his utmoſt endeavours to reduce *Arius* to the Communion of his Biſhop *Alexander*, and to eſtabliſh Peace: But all was in vain, for 'twas neceſſary to have recourſe to a more Powerful Remedy, which was the General Council of *Nice*. There he was choſen Preſident, either becauſe of his Eminent Vertues, and Rare Qualities, or becauſe he had a perfect Knowledge of the Matter which was to be handled in that Council. He preſided alſo at the Council of *Sardica*, and maintain'd for a long time with great Conſtancy the Faith of the *Nicene* Council, and the Innocence of St. *Athanaſius*, under the Reign of *Conſtantius*. This Emperour did in vain ſollicite him with Promiſes and Threatnings, for he anſwer'd and wrote to him with unſhaken Firmneſs; but at laſt, he was ſo far overcome by the Miſeries which he ſuffer'd in Baniſhment, as not only to Communicate with *Urſacius* and *Valens*, in the Year 357, as St. *Athanaſius* confeſſes, but alſo to Subſcribe to the Second Creed of *Sirmium*, which is *Arian*, as St. *Hilary* and *Rhebadius*, who liv'd at the ſame time, do clearly Teſtify. Yet 'tis true, that St. *Athanaſius* who endeavours to excuſe the Fault of his Friend, as much as he can, ſays, That he did not Subſcribe to his Condemnation, and that his Friend at his Death, proteſted by his Laſt Will and Teſtament, againſt what he had done, and expreſly condemn'd the Hereſy of *Arius*. Theſe two Authors, whom we cited before, do not ſpeak at this Rate of him: but on the contrary, St. *Hilary*, ſays, That his Subſcription diſcover'd what he was formerly, *i. e.* an Hypocrite, who had no other Religion, but that of the Court.

But

But it will be better to spare his Memory with St. *Athanasius*, than to blacken it by Declamations without Ground. His Fault indeed was very great, but then his great Age, and the Violence that was us'd towards him, do render him the less culpable; and I think we ought to believe upon the Testimony of St. *Athanasius*, that he repented of what he had done before his Death. 'Tis true, that the two *Luciferians* tell us a Story which would prove the contrary if it were certain; but it looks like a Fable. They say in their Petition to the Emperour *Valentinian*, that *Hosius* being return'd into *Spain* with a Declaration of the Emperour, wherein 'twas ordain'd, That all those that would not Communicate with him, should be cast out of their Sees; One *Gregory*, Bishop of the Province of *Bætica*, a dull Man, but a zealous Defender of the Faith, refus'd to Communicate with him; and being forcibly carried away to *Corduba* by the Governor's Guards, he continued firm in his Opinion, and boldly reproved *Hosius*. That *Hosius* being mov'd with a violent Passion, desired of the Governor to send that Bishop into Banishment: But the Governor answer'd him, That he must first be Condemn'd. And that *Hosius* being ready to pronounce the Sentence of Condemnation against him, he appeal'd to the Tribunal of Jesus Christ; and when *Hosius* was just beginning to Pronounce the Sentence, he fell into *Convulsions*, and was cast down Dead upon the Ground, or at least lost his Speech. This is what these two *Luciferian* Priests say of *Hosius*'s End: But besides that this Relation is refuted by the Positive Testimony of St. *Athanasius*, which is much more credible than theirs; it has all over the Air of a Fable feign'd by *Lucifer*'s Party, who please themselves, as is usual for the most part with those Devoto's that are too austere, with such kind of Tragical Stories that happen for the Punishment of some Crime. He liv'd almost 100 Years, and died in the Year 358. St. *Athanasius* in his Letter to the *Egyptians*, which is call'd his First Discourse against the *Arians*, places *Hosius* in the number of those who had written against the *Arians*, but we have no more of him but that excellent Letter to *Constantius*, recited by St. *Athanasius* in his Letter to those that lived a Monastick Life; of which we have made an Extract, when we discours'd of the Works of St. *Athanasius*. *Isidore* of *Sevil* attributes also to *Hosius* a Letter to his Sister, in praise of Virginity; which was written, as he says, in a Stile very Eloquent and Polite; and moreover, he says, That he was the Author of a Part of the Canons of the Council of *Sardica*: Some also have said that he made the *Nicene* Creed, but without Ground. *Hosius.*

We may join with *Hosius*, some Authors whereof St. *Athanasius* makes mention in his Letter to the *Egyptians*, who compos'd very Orthodox Books, which we have not at present, and whereof we have not so much as the Titles. These Authors are *Maximinus*, of *France*, Bishop of *Triers*, and his Successor *Paulinus*; *Philogonus*, of *Antioch*; *Cyriacus*, of *Mysia*; *Pistus* and *Aristeus*, of *Greece*; *Sylvester* and *Protogenes*, of *Dacia*; *Leontius* and *Eupsychius*, of *Cappadocia*; *Cæcilian*, of *Africk*; *Eustorgius*, of *Italy*; *Capito*, of *Sicily*; *Macarius*, of *Jerusalem*; *Alexander*, of *Constantinople*; *Pedaratas*, of *Heraclea*; *Meletius*, *Basil* and *Longinus*, of *Pontus* and *Armenia*; *Lupus* and *Appianus*, of *Cilicia*. All these Bishops, and many others, compos'd Letters or Books, which were extant in St. *Athanasius*'s time, but now we know nothing of them.

JULIUS.

JULIUS, was ordain'd Bishop of *Rome*, in the Year 334, or 335. He call'd a Council at *Rome* in which St. *Athanasius* was declar'd Innocent: and wrote a Letter to the Bishops of the *East*, of which we have given an Extract, when he gave an Account of the Works of St. *Athanasius*. He sent his Legates to the Council of *Sardica* and wrote a Letter to those of *Alexandria*, wherein he Congratulates the return of St. *Athanasius* to them. These two Letters are genuine, and are to be found in the Works of St. *Athanasius*. The *Eutychians* have attributed to Pope *Julius*, a Letter concerning the Incarnation, address'd to one *Dionysius*, which *Gennadius* believ'd to be truly his; tho' he observes, That tho' it might be useful in the time of this Pope, against those that admitted Two Persons in Jesus Christ; yet it prov'd pernicious after the Heresy of *Eutyches* and *Timotheus*, which it very much favour'd. But this Letter has been rejected by *Hypatius*, in a Conference at *Constantinople*, with the *Acephali*; by *Facundus*, *B.* VII. *Ch.* 1. by *Eulogius*, in his Third Discourse; and by *Leontius* of *Constantinople*, Book of *Sects*, Ch. 8. who have all affirmed, That 'twas written by *Apollinarius*, and by the *Eutychians*, and falsly attributed to Pope *Julius*. There is another Letter of *Julius*, about the Incarnation, to *Docus*, which is also cited in the Council of *Ephesus*, Art. 1. *Facundus* has acknowledg'd it for Genuine; and *Vincentius Lirinensis*, says, that in that Council, The Faith of the Church, was confirm'd by the Testimony of Pope *Julius*. *Ephrem* has also acknowledg'd it for Genuine, as appears by an Extract out of his Third Book of Laws related by *Photius*. *Anastasius* has cited it in his Collections about the Incarnation, as written by *Acacius*. *Leontius* only has rejected it in his Treatise of *Sects*, where he affirms, That 'tis the Work of *Timotheus*, a Disciple of *Apollinarius*, as was prov'd then by many Copies. He adds, nevertheless, That 'tis not at all contrary to the Faith, and that 'tis no great matter whose it is. In short, the same *Leontius*, affirms, That there were no Writings of *Julius* in his time (which must be understood with an exception to those that are extant in St. *Athanasius*,) and that the Seven Epistles which bear his Name, were *Apollinarius*'s. And truly, there is no probability, that *Julius* wrote Letters about the Incarnation at a time when there was no Question, but about the Trinity: Besides, 'tis known, that the *Eutychians*, were wont to attribute the Works of *Apollinarius*, to the Fathers, who had the Reputation of Catholicks, as St. *Athanasius*, St. *Gregory*, and St. *Cyril*, that so they might deceive the People, and engage them unto their Heresy. *Julius.*

Julius. I ſay nothing of the two Decretal Epiſtles attributed to Pope *Julius*, becauſe they are plainly ſuppoſititious. This Pope died in the Year 352, and was ſucceeded by *Liberius*. The Author of *Damaſus*'s Pontifical, *Uſuardus*, *Ado*, and ſome others, relate, That he was Baniſh'd for the ſpace of Ten Months, till the Death of *Conſtantius*: But this cannot be maintain'd, for *Julius* never ſuffer'd any Perſecution, nor any Baniſhment, for the Defence of St. *Athanaſius*, ſince this Father ſays not one word of it in his Books, who would never have fail'd to charge the *Arians* with the Baniſhment of *Julius*, as well as with that of *Liberius*, and other Biſhops of his Party.

ASTERIUS.

Aſterius. ST. *JEROM* places this *Arian* Philoſopher among the Number of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, not becauſe he wrote a Book againſt the Faith of the Church about the Trinity, but becauſe of his Commentaries upon the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, upon the *Goſpels*, upon the *Pſalms*, and many other Books; which ſhows, That a Heretick may be plac'd amongſt Eccleſiaſtical Authors, when he writes ſuch Learned Books as may be ſerviceable to the Church. St. *Athanaſius* gives a very different Character of this *Aſterius* from that which *Euſebius* had given of him in his Book againſt *Marcellus*. "One *Aſterius*, ſays "he, in his Book of the Two Synods, a Sophiſt of *Cappadocia*, is a Partizan of the *Euſebians*; and "when he could not enter into the Order of the Clergy, becauſe he had Sacrific'd to Idols, during "the Perſecution of *Maximian*, he was adviſ'd to write a Book for the Opinions of *Euſebius*, the Im"piety of which is equal to that of his Idolatry: For there he compares Jeſus Chriſt to a Locuſt, and "a Worm of the Earth; nay, and ſeems to preferr theſe Inſects before him. He affirms, That the "Word which is in Jeſus Chriſt, is different from the Word which created the World: He runs "through all *Syria*, and enters into all the Churches by the Favour of *Euſebius*'s Recommendation, to "teach others to deny Jeſus Chriſt. He inſolently oppoſes the Truth, and goes into thoſe places which "are appointed only for the Clergy, and there he rehearſes very loudly, his impious Book. Thus St. *Athanaſius* deſcribes the Man and his Work. There are ſome Fragments preſerved in his Writings, which expreſly contain the impious Opinions of the *Arians*: I am only now to tell you, That this *Aſterius*, is different from the Biſhop of *Amaſea*.

THEODORUS.

Theodorus. *THEODORUS*, Biſhop of *Perinthus*, a City of *Thrace*, who was alſo call'd *Heracleus*, was a Biſhop of the *Euſebian* Party. St. *Athanaſius* in his Letter to the Biſhops of *Egypt*, places him among the Number of thoſe that were condemn'd, being Prieſts, and afterwards promoted to Epiſcopal Dignity by the Intrigues of the *Arians*. He aſſiſted at the Council of *Tyre*, and was one of the Deputies that were ſent to *Mareotis*, to Inform againſt St. *Athanaſius*. He aſſiſted alſo at the Council of *Antioch*, and came to that of *Sardica*; and having retir'd from thence with the Biſhops of the *Eaſt*, he was Depos'd and Excommunicated in a Synod of the *Weſtern* Biſhops. St. *Jerom* and *Theodoret*, Teſtify, that he was very Learned, and compos'd in the Reign of the Emperour *Conſtantius*, very Elegant and Clear Commentaries upon the Goſpel of St. *Matthew*, and St. *John*, upon the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, and the *Pſalms*, in which he endeavours, particularly to explain the Hiſtorical Sence of them. We have in the *Catena* upon St. *Matthew*, publiſh'd by *Corderius*, and printed at *Antwerp*, in the Year 1642, ſome Fragments attributed to this *Theodorus*: But one cannot be certain upon the Credit of this *Catena*, that they are truly his.

TRYPHILIUS.

Tryphilius. *TRYPHILIUS*, Biſhop of a City in the Iſle of *Cyprus*, call'd *Ledra*, was, according to St. *Jerom*, one of the moſt Eloquent Writers of his Age; and was in great Reputation under the Reign of *Conſtantius*. St. *Jerom* had read his Commentary upon the *Canticles*, and ſays, That he wrote many other Books that never came to his Hands.

HELIO-

HELIODORUS.

GENNADIUS informs us of this Author, in this manner. "*Heliodorus* a Priest, has "written a Book of the nature of Principles, wherein he shews, That there is but one Prin- "ciple only; That there is nothing Eternal, but God; That God is not the Author of Evil; That "all he does, is Good; That he created the Matter which the Malice of Men makes use of to do "Evil: That nothing was created without him, and that he having foreseen that Nature would "become subject to Corruption by Sin, he forewarned Man of this Punishment. *Heliodorus.*

I have read nothing else that concerns this Author. *Gennadius* places him among those Writers that liv'd in the time of *Constantius.*

DONATUS, *and* Vitellius *and* Macrobius *his Disciples.*

ST. JEROM, places among the Number of Eccleſiastical Writers, *Donatus*, Head of the Party of the *Donatists* in *Africa*; which in all probability is to be understood of the Bishop of *Carthage* (*a*). He says, That he wrote many Books concerning his own Sect; and a Book of the Holy Spirit, whose Doctrine was agreeable to that of the *Arians*. St. *Augustin* has wrote a Book against a Letter of this *Donatus* (*b*), and he assures us in his Book of Heresies, That he was an Eloquent Writer. *Gennadius*, mentions two other Authors of the same Party: The First is *Vitellius*, Who wrote, says he, a Book to Defend his Party, upon this Argument, *That the Servants of God are hated of the World.* This Book adds he, contain'd Excellent Doctrine, if he had not treated the Catholicks as Persecutors. He has written also against the Gentiles, and against the Catholicks, who, as he pretends, basely betray'd the Holy Books in the time of Persecution. There are some other Writings of his, which concern the Discipline of the Church. He flourish'd under *Constans*, the Son of *Constantine*. *Donat.* and *Vitell.* and *Macrob.*

The Second is *Macrobius*, a *Donatist* Priest, who is mention'd in the Writings of *Optatus* (*c*), who was afterwards sent to *Rome*, to be Bishop there of those of his Party. He wrote before his Separation, a Book directed to Confessors and Virgins; which is a Book of Morality, and contains very useful Instructions, chiefly, to teach one to live in Inviolable Chastity. He flourish'd in *Africa*, among the Catholicks, and at *Rome* among the Donatists.

(a) *Which is to be understood of the Bishop of* Carthage.] There were Two *Donati* of the same Party, as St. *Austin* observes, *B* I. *Retract. ch.* 12. The First was *Donatus* Bishop of *Casæ nigræ*, or *Calame*, who never was Bishop of *Carthage*, whatever *Albaspinæus* says, and the Second *Donatus* was Successor to *Majorinus*, against whom St. *Austin* wrote a Book, call'd *a Discourse against the Epistle of* Donatus; which was written the last by *Donatus*, for he compos'd that Epistle which St. *Austin* refutes; and confirm'd the Faction of the *Donatists* by his Eloquence.

(b) *St.* Augustin *has wrote a Book against a Letter of this* Donatus.] *Lib.* I. *Retract. ch.* 21. *I have written,* says he, *a Book against the Epistle of* Donatus, *who was Bishop of* Carthage, *next after* Majorinus, *wherein he pretends, that the Baptism of Jesus Christ is not valid out of his own Communion.*

(c) *Who is mention'd in the Writings of* Optatus.] *B.* II. *p.* 37. *Ye say,* says he, speaking to the *Donatists, That ye have many of your Party in the City of* Rome; *This is a Branch of your Error, which proceeds from a Lye, and can't come from the Root of Truth: And if it be demanded of* Macrobius, *what See he belongs to, he may say that he belongs to the Chair of St.* Peter, *which perhaps he never saw. How can he enter into the Church where the Sepulchers of St.* Peter *and St.* Paul *are? Did he ever offer to do it?*

St. ANTHONY.

ST. *ANTHONY*, who was the First Institutor of a Monastick Life, was born towards the Year 250, in *Egypt*: His Parents who were Christians, and very considerable for their Nobility, took great Care to Educate him in Piety: He was not Instructed in humane Learning, neither had he any Commerce with the World. His Father and Mother dying when he was but Eighteen Years old, left great Riches to him and his Sister: But a little after, he took up a Resolution of forsaking the World entirely; and then he distributed his Inheritance to his Neighbours, Sold his Moveables, and gave the Price of them to the Poor, and so retir'd into a solitary Place towards the Year 270. The first place of his Retreat, was a Cell near his own Village, and after that, he shut himself up in a Sepulchre that was more remote; but at last, he pass'd over the *Nile*, and retir'd into the Ruines of an Old Castle, where he stay'd near 20 Years. But he was forc'd to come fourth from thence towards the Year 305, to govern those that came to put themselves under his Conduct. About this time, the number of those that follow'd him, encreasing daily, several Monasteries were begun to be built in the Desarts, to which St *Anthony* was as a Father. His Charity oblig'd him to go out of his Solitude, during the Persecution of *Maximinus*, and to come to the City of *Alexandria*, that he might assist the Christians which suffer'd for Jesus Christ. But the Persecution was no sooner ended, but he return'd to his Monastery, where he betook himself to his former Exercises, and wrought many Miracles, for Delivering those that were possess'd, and Curing those that were sick. But these Extraordinary Actions drawing after him a great Multitude of Persons, who troubled his Retirement, St *Anthony.*

he

St. *Anthony.* he withdrew to the remoteſt Part of the Mountains, and there built a Cell, or a little Monaſtery upon Mount *Colzim*, about a Day's Journey from the *Red-Sea*. He liv'd long in this Solitude, out of which he went nevertheleſs from time to time to viſit his former Diſciples, who look'd upon him always as their Father. In a word, After he had acquir'd an Immortal Fame here on Earth, he went to receive the Reward of his Labours in Heaven, in the 19*th.* Year of the Reign of *Conſtantius*, *i.e.* in the Year 356, being the 105*th.* Year of his Age.

Theſe are the principal Circumſtances of the Life of St. *Anthony*, taken out of the Hiſtory of his Life, attributed to St. *Athanaſius*, which one may read if he has a mind to know thoſe things more particularly. But this is not the place to inſiſt upon them, for we conſider him neither as a Monk, nor as a Saint, but only as a Writer. And one may ſay with all the reſpect that is due to him, That in this Capacity, he was much leſs Famous, and leſs known; for as he had not ſtudied at all, ſo he could not undertake to write any Great Books; but the quickneſs of his Wit, might furniſh him with Pieces of leſs Conſequence, ſuch as Letters, Exhortations and Anſwers, ſo that no Writings but of theſe ſorts are attributed to him.

St. *Jerom*, ſays, That he wrote in the Egyptian Tongue, Seven Letters to ſeveral Monaſteries, which come near, ſays he, to the Opinions of the Apoſtles, and their manner of Writing; and theſe have been tranſlated into Greek, but we have nothing of them at preſent, but a Latin Verſion, which is attributed to one *Sarraſius*. The Firſt of theſe Letters is, concerning Vocation; the Second, concerning the Snares of the Devil, and the means of avoiding them; the Third is, concerning the Bleſſings of God towards Mankind; the Fourth, concerning the Incarnation of Jeſus Chriſt; the Fifth, concerning Chriſtian Vigilance; the Sixth, concerning the Knowledge of one's ſelf, and the Neceſſity of the Incarnation; the Seventh and Laſt, is alſo concerning the Knowledge of our ſelves; and he Concludes with an Advertiſement againſt *Arius*, Of theſe Letters, there are Six addreſs'd to the *Arſinoites*, (*i. e.* to the Monks of one of his Monaſteries, which was at *Arſinoe*) tho' St. *Jerom* ſpeaks but of one that was directed to them. Theſe are all written with much Candor; the Thoughts and Expreſſions indeed are ſomething elevated, but the Air is ſimple and without Ornament. There a Man may find a great deal of Piety, and many Excellent Counſels, eſpecially for thoſe Perſons that make profeſſion of a Monaſtick Life. In ſhort, 'Tis obvious to every one that reads them, That the Writer was a much better Chriſtian, than a Scribe, one that underſtood better the Maxims of Chriſtianity, than the Precepts of Eloquence, and was much more fill'd with the Unction of the Holy One, than with Humane Science and Learning.

St. *Athanaſius*, or the Author of the Life of St. *Anthony*, which is attributed to this Father, ſets down a long Exhortation of St. *Anthony* to his Monks, which contains many Inſtructions very uſeful for them, and wholeſome Advices about the Temptations of the Devil. There are alſo found in this Writing, ingenious Anſwers of the ſame Saint to the Philoſophers, and ſome other Perſons, and a Letter to the Emperour.

There is moreover a ſhort Rule attributed to St. *Anthony*, ſet down in the Collection of Rules made by St. *Benedictus Anianenſis* who liv'd towards the Year 820, from the birth of Chriſt, which contains many Moral Precepts, and preſcribes ſome Monaſtical Obſervations. Beſides theſe, *Gerard Voſſius* has given us under the Name of St. *Anthony*, a Sermon, which is a Declamation againſt the Vices and Exceſſes of the Men of the World, at the End of which he Exhorts Men to do Penance, by repreſenting unto them the Judgment of God, and the Pains which the damned ſuffer after the Reſurrection. 'Tis hard to ſay, whether this Diſcourſe be truly St. *Anthony*'s, or whether it be only put out under his Name, as a Diſcourſe that would agree exactly to one ſo retir'd from the World as he was. Be that as it will, it has much of the Stile of this Saint's Letters, though more Elegant and Sublime.

Laſtly, There were two Books of Latin Sermons, attributed to St. *Anthony* in the time of *Trithemius*; but now all the Criticks agree, that they are none of his, neither can be, ſince they cite St. *Baſil*, St. *Gregory Nyſſen*, St. *Chryſoſtom*, St. *Nilus* and *Photius*, Authors that liv'd and wrote after St. *Anthony*. The Letters of St. *Anthony* were printed apart, and are ſince inſerted into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. His Rule is in *Benedictus Anianenſis*'s Code, publiſh'd by *Holſtenius*, from the Copy of a Manuſcript, (which was in the Monaſtery of St. *Maximin*, near *Triers*,) [at *Rome* in 1661.] and re-printed in *Quarto* at *Paris*, by *Billaine* in 1663.

St. PACHOMIUS.

St. *Pachomius.* THough St. *Anthony* was the Inſtitutor of a Monaſtick Life, yet St. *Pachomius* ought to be conſider'd as the Author of a Cœnobitick Life, becauſe he was the firſt that appointed regulated Societies. He was born in *Thebais*, of Gentile Parents, and did for ſome time bear Arms in the War of *Conſtantine* againſt *Maxentius*. When this War was ended, he, who had been always a Chriſtian in his Heart, was baptiz'd, and retir'd with an Hermit nam'd *Palemon*, under whoſe Conduct he led a very auſtere Life. He ſtay'd afterward in *Tabenna*, a Country of *Egypt*, ſituated on the Brink of the *Nile* in the Dioceſs of *Tentyra*, where he Founded a Monaſtery, in obedience, as is believ'd, to the Admonition of an Angel, and in Conformity to a Rule, which he is thought to have received from it. Be this as it will, (for though this Story be related by many Authors, I do not think that any Man is abſolutely oblig'd to believe it:) Be this as it will, I ſay, the Monaſtery which he Founded in *Tabenna*, was fill'd in a very little time, and he was oblig'd to build many more of them; ſo that he peopl'd all the *Upper Thebais* with Monaſteries of his Order. 'Tis reported in the Greek Acts of his Life, publiſh'd

lish'd not long since in the great *Collection of the Lives of the Saints* by *Bollandus* and *Papebrochius*, that he was accus'd at a Synod of *Diospolis*, because he Divin'd the most secret Thoughts of Men; but he was Absolv'd by the same Synod, where were two of his Disciples, after he declar'd that God of his Grace reveal'd to him the most hidden things. He died about the Year 400. We have in the Life of St. *Pachomius* a Rule which is thought to have been given him by the Angels; but there is another also which bears the Name of this holy Abbot, in the Collection of the *Oriental Rules*, in the *Bibliothecæ Patrum*, and at the End of some Editions of *Cassian*, which is much larger, and seems to have been drawn up at different times. It contains many Rules concerning the Habits, the Diet, the Employments and the Discipline of Monks: 'Tis thought to have been translated by St. *Jerom*, and there is at the beginning, a Letter which imitates the Stile of this Father well enough. There are also some Moral Precepts publish'd under his Name by *Gerard Vossius*, printed at *Mentz* in the Year 1604, and in *Benedictus Anianensis*'s Collection, there are Eleven Letters (*a*) of the same Author, written with much Simplicity, which are cited by *Gennadius*; and a Letter of *Theodorus* his Disciple, concerning *Easter*. *Gennadius* calls St. *Pachomius* a Man truly Apostolical in his Discourses and Actions: His Rule is very Judicious, and comes down to all the Particulars necessary for the Government of a Monastery. St. *Pachomius*.

(*a*) *Eleven Letters.*] These were written, as *Gennadius* observes, to the Superiours of the Monasteries of his Community, who are design'd by the Letters of the Alphabet; there is One to the Abbot *Hyrus*, One to the Abbot *Cornelius*, One to all the Superiours, to advertise them to come and Celebrate the Feast of *Easter*, at a Monastery call'd in the Egyptian Tongue *Baüm*, and this is cited by St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, in a Letter cited by *Bucherius*: There is another to the same persons, giving them notice to meet on the Day of Remission, *i. e.* at the General Chapter, which was held in the Month of *August*, and another to the Brethren, who were gone out of the Monastery to Work.

ORSIESIS.

ORSIESIS was Successor to *Pachomius* after *Petronius*, who govern'd the Monastery of *Tabenna* but a few days. He has written a Spiritual Treatise of the *Doctrine or Institution of Monks*, which he lift when he was a Dying to the Religious of his Monastery. 'Tis an Exhortation that he made to them to Watch over themselves, and to discharge their Duties exactly, and is fill'd with many Passages of Scripture, which he applies to his Subjects very properly. Upon this account 'twas that *Gennadius* said that this Treatise was season'd with Divine Salt, *Divino sale conditus.* 'Twas printed apart by *Gymnicus* at *Cologne* in the Year 1536. and afterwards inserted into the *Bibliothecæ Patrum*. 'Tis found also in *Benedictus Anianensis*'s Code, that was publish'd by *Holstenius*. *Orsiesis.*

THEODORUS.

THEODORUS a Presbyter, one of the Principal Disciples of St. *Pachomius*, and his Successor in the Government of the Abby of *Tabenna*, if we believe *Gennadius*, wrote Letters to other Monasteries, which are almost wholly made up of Passages of Scripture: and yet there he often mentions his Master St. *Pachomius*, and proposes his Example and Doctrine for their Instruction. He admonishes also some Religious to continue with Zeal in their Vocation, and exhorts those that were separated from the Society of others to a Re-Union. *Gennadius* says, that there were Three Letters on this Subject, but we have only one Extant, which concerns the Assembly of Monks at *Easter*, and that, as we have already said, is in the Abbot of *Anian*'s Code. *Theodorus.*

The MACARII.

THere are several Hermits of this Name, that liv'd much about the same time, and who are easily confounded, if one does not take heed. The First is he that dwelt in the Desart of *Sceta*, and liv'd in the time of St. *Pachomius* and *Orsiesis*, and was *Evagrius*'s Master: He was an Abbot in *Egypt* and his Feast is kept on the 15th. of *January*. He was call'd the *Young Old-man*, παιδαριογέρων, because he had in his Youth the Judgment and Gravity of an Old-man. The Second *Marcarius*, Abbot in *Thebais*, was the Disciple of St. *Pachomius*, and his Feast is kept on the 12th. of *January*. 'Tis commonly believed, That the First of these *Macarii* was the Disciple and Interpreter of St. *Anthony*, mention'd by St. *Jerom* in the Life of *Paul* the Hermit: But *Possinus* the Jesuit maintains with great probability, that the Disciple of St. *Anthony* was different from both these two: and he proves it, because he was one of those two Disciples, who stay'd with St. *Anthony* in his Solitude Fifteen Years, and interr'd him; which cannot be said of the First *Macarius*, who died in 390, after he had been 60 Years a Monk of *Sceta*. The *Macarii.*

There

The *Macarii.*

There is yet a 4th. *Macarius*, a Monk as well as the other three, but Younger than they, who wrote at *Rome* about the beginning of the 5th. Century, a Treatiſe againſt the Mathematicians. This is he to whom *Ruffinus* addreſs'd his Apology for *Origen*, and of whom St. *Jerom* ſays to *Ruffinus* in his 2d. Apology, *If you had not come from the Eaſt, this able Man had been ſtill among the number of Mathematicians*; And in his 16th. Letter, *He had been Truly* Macarius, *that's to ſay, Bleſſed, if he had not met with ſuch a Maſter.* There are many Books which bear the Name of *Macarius*, and 'tis not known to which of the three they belong. Theſe are, Firſt, Fifty Greek Homilies, tranſlated by *Picus* printed at *Paris* in *Octavo* in the Year 1559, and printed ſince in *Folio* in the Year 1623, with St. *Gregory Thaumaturgus*. There is alſo an Edition in *Octavo*, printed at *Francfort* in 1594. with the Tranſlation of *Zacharias Palthonius*, and they are inſerted into the *Bibliothecæ Patrum*. Secondly, Seven Tracts, publiſh'd in Greek and Latin by the Jeſuit *Poſſinus*, in his Book, entituled, *Theſaurus Aſceticus*, or the *Aſcetical Treaſure*, printed at *Tholouſe* in the Year 1684. Thirdly, A Rule publiſh'd by *Roverius* from a Manuſcript of the Abby of *Becco*, and in the Collection of the Abbot of *Anian*; where there is alſo another Rule written by way of Dialogue between *Serapion*, *Paphnutius*, and the two *Macarii*, which had been before publiſh'd at the End of *Caſſian*, in the *Antwerp* Edition of the Year 1578.

Gennadius aſſures us, That *Macarius* the Egyptian, *i.e.* the Elder, who was a Monk of *Sceta*, wrote only one Letter to the young Monks, wherein he teaches that Man can perfectly ſerve God, when knowing his Nature, he does voluntarily embrace all ſorts of Labour, and reſiſts all that is moſt Charming in this Life, to try the Aids that God has given him; and in ſhort, when by keeping himſelf pure, he arrives to that degree of Continence, that it becomes as it were natural to him. The Subject of this Letter comes near to thoſe Principles which are found in the Tracts and Greek Sermons that bear the Name of *Macarius*; which would make me believe that they were his, if *Gennadius* had not aſſur'd us, that *Macarius* the Egyptian wrote but one Letter only, which he mentions. We muſt therefore ſay, either that *Gennadius* was miſtaken, or that he intended another *Macarius*; or laſtly, That the Author of theſe Works, was that *Macarius*, who was the Diſciple and Interpreter of St. *Anthony*, ſuppoſing with *Poſſinus*, that he was not *Macarius* the Egyptian.

However, The 50 Homilies appear to me to be very Ancient; they are Exhortations to the Religious, and not Sermons to the People. The Firſt contains an Allegorical Explication of the Viſion of the Cherubims related by *Ezekiel*, which he applies to the ſtate of Man's Soul in this Life. The 2d. is of the Kingdom of Darkneſs; that is to ſay, of Sin; from which he maintains, That Man could not be deliver'd but by the Grace of Jeſus Chriſt, and by the Gifts of the Holy Spirit. In the 3d. He recommends to the Brethren to live in Peace, not to condemn one another; to pray continually, and to purifie their outward Man by fighting againſt the Temptations of the Fleſh and the Devil. He ſays in this Homily, That 'tis in our power to reſiſt and fight, but God only can pluck up Sin by the Roots; And that as a Man cannot See without Light, Speak without a Tongue, Hear without Ears, Walk without Feet, Labour without Hands; no more can a Man be Sav'd without Jeſus Chriſt. In the 4th. he ſhows, That in order to Improvement in Vertue, we muſt renounce the World, that we may obtain the Love of the Holy Spirit, which is abſolutely neceſſary for the Sanctification of Mankind. He teaches in this Homily, That Angels and Souls are very thin and ſubtile Bodies, which was an Error very common among the Ancient Monks. In the 5th. he deſcribes the difference between the Life of this World and that of Chriſtians. The 6th. is of Prayer, where he ſays, That it ſhould be made in ſilence, with Peace and Tranquility; That we muſt not throw fourth confuſed Cries, but having God before our Eyes, we muſt pray with Attention, and with a Mind full of holy Thoughts. At the end of this Exhortation, there are two Queſtions and Anſwers touching ſome paſſages concerning the Incarnation of Jeſus Chriſt. The 7th. and 8th. are Queſtions and Anſwers about many Difficulties. All which ſhew, That theſe are not Homilies to the People, but the Exhortations of an Abbot to his Regulars, who had propos'd to him the Difficulties they might meet with, to be reſolv'd in them. There are ſome of theſe Queſtions more curious than ſolid, and the Anſwers are often very Myſtical. Thoſe of the 8th. are about Prayer. In the 9th. he ſhows, That none can deliver himſelf from Temptations, but by fixing his Mind entirely upon God. In the 10th. he ſays That though a Man be improv'd in Vertue, yet he ought to conſider himſelf as one that has done nothing, and then he ought to reach forth after God with greater fervour, leſt he loſe the Holy Spirit by Pride or Lazineſs. The 11th. and 12. contain very obſcure Reflexions concerning the Fall of Mankind, and the Mercies of Jeſus Chriſt; and in the latter part there are Queſtions and Anſwers of very little uſe. In the 13th. he ſays, That ſince the coming of Jeſus Chriſt, God requires of Men greater Holineſs than before. In the 14th. he diſcourſes of the Reward of Chriſtians. The 15th. has no particular Subject. It begins with a Reflexion upon the Obligation that lies upon Chriſtians to honour Jeſus Chriſt with Purity and Faithfulneſs: and after this it contains many Queſtions, whereof the Firſt is concerning the Reſurrection; *viz.* If a Man ſhall riſe with all his Members; and the reſt concerning Concupiſcence, and the Inclination to Sin, that is found in all Men. He is of opinion, That 'tis a kind of Fire kindled in a Man, which inflames, as one may ſay, all his Parts; That a Man may reſiſt it, but that to do it aright, he muſt watch continually over himſelf, and always fight againſt it. He ſays, That thoſe who reſiſt their Paſſions, receive the Holy Spirit, and the Grace which Jeſus Chriſt has merited for them; but they ought to take good heed, that they be not lifted up with Pride, and that they continue in Humility and Contempt of themſelves, as being accountable to Jeſus Chriſt for the Grace they have received; and capable of falling from that State of Holineſs in which they are, unleſs they preſerve themſelves in it, by the vertue of Humility, which he calls the Sign and infallible Mark of a Chriſtian. In the 16th. he ſays, That a Man ought always to live in Fear, becauſe he is

always

always expos'd to Temptations; That even those that have not yet received Grace, ought so to behave themselves, as to do Good and forsake Evil by Natural Motives; but those who have receiv'd it, need not such kind of Motives, because this Grace producing Love in their Hearts, makes that become sweet and pleasant, which appear'd rough and uneasie, and makes that appear easie which was thought before to be impossible. In the 17th. he treats of the Spiritual Unction, and the state of the more Perfect Christians, and makes it appear, that notwithstanding any Holiness they have acquir'd, they ought always to fear, because they are always in a Capacity of falling away. In the 18th. he declares the marvellous Effects of the Gifts of the Holy Spirit in the Soul of a Spiritual Man. In the 19th. he explains the degrees through which a Man ought to pass to acquire Perfection; That he ought first to use his utmost natural endeavours to do good, and then God seeing him strive after this manner, gives him the Grace of Prayer, by which means he obtains all Vertues. In the 20th. he says, That none but Jesus Christ can cure the Soul that's wounded by the Sin of *Adam*, and therefore we must address our selves to him by Prayer, that he would give us his Grace. The 21st. is of the War that Men are oblig'd to make against their Vices and their Passions. In the 22d. he describes the terrible difference between the latter End of the Just and the Wicked; and says, that at the hour of Death the Souls of the Just are received by Angels and conducted to the Lord; but those of the Wicked are encompass'd by Devils, who draw them down with themselves to Hell. The 23d. is of the Victory which a Christian ought to gain over his Passions. The 24. is of the Necessity of the Grace and Influence of the Holy Spirit, to make us capable and worthy of Eternal Life. He continues the same Subject in the 25th. wherein, after he has prov'd, that we cannot shun all the occasions of Sin, nor resist all our Passions, without the assistance of the Grace of Jesus Christ, he makes a lively Representation of the state of the Men of this World, and describes the wonderful Effects which the Cœlestial Fire of the Holy Spirit produces in our Souls. The 26th. contains many Questions and Answers, concerning the Temptations of the Devil and the Effects of Grace. The Author there teaches, That Man is restor'd to his Primitive Dignity by the Holy Spirit; That the Devil cannot tempt us any further than God permits him; That Grace changes the Affections of the Heart; That the Devil knows some part of our Thoughts, but there are others unknown to him; That Grace and Charity have no Bounds, and we ought never to say that we have arriv'd at the highest degree of Perfection; That the Soul goes immediately after Death to that place on which its Love was plac'd during this Life; That the Good which may be done by Natural Strength, can never Save a Man without the Grace of Jesus Christ; That we ought always to attribute to him all the Good we do, and to say, If God had not assisted us, we should neither have Fasted, nor Prayed, nor forsaken the World: And that God seeing us attribute to him the Actions which may be done by our Natural Powers, has liberally bestow'd upon us the Spiritual, Heavenly and Divine Gifts of his Grace; That the Actions which are done without Grace, may be Good, but they are not Perfect. In the 27th. after he has first consider'd the Dignity of a Christian, he then Answers to many Questions about the Effects of Grace: He says, That no Man shall ever arrive at the top of Perfection in this World; That whatever state they are in, whatever Grace they have, they are always capable of sinning; That the strongest Grace does not hinder the Will from following after Evil, because the Nature of Man, as long as he is in this World, is changeable, and that though God has bestow'd very singular Grace upon Christians, they ought nevertheless to work out their own Salvation with Fear and Trembling. In the 28th. he deplores the state of that Soul where Jesus Christ dwells not at all, because of Sin. In the 29th. he says, That God gives his Grace after two different manners; That he prevents some with it before they have us'd their own endeavours, and bestows it upon others after they have labour'd a long time; and then he shows what reason we have to admire the Goodness and Wisdom of the Divine Conduct both towards the one and the other. In the 30th. he shows, That if the Holy Spirit does not produce within us the Love of God, we cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. In the 31st. he Exhorts Men to Prayer, That they may obtain the change and renovation of their Heart. In the 32d. he says, That we cannot certainly know whether we be in a state of Grace as long as we are in this World, because we are always tormented with the Motions of Lust, but at the Day of Judgment, those who belong to God shall be made known. The 33d. is of the Attention and Fervour we ought to have in Prayer. The 34th. is of Eternal Glory. The 35th. is of the state of a Soul which God has deliver'd from Evil Thoughts, which he calls a New Sabbath. The 36th. is of their different degrees of Glory, who shall rise again from the Dead. In the 37th. he proves, That many who have thought themselves Just, were not really so; and that those who believ'd themselves to be arriv'd at the highest degree of Perfection, have oftentimes faln into Sin. I pass over the 38th. because that is entire among the little Tracts of *Mark* the Hermit. In the 39th. he says, 'Tis to no purpose to read the Scripture, if we do not make improvement by it. In the 40th. he proves, That there is a concatenation of Vertues one with another, and that there is the same in Vices: He answers also three Questions, and in his Answers, he says, That there are different degrees of Damnation, and that greater Sinners shall be more punish'd, than those that have not committed so great Crimes; That the quiet state of some Souls does not hinder them from exercising Charity; That Grace and an Inclination to Sin may be found together in one and the same Soul at the same time. In the 41st. he describes the Improvements of Grace in a Soul, and makes it appear, that none can preserve this Disposition of growing in Grace without Humility. In the 42d. he says, That nothing but the Actions of Men can be hurtful or useful unto them. In the 43d. he speaks of the different Improvements of those that strive against Sin, but 'tis so obscure, that hardly any thing can be understood in it. The 44th. is of the Change that Jesus Christ wrought in us, and the manner how he heals our Souls: He continues the same Subject in the following Homily, and explains by many Com-

The Manerii.

The *Macarii.*

pariſons, the Union of the Soul with God. In the 46th. he ſays, That a ſick Soul may have recourſe to a Phyſician, to pray and requeſt his help, and when the Heavenly Phyſician comes to its aſſiſtance, he joyns himſelf to it, to lighten and conduct it, and make it his Spouſe. The 47th. contains many Allegorical Explications of the Law of *Moſes*, which he applies to the different ſtates of the Soul: In the 48th. he ſays, That thoſe who have a true Faith of Heavenly things, ought not to have their Affections fix'd on things of this Earth; and that thoſe who retire from the World, ought not to be ſollicitous or anxious about the things thereof: In ſhort, he would not have the Monks make uſe of any Medicines to help them in their Diſeaſes, but to put their whole Truſt in Jeſus Chriſt. In the 49th. he ſhows, That 'tis not enough to have abandon'd the World, but we muſt alſo ardently ſeek after Eternal Happineſs. In the 50th. and laſt, he obſerves, That God was the Cauſe of all the Miracles which the Saints wrought, and from this Remark he draws a Moral Reflection, that we cannot command the Devil, but by the Aſſiſtance of God and the Power of the Holy Spirit. He adds, That he that conſiders his Infirmity, his Weakneſs and Wounds, and does not withal conſider the Aids of the Holy Spirit which ſtrengthens him, is an Indiſcreet Man: And on the contrary, He that ſo much thinks upon the Divine Aids as to forget his own Weakneſs, and ſo fanſies that he can never fall, does miſerably deceive himſelf. After this manner does this Author always reconcile theſe two Fundamental Doctrines of Grace and Free-Will, that we ought always ſo to labour, as if the whole depended upon our own Endeavours, and yet to acknowledge that we can do nothing without God. And if Men had always contented themſelves with this Simplicity without nicer Philoſophical Enquiries, How many Queſtions had been ended without Noiſe! How many Differences compos'd! What Diſputes had been Aboliſh'd! What Arguments Superſeded! How many Books had been ſtifled! But to return to our Author; there are beſides Seven Spiritual Treatiſes of his, which have been publiſh'd in Greek and Latin by *Poſſinus*: The 1ſt. is concerning *Watching over our Heart*; The 2d. *Of Perfection of Mind*; The 3d. *Of Prayer*; The 4th. *Of Patience and Diſcretion*; The 5th. *Of the Elevation of the Mind*; The 6th. *Of Charity*; The 7th. *Of the Freedom of Spirit*; and ſome *Apophthegms of the Fathers*. 'Tis plain, That the Author of the 50 Homilies is the Author of theſe Treatiſes; for there is the ſame Genius in them both. He has the ſame Notions, and the ſame Stile. He Diſcourſes after the ſame manner of Grace and Free-Will, and he maintains in theſe Seven Treatiſes, as well as the Author of the Homilies, That Angels and Souls are Bodies. But 'tis not ſo certain that theſe are the Works of *Macarius* the Diſciple of St. *Anthony*; and I think 'tis more probable, that they were made by a later Monk. Whoever was the Author, his Stile is Simple, and one may ſee that he was a Good Hermit, who ſpeaks from his Heart without Affectation and ornament, and oftentimes even without Order. He allegorizes all, and expreſſes a great many myſtical Thoughts which are very hardly intelligible, and for the moſt part makes uſe of Compariſons which are not juſt and fit. In a word, Some things have eſcap'd him, which cannot altogether be reconcil'd to good ſence; ſo difficult a thing it is in Spiritual Matters not to wander ſometimes!

The Rules which bear the Name of *Macarius*, are of another Author; Thoſe that are found under the Name of *Macarius* only, in *Benedictus Anianenſis*'s Code, are attributed to *Macarius* of *Alexandria*, i. e. the Abbot of *Nitria*, Diſciple of St. *Pachomius*, and Maſter of *Evagrius*. There is a certain paſſage in them which ſeems to be taken out of St. *Jerom*'s Letter to *Ruſticus*, which makes me think, either that this was added, or that St. *Jerom* imitated St. *Macarius*. However this Rule is ancient, and is cited by the Author of the Life of St. *Philibert*, who ſays, That this Saint read the Rules of St. *Macarius*, St. *Benedict* and St. *Columbanus*. The other Rule which is found in the ſame Code, compos'd by the two *Macarii*, St. *Serapion*, and St. *Paphnutius*, is made in the Form of a Dialogue, and probably is nothing elſe, but ſome Conferences of theirs, which ſome Monks had gathered together; as the two Rules which follow in the ſame Code, are a Collection of the Speeches of 34 Abbots. There is alſo found a Rule in the ſame Code which bears the Name of the Abbot *Iſaiah*, which is proper for Hermits, and eſpecially younger Regulars. 'Tis full of Moral Precepts, and therefore had the Title of, *The Precepts and Advices of the Abbot* Iſaiah. This Abbot is probably he whom *Ruffinus* and *Palladius* mention and call *the Abbot of* Syria. There are alſo under the Name of the ſame *Iſaiah*, ſome *Remarks upon a Religious Life*, publiſh'd by *Poſſinus*. At the ſame time there liv'd one *Mark*, a Hermit, who dwelt in the Deſart of the *Cells*, and liv'd almoſt an Hundred Years, to whom ſome Books are attributed, which probably belong to another *Mark* who liv'd long after.

I ſhall ſay nothing at preſent of the Diſcourſes, the Anſwers, and Admonitions of the other Hermits of this time, becauſe they may be ſeen in *Ruffinus*, *Palladius*, and other Authors who have written their Lives.

SERAPION *Biſhop of* Thmuis.

Serapion Biſhop of *Thmuis.*

WE muſt not confound this *Serapion*, whom we now write of, with the famous *Serapion* Abbot in the Territory of *Arſinoe*, though he was a Monk and Abbot as well as the other; but this *Serapion* was Ordain'd towards the Year 340 Biſhop of *Thmuis* a City of *Egypt*, in the Province of *Sceta*, by St. *Athanaſius*, at we find in his Epiſtle to *Dracontius*. St. *Jerom* ſays, That this Biſhop deſerv'd the Name of a Scholar becauſe of his Eloquence; That he was St. *Anthony*'s Friend, and had the honour to be a Confeſſor under *Conſtantius*, that is to ſay, to ſuffer for the Defence of the Faith of the Council of *Nice*, and the Innocence of St. *Athanaſius*. 'Tis probable, that 'tis he, whoſe Name is read among the Subſcriptions of the Letter from the Council of *Sardica*: 'Tis he alſo who

who wrote to St. *Athanasius* about the Death of *Arius*, as we learn by the Answer of this Father, which is directed to him. St. *Jerom*, says, That he wrote a Book against the *Manichees*, a Treatise of the Titles of the *Psalms*, and many very useful Letters: We have no more extant, but his Treatise against the *Manichees*, publish'd by *Canisius*, wherein he proves, That Vice or Evil is not a Substance, and that our Nature is not Evil of it self: Which he proves chiefly, because many very wicked Persons do afterwards become very pious and vertuous. This is the Subject of this little Treatise. The Arguments in it are very Solid, but the Stile is very Simple and without Art.

Serapion Bishop of *Thmuis.*

EUSEBIUS EMISENUS.

THIS *EUSEBIUS*, was of *Edessa*, a City of *Mesopotamia*, of a considerable Family. He had learn'd from his Infancy the Holy Scriptures according to the Custom of his Country, and then he Studied the Greek and Humane Learning, and came to *Palestine* to perfect himself in the Knowledge of the Scripture; he was the Disciple of *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, and of *Patrophilus* of *Scythopolis*. The *Eusebians* would have chosen him Bishop of *Antioch*, after the Deposition of *Eustathius*; and afterwards would have plac'd him in the See of *Alexandria*, in the room of St. *Athanasius*, but he would not accept of these contested Bishopricks. He was afterwards Ordain'd Bishop of *Emesa*, near Mount *Libanus*, but the People made so great Resistance against him, that he was forc'd to retire to *Laodicea*, where he was well receiv'd by *George*, Bishop of that Church, who re-establish'd him in *Emesa*. He was very dear to *Constantius*, who carried him with him, to the *Persian* War. He died in the Year 359, when his Successor, *Paul* of *Emesa*, assisted at the Council of *Seleucia*, as we learn from St. *Epiphanius*. He is plac'd in some Martyrologies, among the Number of Saints. St. *Jerom* gives this Account of the Writings of this Bishop: "*Eusebius*, Bishop of *Emesa*, "who was well skill'd in Rhetorick, and had the Air of an Orator, wrote an infinite Number of "Books; he applied himself Chiefly, to give the Historical Sence of Scripture; and therefore those "who would learn to Preach, read his Books with great Attention. His principal Pieces were against the *Jews*, against the *Gentiles*, against the *Novatians*, Two Books of Commentaries upon the Epistle to the *Galatians*, and many short Homilies upon the Gospels. *Theodoret*, has preserv'd in his Third Dialogue, Two Fragments to prove, That the Divinity of Jesus Christ did not suffer, which are taken out of some of those Books that we have already spoken of; and there are in the Greek *Catena's* upon the Scriptures, several Fragments which are attributed to *Eusebius* of *Emesa*. The Homilies which we have at present under his Name, are none of his, tho' they are cited under his Name in the *Eleventh Century*, by *Guitmondus*, and in the *Twelfth*, by *Gratian*, but they were all written by some Latin Authors, much later than *Eusebius* of *Emesa* (a); some of them by St. *Eucherius*, others by *Faustus Rhedonensis*, and *Cæsarius* of *Arles*, and many other French-men. *Petrus Diaconus*, Library-keeper of *Mount-Cassin*, attributes these Homilies upon the Gospels, and upon the Feasts of the several Seasons, and of the Saints of the Year, to *Bruno*, Bishop of *Signi*; and this is confirm'd by the Catalogues in the Manuscripts of the *Vatican*, and *Mount-Cassin*, where these Homilies are attributed to the same Author. They were Publish'd by *Gagneus*, and Printed apart, and also in the Fifth Volume of the *Bibliotheca Patrum* at *Cologne*.

Eusebius Emisenus

(a) *But they were all written by some Latin Authors, much later than* Eusebius *of* Emesa.] The Stile is of a Latin Author that understood no Greek: And it appears by the Homilies of St. *Blandina*, *Epiphodius*, *Alexander* of St. *Geneft*, that the Author was a *Frenchman*. There is a Sermon of St. *Maximus* the Second Abbot of *Lerins*, which mentions also St. *Honoratus* Abbot of *Lerins*. And afterwards Bishop of *Arles*, who liv'd long after the Death of *Eusebius* of *Emesa*. There is also a Sermon of the Rogation-days instituted by St. *Mamertus*. The Author calls himself the Disciple of St. *Maximus* Abbot of *Lerins*, which makes me believe that these Sermons belong to St. *Eucherius* of *Lyons*, under whose Name they have been printed. The Author of the Homilies about *Easter* opposes the Heretick *Pelagius*, and cites St. *Gregory the Great*.

BASIL *of* Ancyra.

BASIL, was ordain'd Bishop of *Ancyra*, in the Year 336, by the Bishops of *Eusebius*'s Party, in the room of *Marcellus*, whom they had already Deposed: He was Excommunicated, and his Ordination declar'd void in the Council of *Sardica*, but yet he continued still in the Possession of his See: He Disputed against *Photinus* in the Council of *Sirmium*, in the Year 351, and there confounded that Heretick. He was one of the greatest Enemies to the *Arians* or *Anomæans*, that is to say, to those that openly defended the Opinion of *Arius*, and maintain'd, that the Word was not at all like to the Father: But he was look'd upon, as the Head of that Party, which was afterwards call'd *Semi-Arians*, who refusing to acknowledge, That the Son was Consubstantial with the Father; affirm'd, that he was like him in all things, and even in Substance. *Basil* maintain'd this Opinion stoutly, and caus'd it to be Establish'd by the Authority of a Council, which was held at *Ancyra*, in the Year 358. He defended it at *Seleucia* and *Constantinople*, against the Intrigues of the *Eudoxians* and *Acacians*, who Depos'd him in the Year 360, after they had charg'd him with many Crimes. St. *Jerom*, informs us, That *Basil* of *Ancyra*, wrote a Book against *Marcellus* his Predecessor, a Trea-

Basil of *Ancyra.*

Baſil of Ancyra.

tiſe of Virginity, and ſome other little Pieces. We have nothing of his extant, but his Conduct and Actions, diſcover him to have been a Man of Wit, Eloquent, and well skill'd in Theology. Tho' he is ſaid to be the Head of that Party, who were call'd *Semi-Arians*, yet 'tis not certain that he was a Heretick; on the contrary, St. *Baſil* ſpeaks of him as a Catholick Biſhop, and St. *Athanaſius*, confeſſes in his Book of Synods, That *Baſil* of *Ancyra*, and thoſe of his Party, did not differ from them that profeſs'd the Conſubſtantiality, but only in words; and therefore St. *Hilary* and *Philaſtrius*, call the Biſhops of the Council of *Sirmium*, that was held againſt *Photinus*, whereof *Baſil* of *Ancyra* was the Chief, Orthodox and Holy Biſhops.

LIBERIUS.

Liberius.

LIBERIUS Succeeded Pope *Julius* in the See of *Rome*, in the Year 352. He proteſts in one of his Letters, That 'twas much againſt his Will, that he was promoted to this Dignity. In the Fragments of St. *Hilary*, there is a Letter attributed to this Pope, which was written to the Biſhops of the *Eaſt*, ſoon after his Elevation to the Pontificate, wherein he acquaints them, That he had ſent to St. *Athanaſius*, three Prieſts of the Church of *Rome*, *Luke*, *Paul* and *Ælianus*, to cite him to *Rome*, that Judgment might be given about his Cauſe, according to the Diſcipline of the Church; That he had alſo directed another Letter to him, wherein he acquaints him, That in Caſe he did not come to *Rome*, He would declare him Excommunicated from the *Roman* Church. He adds, That theſe Prieſts being return'd, and having inform'd him that *Athanaſius* refus'd to come, he had follow'd the Judgment that the *Eaſtern* Biſhops gave againſt him; That he would Communicate with them, and all the Biſhops of the Catholick Church; That on the contrary, *Athanaſius* was faln from his Communion, as well as from that of the *Roman* Church, and from all Correſpondence with it by Letters.

This is the Subſtance of this Letter attributed to *Liberius*, which would not be much for his Advantage, if it were really his: But I think, 'tis very probable, that he never wrote any ſuch thing, and that this Epiſtle was forg'd by him that made the Collection of the Fragments of St. *Hilary*. For Firſt, Is it any ways Credible, that *Liberius* ſhould Excommunicate St. *Athanaſius*, without any Cauſe, and without any Regard to the Judgment of his Predeceſſor, or to that of the Council of *Sardica*?

Secondly, The Author of this Letter ſays, That the *Eaſtern* Biſhops had wrote to *Julius* againſt St. *Athanaſius*, without mentioning the Judgment which this Pope gave in his Favour.

Thirdly, St. *Athanaſius* never complains that *Liberius* had Excommunicated him before he was Baniſh'd; but on the contrary, he ſuppoſes, That he was always for him, till he Subſcrib'd in the place of his Baniſhment.

Fourthly, The Words of St. *Hilary* which follow this Letter, have no connexion with the Contents of it, and plainly ſhow, That he referrs to a quite different Letter: The Words are theſe; [*Is not this a very Holy Letter? What does it contain in it that proceeds not from a Spirit full of the Fear of God? But* Potamius *and* Epictetus, *deſiring to condemn the Biſhop of* Rome, *as is ſaid in the Synod of* Ariminum, *would not obey him; and tho'* Fortunatianus *ſent this Letter to many Biſhops, he loſt his Labour.*] Now is it credible, That St. *Hilary* ſhould ſo commend a Letter that contain'd the Condemnation of St. *Athanaſius*? What he adds, does yet more clearly prove what we have ſaid, and confirm our Opinion. [*They would rather prejudice their own Intereſts, and hazard all, than refuſe Communion to St.* Athanaſius, *or reflect upon the Authority of the Council of* Sardica, *which had abſolv'd him. The Egyptians wrote to* Liberius, *that he ſhould maintain Communion with St.* Athanaſius, *as they had formerly written to* Julius, *to deſire him, that he would reſtore him to it.*] Theſe words plainly diſcover, that *Liberius* had not Excommunicated St. *Athanaſius*, ſince the *Egyptians* do not deſire him, as they had formerly done *Julius*, to reſtore him to Communion, but only to maintain Communion with him. *Qualis ad Julium pridem de reddenda exulanti Communione, talis nunc, ut de ſubjectis intelligitur, datæ ſunt de tuenda.*

Fifthly, *Liberius* himſelf is a Witneſs, That he never Excommunicated St. *Athanaſius*. For in his Letter to *Lucifer*, where he gives an Account of what happen'd about the Cauſe of this Saint, at the beginning of his Pontificate, he ſays, That the Biſhops of the *Eaſt* had written Letters againſt him, that he had not ſuppreſs'd them, as he was accus'd, but had read them in Council, and yet gave no Credit to them: *Queis fidem & ſententiam non commodavimus noſtram*: [*Which we did neither believe nor approve,*] becauſe he at the ſame time receiv'd Letters from 75 Biſhops of *Egypt*, in behalf of St. *Athanaſius*. Does not this plainly ſhew, That the Letter which we now ſpeak of, was none of *Liberius*'s, ſince it ſuppoſes, that he believ'd the Letter from thoſe of the *Eaſt*, and Excommunicated St. *Athanaſius*.

Sixthly, If *Liberius* had Excommunicated St. *Athanaſius* at the beginning of his Pontificate, would not the Officers of *Conſtantius* have alledg'd this as a Reaſon to make him Subſcribe to his Condemnation? And how could he have maintain'd ſo ſtoutly as he did, That the Church of *Rome* had always held him Innocent?

Seventhly, Tho' *Liberius* ſhould have conceal'd or ſuppreſs'd this Letter, while he was of St. *Athanaſius*'s Party; yet would he not have produc'd it immediately after he had Sign'd againſt him? For then he could have no Intereſt to conceal it, but on the contrary, was oblig'd to publiſh it: And yet

even

even then he confesses, that he was always of St. *Athanasius*'s side. [*Because* Julius *my Predecessor of happy Memory, receiv'd St.* Athanasius *into his Communion, I was afraid lest I should have pass'd for a Prevaricator, if I should have condemned him; but as soon as I understood that you had justly condemn'd him, I follow'd your Judgment.*] Does not this plainly shew, that *Liberius* did not Condemn St. *Athanasius* at the Beginning of his Pontificate, but that on the contrary, he did always Protect him, upon the Authority of his Predecessor? *Liberius.*

Lastly, There are some Expressions in this Letter, that were not us'd till after *Liberius*'s time.

From all which, I conclude it to be false, that *Liberius* did write this Letter, or Excommunicate St. *Athanasius*. On the contrary, immediately after he was exalted to the Pontificate, he wrote to him a Letter of Communion. The Bishops of the *East* wrote to him against this Saint, and those of *Egypt* for him. He read their Letters in a Synod, where 'twas decreed that Communion must be continued with St. *Athanasius*, as it had always been in the *West*. This happened towards the End of the Year 352, or at the Beginning of 353, before the defeat of *Magnentius*. After the Death of this Tyrant, *Constantius* conven'd a Council at *Arles*. *Liberius* sent thither *Vincentius* of *Capua*, in his Name, together with *Marcellus* a Bishop in *Campania*, and gave them Order to entreat the Emperour, That he would call a Council at *Aquileia*. These Bishops were so far from being stedfast, that they suffer'd themselves to be impos'd upon, and Subscrib'd to the Condemnation of St. *Athanasius*, together with all the other Bishops of the Council, excepting only *Paulinus* the Bishop of *Triers*: *Liberius* understanding this, sent *Lucifer Calaritanus*, with *Pancratius* a Priest, and *Hilary* a Deacon, to carry a Letter to the Emperour *Constantius*, wherein after he had given an Account of what we have already said concerning every thing that had been done since the Beginning of his Pontificate, in the Cause of St. *Athanasius*, he prays him to Order the Examination of this Affair in a Free Council, upon Condition that they should begin with Confirming the *Nicene* Creed. He gave to the same Deputies a Letter of Recommendation, address'd to *Eusebius Vercellensis*, and indeed, he wrote two other Letters to him, one of Recommendation, and another of Thanks. About the same time, He wrote also to *Hosius*, and to other Bishops concerning the Lapse of *Vincentius* of *Capua*. Immediately after the Council of *Milan*, held in the Year 355, which was not more favourable to St. *Athanasius*, than that of *Arles* had been before, *Liberius* wrote an Elegant Letter to *Eusebius Vercellensis*, *Denys* and *Lucifer* then in Banishment, wherein he praises them for their Constancy, and testifies to them, That he was ready to suffer the same Persecution for the same Cause. He says, He knew not whether he should be griev'd for their Absence, or rejoyce for their Glory; which he observes to be greater than that of former Martyrs, because these suffer'd only the Torments of their Pagan Persecutors, but they endur'd the Injuries of their false Brethren. He prays them to assist him with their Prayers, That God would give him Grace to bear with Patience and Constancy, the Tryals that he was threaten'd with. And indeed, a little after, *Constantius* perceiving that there was none almost left but *Liberius*, who justified the Innocence of this Saint, and desiring to confirm his Condemnation by the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, sent an Eunuch thither, who urg'd him to Subscribe to the Condemnation of St. *Athanasius* to no purpose; for all the Answer he could get from him, was, That he should call a Free Council in some place, that was distant from the Court, where there should be neither Guards nor Officers; That this Council should begin with making a Profession of the Faith, as it had been explain'd in the Council of *Nice*; That it should drive away all the *Arians*, and anathematize their Error, and then afterwards should examine the Cause of St. *Athanasius*. The Emperour having receiv'd this Answer, sent an Order to the Governour of *Rome*, to surprize *Liberius*, and send him to Court, which Order was executed. And when he was in the Emperour's presence, he spoke to him with no less Constancy, than he had done at *Rome* to his Eunuch. We have his Answers in *Theodoret* in *B.* II. of his *Hist. Ch.* 16. wherein he discovers an unconceivable Firmness of Mind, in refusing to Subscribe to the Condemnation of St. *Athanasius*. *Constantius* objected to him, That he had been condemn'd by all the World; and, says he, *You are the only Bishop in the World, that justifies an impious Disturber of the Peace*; to which he answer'd with great Constancy, *Tho' I were alone, yet the Cause of Faith is nevertheless Good, for at another time there were found but three young Men that disobey'd the Orders of the King.* After this, he pray'd him, That he would call a Synod, but withal, desir'd, That before they should proceed to examine St. *Athanasius*'s Cause, He would make all the Bishops Subscribe the *Nicene* Creed. *Constantius* being enrag'd against St. *Athanasius*, as supposing him the cause of that Enmity, which his Brother *Constans* had against him; *Liberius*, as to this, answer'd him wisely, *You ought not, Sir, to make use of Bishops to revenge your Quarrels; for the hands of Ecclesiasticks, ought not to be employ'd, but only to Bless and to Sanctify.* At last, *Constantius* threatning him with Banishment; *I have already*, says he, *bid adieu to my Brethren at* Rome, *for the Ecclesiastical Laws are to be preferr'd before my Living there.* Three Days time were given him to consider of it, and because he did not change his Opinion in that time, he was Banish'd two Days after to *Berœa*, a City of *Thrace*. The Emperour, the Empress, and the Eunuch *Eusebius*, offer'd him Money to bear the Expence of his Journey, but he refus'd it, and went away chearfully to the place of his Banishment. The Clergy of *Rome*, having lost their Head, took an Oath to chuse no body in the Room of *Liberius*, as long as he was alive: But *Constantius*, by the management of *Epictetus*, Bishop of *Centumcellæ* in *Italy*, procur'd one *Felix* a Deacon, to be ordain'd Bishop, who was himself also one of those that had sworn not to chuse a Bishop in the Room of *Liberius*. St. *Jerom*, says, That *Acacius* had a hand in this Ordination. St. *Jerom* and *Socrates* accuse this *Felix* of Arianism; but *Theodoret* and *Ruffinus*, say, That he was not an *Arian* in Doctrine, but only communicated with that Party. However, all the Ancients agree, That this

Ordination

Liberius. Ordination was not lawful (*a*); and ſome late Authors are very much to be blam'd for putting this Man in the Catalogue of Popes, and yet they have far leſs Reaſon to place him among the Holy Martyrs in very many Martyrologies (*b*).

But *Liberius*, who had given proof of ſo great Conſtancy in time of Peace, could not long endure the tediouſneſs of Baniſhment; for before he had been two Years in it, he ſuffer'd himſelf to be over-perſwaded by *Demophilus* Biſhop of that City, to which he was baniſh'd, and did not only Subſcribe the Condemnation of St. *Athanaſius*; but he alſo conſented to an Heretical Confeſſion of Faith (*c*);

(a) *However, all the Ancients agree; That this Ordination was not lawful.*] St *Athanaſius*, in his Epiſtle to thoſe that lead a Monaſtick Life; ſays, that he was ordain'd in the Palace without the Conſent of the People, or the Election of the Clergy, by *Epictetus*, in the Preſence of Three Eunuchs, and Three Biſhops, who were rather Spies than Biſhops; that the People would not permit him to enter into the Church, and withdrew themſelves from his Communion. St. *Jerom* ſays that he was an Antipope. *Optatus* and St. *Auſtin* in the *Catalogue of Popes*, makes no mention of *Felix*, but place *Damaſus* immediately after *Liberius*. And certainly *Liberius* being a lawful Biſhop, another could not be ordain'd in his Room. And whereas 'tis ſuppos'd, that after his Lapſe he fell from his Biſhop-rick. This can never make the Ordination of *Felix* valid which was null from the Beginning; Beſides *Liberius* was not depos'd after his Fall, but on the contrary was always acknowledg'd as a lawful Biſhop, and continued in the Poſſeſſion of his See with the Conſent of all the Biſhops of the Catholick Church.

(b) *They have far leſs Reaſon to place him among the holy Martyrs in very many Martyrologies.*] His Feſtival is kept on *Auguſt* 4th. *Mombritius* was the firſt that publiſh'd his Life, and after him *Baluſius* put forth a more correct Edition of it. There was a Diſpute about the Saintſhip of *Felix*, among the Correctors of the Roman Martyrology in the Time of *Gregory*; and 'tis ſaid, there was then found an old Inſcription in the Church of St. *Coſmus* and St. *Damian*, expreſs'd in theſe words: *The Body of St.* Felix *Pope and Martyr, by whom* Conſtantius *was Condemn'd.* But the Life of this *Felix* and theſe Monuments are apochryphal: For, firſt, they ſuppoſe that *Conſtantius* put him to Death; But 'tis evident by the Teſtimony of *Marcellinus* the Presbyter, that *Felix* ſurviv'd *Conſtantius*. 2. How could it poſſibly be, that neither St. *Athanaſius*, nor *Hilary*, nor *Lucifer*, &c. nor any other of the Ancients ſhould ever ſpeak one word either of the Condemnation of *Conſtantius* by *Felix*, or the Martyrdom of this Pope? 3. The Acts of *Mombritius* relate, that *Conſtantius* was condemned for being twice baptiz'd by *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*: But 'tis manifeſt from the Teſtimonies of St. *Hilary* and *Lucifer*, that *Conſtantius* was a Catechumen, and was not baptiz'd till about the latter end of his Life by *Euzoius* as St. *Athanaſius* relates in the Book of Synods. The Authority of theſe Martyrologies is of little worth, as well as that of *Anaſtaſius* the Library-keeper. The Inſcription found in the Church of St. *Coſmus*, and St. *Damian* is an Argument of little weight.

(c) *Conſented to an Heretical Confeſſion of Faith.*] *Baronius* and many others maintain, that he ſubſcrib'd only the firſt Creed of *Sirmium* which was not heretical: But if this had been ſo, St. *Hilary* who approv'd this Creed, had never call'd that which was ſign'd by *Liberius*, *the Perfidiouſneſs of the* Arians, and anathematiz'd *Liberius* ſo often upon the Account of his Subſcription. St. *Jerom* ſays alſo, that *Liberius* was forc'd to ſign Hereſy, and all the Ancients ſpeak of the Fall of *Liberius*, as the Approbation of the Hereſy of the *Arians*, which made *Faber*, *Blondel* and *Petavius* think that *Liberius* ſubſcrib'd the Second Creed of *Sirmium*. But this Opinion has its Difficulties, for St. *Hilary* ſays, that the Creed ſign'd by *Liberius* was compos'd by 22 Biſhops, which were for the moſt part Eaſtern; and that the Second Creed was made by *Potamius* and the Weſtern Biſhops. *Baſil* is reckon'd among thoſe that approv'd the Firſt, and condemn'd the Second Creed of *Sirmium* as ſoon as it appear'd. In ſhort, *Liberius* return'd not from his Exile, till after the Council of *Ancyra*; in which, the Eaſtern Biſhops had already thrown out the Second Creed of *Sirmium*. What Probability is there then, that they ſhould offer it to him to ſign? To anſwer theſe Difficulties and clear up this Matter, we muſt obſerve, that *Demophilus* caus'd *Liberius* to ſign or approve a Creed while he was in Exile, different from that which he ſign'd after his Return to *Sirmium*; that the Creed which *Demophilus* preſented to him, was made at *Sirmium* by many Biſhops, *quæ*, ſays *Liberius* in his Letter, *Sirmium à pluribus Fratribus, & Coepiſcopis noſtris tranſlata & ſuſcepta eſt*: Words which can be underſtood of none but the Second Creed of *Sirmium*, which begins thus; *Cum nonnulla putaretur eſſe de fide diſceptatio, diligenter omnia apud Sirmium tractata ſunt & diſcuſſa, præſentibus ſanctiſſimis Epiſcopis*: And therefore we muſt ſay, that the Creed which *Liberius* approv'd in his Exile was the Second of *Sirmium*: For *Demophilus* was an *Arian*, and of the Party of *Urſacius* and *Valens*, who maintain'd the Second Creed of *Sirmium*. 'Twas for this Reaſon that *Eudoxus* and *Aëtius* ſpread a Report that *Liberius* was of their Opinion, and *Liberius* himſelf wrote to *Urſacius* and *Valens*, that he was of their Judgment; but being afterwards call'd to *Sirmium*, where he found *Baſil* of *Ancyra*, *Eleuſius*, and the other *Semi-Arian* Biſhops, who a little before had condemn'd the *Arians* in the Council of *Ancyra*, he and thoſe other Biſhops ſign'd a Book, which contain'd the Creeds of *Antioch*, the Firſt of *Sirmium*, and thoſe other Creeds that aſſerted the Son to be like unto the Father, and were oblig'd to condemn thoſe that ſaid he was unlike to him. See *Sozomen B.* IV. *ch.* 15. of his *Hiſt.* Nevertheleſs it may be objected, That the Second Creed of *Sirmium* was not made by *Baſil* and the other Eaſtern Biſhops; but that which was preſented to *Liberius* by *Demophilus*, was made by theſe Biſhops as we are aſſured by the Fragments of *Hilary*. To this, I know of no other Anſwer but by ſaying, that the Names of theſe Biſhops were added by the Author who made theſe Extracts out of St. *Hilary*, who has put in the Margin, *Inquirendum, i. e. we muſt enquire if theſe were the Biſhops*: Which plainly diſcovers, that he was not certain of it, but might ſet down thoſe Names at a venture. This is what I thought my ſelf oblig'd to ſay of this Queſtion, which is very difficult and famous, though of no great uſe: [Though it is of no great Importance for us to know who preciſely were the Biſhops that drew up the Second *Sirmian* Creed; yet it is of great Moment to know whether that or the Creed of the Firſt Council of *Sirmium* were ſign'd by Pope *Liberius*: Our Author, who knew the thing was too groſs to be quite omitted, ſhuffles it off at laſt as if it had been a critical Queſtion, only ſtarted at firſt to employ the learned: But when the ableſt Advocates of the Church of *Rome* have confeſſed, that an *Arian* Creed was deliberately ſign'd by one of its Biſhops, they muſt alſo own that this deſtroys Infallibility effectually: And St. *Hilary*'s Carriage, who declaimed againſt *Liberius*'s Apoſtacy with all the Warmth that he uſually employ'd upon ſuch Occaſions, ſhews how the Orthodox Biſhops of that Age, thought a Biſhop of *Rome* might be treated, when guilty of a Crime which they thought equal to that of denying the Faith in the Times of Paganiſm.]

whether

whether it was the First or Second Confession of *Sirmium*, is disputed among the Learned. Whichsoever 'twas, he did certainly write one Letter of Communion to the Bishops of the *East*; wherein having declar'd St. *Athanasius* to be cast out of his Communion, and acknowledg'd his Approbation of that Confession of Faith which *Demophilus* presented unto him; he desires them to use their Interest and Prayers with the Emperour, to obtain his Deliverance from Banishment, and restauration to that Church which God had entrusted him with. He wrote also at the same time two Letters, which contain'd for the most part the same things, one to *Ursacius* and *Valens*, and the other to *Vincentius* of *Capua*; which are preserved amongst the Fragments of St. *Hilary*. *Liberius.*

After these Letters *Liberius* quickly obtain'd his Desires; for the Emperour being satisfied, sent immediately for him to come to *Sirmium*, where he found Deputies of Bishops from the *East* and from the *West*. There was held a kind of a Council, which made a Collection of all the Creeds that had been approv'd by the *Semi-Arians*, wherein the Son was declar'd like unto the Father in Substance. These Creeds *Liberius* was oblig'd to sign, and then was sent back to *Rome*, with a Letter from the Synod directed to *Felix*, importing that *Liberius* and he should govern the Church of *Rome* as Co-partners. But *Liberius* was no sooner return'd thither, but *Felix* was forc'd to depart, and when afterwards he endeavour'd to return by Force, he was driven away with disgrace.

Now *Liberius* seeing himself in peaceable Possession of his See, as he had Subscrib'd against his will to the Condemnation of St. *Athanasius*, and the Creeds of the *Arians*, so he quickly repented of what he had done, made Profession of the *Nicene* Creed, and reconcil'd himself to St. *Athanasius*. He wrote one Letter to all the Bishops in the World in the Year 362, wherein he would have all those Bishops pardon'd, who through surprize, had approv'd of the Error of the *Arians*; but he absolutely Anathematizes the Heads of their Party, and those that would not return from their Error. This Letter is set down in the Fragments of St. *Hilary*. At last the *Semi-Arians* seeing themselves over-power'd by the *Anomœans*, who had more Interest in the Emperour *Valens*, had recourse to *Liberius*, and sent to him, in the Year 366, *Eustathius* of *Sebaste*, together with *Sylvanus* and *Theophilus* Bishops of *Cilicia*, who presented him with Letters from the Council of *Lampsacus*: *Liberius* at first would not receive them, because, he said, they were of *Arius*'s Faction; but they perswaded him that they would retract that Error, and profess that the Son is perfectly like his Father, and of the same Substance; yea, they made Profession of the *Nicene* Creed it self, approv'd the word *Consubstantial*, and condemn'd the Creeds of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia*. *Liberius* having exacted of them these Declarations, wrote into the East in their favour; and he died within a little time after in the Year 366 (*d*). The History which we have now given of *Liberius*, informs us of the number of Letters that were written by this Pope, as well as the time, the occasion and subject of every one of them: And therefore it will be sufficient here to give a Catalogue of them, and to mark out those that are falsly attributed to him; and in doing of it, we shall follow the Order that is observ'd in the two Volumes of the last Edition of the Councils.

The 1st. is that which was written to *Hosius* upon the Lapse of *Vincentius* of *Capua*, publish'd by *Baronius*, and taken from a Manuscript in the *Vatican*. This appears to me to be Genuine, and agrees with the History of that time.

The 2d. is a Letter to *Constantius*, at the end of *Lucifer*'s Works, and in the Fragments of St. *Hilary*.

The three following to *Eusebius Vercellensis*, are taken out of the Acts of this Bishop, and appear to me to be Ancient.

The 6th. to the Confessors in Exile, is in the Fragments of St. *Hilary*, and in the Acts of which we have spoken already.

The 7th. which was written to the Eastern Bishops after he had sign'd against St. *Athanasius*, is taken out of the Fragments of St. *Hilary*, and is very Genuine.

The 8th. is that which is supposed to have been written to those in the East, immediately after his Advancement to the Pontificate, wherein he declares St. *Athanasius* Excommunicated: But we have shown that 'tis very doubtful, though it is in the Fragments of St. *Hilary*.

The 9th. written to *Ursacius*, to *Valens*, and *Germinius*, and the 10th. to *Vincentius* of *Capua*, from the place of his Banishment, after he had sign'd, are Genuine, and taken out of the Fragments of St. *Hilary*.

The 11th. written to the Bishops of *Italy* after the Council of *Ariminum*, is unquestionable, and is preserv'd in the same place.

The 12th. which is a Confession of Faith address'd to St. *Athanasius* is Suppositious, as we have already prov'd when we discours'd of the Works of that Father, among which it occurs.

The 13th. which is suppos'd to be that which *Eustathius* and the other Deputy-Bishops from the *East*, obtain'd of *Liberius*, and presented to the Synod of *Tyana*, agrees very well with the History of that time.

The 14. and 15th. ought to be rank'd among those Letters that are forg'd by *Isidore*, and are rejected by all the Criticks.

The three Decrees attributed to this Pope, have not any respect to the Discipline of his time, nor have they any Authority.

The Conference (*e*) which he had with *Constantius* and *Epictetus*, is preserv'd by *Theodoret*. *B.* II. of his *Hist. Ch.* 6. and was by him drawn out of the Ancient Acts written in *Liberius*'s time.

The Stile of *Liberius* is Simple and without Ornament, but strong and clear. His Conduct unblameable, if he had not suffer'd himself to be overcome by the Love which he had for the City of *Rome*, and his Church: But he made amends for that Fault by the Constancy which he show'd after his Return.

(d) *He died in the Year* 366.] St. *Jerom* and *Marcellinus* say so in their Chronicles.

(e) *The Conference.*] 'Twas rather an Examination which *Liberius* under-went in the Emperor's Council.

St. HILARY.

St. *Hilary.* St. *HILARY* was born in the City of *Poictiers* (*a*), whereof he was afterwards Bishop. He was bred up in the Heathen Religion, and applied himself in his Youth to the Study of Profane Learning: He was Married, and had one Daughter nam'd *Apra* (*b*). The Reflections which he made upon the Falshood of the Gentile Doctrines, did by little and little conduct him to some Imperfect Knowledge of the Truth, which he compleated by Reading the Holy Scriptures, as he himself tells us, at the Beginning of his Books concerning the Trinity. After he was perfectly instructed in the Christian Religion. He was Baptized, and probably his Wife and Daughter were converted with him. He liv'd several Years after his Baptism, before he was made Bishop (*c*), but we know not any one particular Circumstance of his Life during all that time. He was ordain'd Bishop of *Poictiers* some years before his Banishment; and immediately after he was promoted to that Dignity, he labour'd with all his might to save the Flock which Jesus Christ had entrusted him with, by Preaching the Truths of the Gospel. Afterwards, when he saw that the *Arian* Heresie began to spread in *France*, he wrote Twelve Books of the Trinity against it (*d*), which he finish'd about the time that he was threatned with Banishment. He was sent by Order of the Emperour *Constantius* into Banishment, because he had defended St. *Athanasius* in the Council of *Beziers*, against *Saturninus* Bishop of *Arles*, and against *Ursacius* and *Valens*, who had been a little before Excommunicated by the Bishops of *France*; for being come to this Council, which was Assembled by the intriguing of *Saturninus*, he desir'd that Matters of Faith should be handled before all other things, and offer'd to convict *Saturninus*, *Ursacius* and *Valens*, of Heresie; but they were so far from accepting this Proposition, that they condemn'd St. *Hilary*, and wrote a Letter against him to the Emperour, who was then at *Milan*; whereupon he sent immediately an Order to Banish St. *Hilary* and *Rhodanius* Bishop of *Tholouse*. Nevertheless, there was no Bishops Ordain'd in their room; and so the Church of *Poictiers* enjoy'd Peace, and St. *Hilary* continued still to Govern it, and to Administer the Sacraments there by his Priests. The ordinary place of his Banishment was *Phrygia* (*e*); where he wrote his Treatise of Synods, which he dedicated to the Bishops of *France*, to inform them of the Opinions of the Eastern Bishops about the Trinity, and to instruct them how they should behave themselves in these two Synods, the expectation whereof held all the Church in Suspence. This Treatise was compos'd by St. *Hilary* after the Council of *Ancyra*, held in the Year 358, whose Canons he there explains, and before the Councils of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia*, that's to say, towards the Beginning of the Year 359. Sometime after he was sent to the Council of *Seleucia* by the Lieutenant of the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and by

(a) *Was born in the City of* Poictiers.] St. *Jerom* in his Preface to *B.* II. of his Commentaries upon the Epistle to the *Galatians*, says, that St. *Hilary* was a *Gaul* born at *Poictiers*: *Fortunatus* says also, that he was of that City. *Pictavis residens qua sanctus Hilarius olim Natus in Urbe Pater.* The Names of his Parents are not known; for we must not acquiesce in what *Bollandus* writes, that the Tomb of his Father and Mother were found in a Village of *Poitou*, where his Father was nam'd *Francarius*: But there is some probability that he was of a good Family. We need not now distinguish this *Hilarius* from several others of that Name, of whom we shall speak afterwards.

(b) *Apra.*] The Author of the Life of this Saint which is attributed to *Fortunatus*, is the only ancient Witness that we have of this Circumstance; who does also observe, that St. *Hilary* having left his Daughter and Wife at *Poictiers* when he was banish'd, had a Revelation in the Place of his Banishment, that a rich and potent young Man courted his Daughter to marry her, but that he by his Prayers hindred her from taking any other Spouse but Jesus Christ, and that he wrote a Letter to her which this Author recites. The same Author adds at the end of *B.* I. of the Life of St. *Hilary*, that returning from his Banishment, and finding that his Daughter desir'd to marry, he prayed God to take her out of the World; that his Prayer was heard, for his Daughter died, and her Mother surviv'd her but a very little time. This is reported by the Author of this Life, who liv'd soon after King *Clouis*, towards the Year 580, and who appears to be different from *Venantius Fortunatus*. St. *Gregory* of *Tours* cites this Life without naming the Author of it; and so we must not wholly reject what he says, nor yet altogether build upon it.

(c) *He liv'd several Years after his Baptism, before he was made Bishop.*] In his Book of Synods, he says, that he was baptiz'd a long while before his Banishment, and but a little while before it he was made Bishop: *Regeneratus pridem, & in Episcopatu aliquantisper manens.*

(d) *He wrote his Twelve Books of the Trinity against it.*] Some have thought that they were written in his Banishment; but the Preface alone, which is the Beginning of the First Book, discovers that these Books were written before that time: For after he has there described his Conversion he observes that soon after his Ordination the *Arian* Heresy was spread in *France*, and that immediately he took Pen in hand to confute their Impious Doctrines. What he says in the Tenth Book, does also prove that he was not banish'd, but only threatned with Banishment when he wrote it, *Sed licet*, says he, *nunc à multis coarvantibus sibi secundum desideria sua Magistros sana doctrina exulet*, (which is plainly meant of the Banishment of *Paulinus* of *Triers*, *Eusebius* of *Verceilles*, and *Lucifer Calaritanus* banish'd after the Council of *Milan*) *non tamen à Sanctis quibusq; Prædicationis Veritas exulabit. Loquemur enim exules per hos libros, & Sermo Dei qui vinciri non potest, liber excurret*, &c. Where he speaks of his Banishment as a thing that was future and had not yet come to pass, but which was quickly to follow after the Banishment of *Paulinus* and others: From whence it appears that this Tenth Book was written between the Council of *Milan* and that of *Beziers*.

(e) *The ordinary Place of his Banishment was* Phrygia.] St. *Jerom* in his Catalogue, and *Sulpitius Severus B.* II. of his *Hist.* do testify this, as well as the Author of the Life of St. *Hilary*. *Theodoret B.* III. *ch* 4. says, That *Hilary*, *Eusebius* and *Lucifer* were in *Thebais*, when *Julian* permitted the exil'd Bishops to return to their Sees. This is true of the Two last, but not of the First, for he was then in *France*. St. *Hilary* himself says, in his Book of Synods, that he was in the Provinces of *Asia*.

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the Governour of *Phrygia*. Being arriv'd at that City, he was kindly receiv'd, and gain'd the good opinion and affection of every Body. First of all, he was requir'd to give an account of the Faith of the Bishops of *France*, because of the false Reports that the *Arians* had spread Abroad against them, which render'd them suspected of *Sabellianism*, and charg'd with believing that there was but one Person only in the God-head. But St. *Hilary* having declar'd his Faith which agreed with the *Nicene* Creed, gave an authentick Testimony of the Purity of the Faith of the Western Bishops; and so having remov'd the Jealousies they might have of his Doctrine, he was admitted to the Communion and Society of the other Bishops, and took his Place among those that were to vote in the Council. He assisted there at the Beginning; but seeing that the greater part of the Bishops were *Arians*, they would not suffer him to stay there any longer. Yet he continued still at *Seleucia* till the End of the Council, and follow'd the Deputies of the Council to the Emperour's Court, to receive the Orders that should be given him: But when he saw that the true Faith was in extreme Danger, the Bishops of the West being over-reach'd, and those of the East over-power'd, he desir'd Audience of the Emperour in Three Petitions, (if we may believe *Sulpitius Severus*) which he publickly presented, That he might have leave to Dispute for the Faith against his Adversaries. St. *Jerom* mentions but one Petition, and indeed, of the three Papers which St. *Hilary* presented to *Constantius*, there is none but the Third wherein he desires Audience. This he presented towards the End of the Year 359, and the Second Paper also about the same time. The *Arians* seeing themselves attack'd by so powerful an Enemy, procur'd him to be sent back into *France*, yet without releasing him wholly from his Banishment. As he return'd, he pass'd through *Italy*, and entered *France* in the Year 360. 'Twas in his Journey, or a little after his Return, that he address'd his Third Discourse to *Constantius*, which is commonly plac'd First. St. *Jerom*, says, That he wrote it after the Death of this Emperour: But it appears by the Discourse it self, that it was compos'd Five Years after St. *Hilary* withdrew from the Communion of *Saturninus*; and after the Banishment of *Lucifer*, *Eusebius* and *Paulinus*, which discovers that it was in 360, and so before the Death of *Constantius*, and yet 'tis probable, that it was not publish'd in the *East*, till after the Death of this Emperour, which made St. *Jerom* believe, that it was not written till that time. 'Twas about the same time, that he compos'd his Treatise against *Ursacius* and *Valens*, which contain'd the History of the Council of *Ariminum* and of *Seleucia*; from whence part of those Fragments are taken, which have been publish'd by themselves. The whole Book consists of Two Parts; The First is taken out of a Book of St. *Hilary*, which he wrote during the time of Persecution, and before the Death of *Constantius* as the Preface sufficiently discovers. This First Part begins at *P.* 430. and ends at 466. of the *Paris* Edition in the Year 1652, and it contains the Transactions that happen'd to the end of the Councils of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia*. The Second Part taken out of another Book, begins at *P.* 466, and contains what pass'd afterwards. When the Catholick Bishops afterwards recover'd their Liberty under *Julian* the Apostate, St. *Hilary* assembled many Councils in *France* for the Re-establishment of the Ancient Faith, and the Condemnation of the Synods of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia*. In them he procur'd the Condemnation of *Saturninus* Bishop of *Arles*, who oppos'd this Design, as well as *Paternus* Bishop of *Perigueux*. As to the other Bishops who acknowledg'd their Fault, they were pardon'd; *and all the World must own, says* Sulpitius Severus, *that our* France *was oblig'd to St.* Hilary *alone for its happy Deliverance from Heresie.* He extended also his care as far as *Italy*, if we believe *Ruffinus*, and took a great deal of pains to re-establish the Faith there, by visiting the Churches, and causing them to reject the Errors of the Hereticks. *Eusebius* of *Vercellæ* found that St. *Hilary* had prevented him in this Employment, and *Ruffinus* makes no scruple to say, That St. *Hilary* labour'd with more Diligence and Success than he, [*because he was of a sweet and mild disposition, and withal of great Learning, and every way qualified for perswading*: Nisi quod Hilarius, viz. natura lenis, placidus, simulq; eruditus, & ad persuadendum commodissimus, rem diligentius & aptius procurabat.] An excellent Remark, which may serve for an Instruction to those who are employ'd in the Conversion of Hereticks: The same Historian adds, [*That St.* Hilary *compos'd Books concerning the Faith, which were nobly written, wherein he clearly discovers the Artifices and Tricks which the Hereticks us'd to deceive the too Credulous and simple Catholicks.*] Lastly, *Ruffinus* relates in his Book concerning the Corruption of *Origen's* Works, That St. *Hilary* having wrote a Book to chastise those that had sign'd the Creed of *Ariminum*, his Book was so corrupted by the Hereticks, though he knew nothing of it, that he was accus'd in a Synod of being an Heretick, and forc'd to depart from it as an Excommunicate Person. But I do not think we ought to take this Relation for certain, because 'tis no ways probable that the Faith of St. *Hilary* about the Trinity, could be suspected by the Western Bishops. In the Year 364, an occasion offer'd it self (*f*), wherein St. *Hilary* shew'd his Zeal for the Truth. The Emperour *Valentinian* being come to *Milan*, publish'd an Edict, wherein he oblig'd all the Catholicks to acknowledge *Auxentius* for their Bishop. St. *Hilary* being perswaded that this Bishop was in his Judgment an *Arian*, presented a Petition to the Emperour, wherein he declar'd, that *Auxentius* was a Blasphemer, whose opinions were contrary to those of the Prince and other Catholicks. The Emperour being mov'd by so sharp an Accusation, appointed a Conference, in the Presence of the Treasurer, and the great Mr. of the Palace, between St. *Hilary* accompanied with Ten Bishops, and *Auxentius*.

St. *Hilary*.

(f) *In the Year* 364, *an occasion offer'd it self.*] *Baronius* places this Conference in 369, which is a gross mistake, since according to the Testimony of all the Ancients, St. *Hilary* was dead before. Besides the Letter of *Auxentius* which was written after this Conference, bears not the Name of *Gratian*, who was declar'd Emperour in 367, but only the Names of *Valens* and *Valentinian*. It appears by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, B. XXVI. that *Valentinian* came to *Milan* about the end of the Year 364, and went away soon after: And therefore this Conference must have been held in this Year.

St. *Hilary.* *Auxentius* at this Conference, after he had endeavour'd to elude the Diſpute, was oblig'd, under pain of loſing his See, to profeſs, That Jeſus Chriſt was truly God, and of the ſame Subſtance, and the ſame Divinity as the Father. The Emperour thinking this Profeſſion ſincere, embrac'd his Communion, and St. *Hilary*, becauſe he ſtill continued to proclaim *Auxentius* a Heretick, who mock'd God and Men, was driven out of *Milan* as a Diſturber of the Peace of the Church. Being thus diſabled to ſpeak any more *Viva voce* againſt *Auxentius*, he wrote a Tract againſt this Biſhop the next Year. In the Year 366 he Collected the Commentaries of all the Tranſactions, that had happen'd after the Council of *Ariminum*, as may be ſeen in the Second Part of the Fragments which is taken out of this Work, were you will find the Letters written in 366.

At laſt, after he had endur'd ſo much Labour and Trouble for the Defence of the Faith, he finiſh'd his courſe in the Year 367 (g).

Beſides the Works of St. *Hilary* which we have already mention'd, becauſe they have a reſpect to the Hiſtory of his Life, he has alſo written other Books, ſome whereof are come to our hands.

He wrote a little Tract againſt *Dioſcorus* the Phyſician, and *Salluſtius* the Prefect, *wherein he has particularly ſhown*, ſays St. *Jerom*, in his Epiſtle to *Magnus*, *how far his Learning and Eloquence could reach*. This Book is not extant, yet 'tis very probable that 'twas written in Defence of the Chriſtian Religion againſt Paganiſm.

He wrote ſeveral Commentaries upon the Scriptures, which are almoſt wholly taken out of *Origen*, whoſe Commentaries he caus'd *Heliodorus* to explain to him, if we believe St. *Jerom*: But it muſt be confeſs'd, that he follow'd more the Sence than the Letter of *Origen*'s Commentaries, and that he added many things of his own, as the ſame St. *Jerom* has alſo obſerv'd. We have his Commentaries upon St. *Matthew*, we have alſo more of his Commentaries upon the *Pſalms* than St. *Jerom* had ſeen; for this Father mentions only the Commentaries upon the 1ſt. and 2d. *Pſalms*, upon the 51ſt. and thoſe that follow untill the 62d, and upon the 118th. and thoſe that follow unto the laſt; and we have beſides theſe Commentaries, the Commentaries upon the 14th. and 15th. *Pſalms*, and upon the 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, *Pſalms*, which bear the Name of St. *Hilary*, and are written in his Stile. But we have none of his Commentaries upon *Job*, which are cited by St. *Jerom*, whereof St. *Auſtin* relates a Paſſage in his 2d. Book againſt *Julian*, to prove Original Sin.

There was alſo attributed to him in St. *Jerom*'s Time, a Commentary upon the Canticles, but this Father ſays, that he had never ſeen it.

St. *Jerom* mentions alſo a Collection of Hymns, compos'd by St. *Hilary*; a Book Entituled *Myſteries*; and many Letters.

I place not the Letter and Hymn to his Daughter *Apra*, in the Number of St. *Hilary*'s Works, becauſe I doubt not but theſe pieces were the Work of him that wrote his Life, which are not at all like this Father's way of Writing: Some have attributed to him the Hymn *Pange Lingua*, and that of St. *John* the Baptiſt, *Ut queant laxis*; but without any Ground: The Books of the Unity of the Eſſence of the Father and the Son, were Rhapſodies taken out of the Genuine Works of St. *Hilary*. St. *Jerom* in his Apology to *Pammachius*, ſpeaks of a Book of St. *Hilary* addreſs'd to *Fortunatus*, which was concerning the Number *Seven*. Some have confounded this Treatiſe with St. *Cyprian*'s Books *of Exhortation to Martyrdom*, being addreſs'd to a Perſon of the ſame Name. But that which St. *Jerom* attributes to St. *Hilary*, muſt be different from thoſe of St. *Cyprian*; and therefore if there be no Miſtake in this place of St. *Jerom*, we muſt ſay, that St. *Hilary* wrote a Treatiſe addreſs'd to his Friend *Fortunatus*, concerning the myſterious Significations of the Number *Seven*. And this Work may very well be one of thoſe Treatiſes of *Myſteries*, which St. *Jerom* mentions in his Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers.

The Twelve Books of the Trinity, compos'd by St. *Hilary* in Imitation of *Quintilian*'s Books, as St. *Jerom* has obſerv'd, are an excellent Work, which contains the Explication and the Proofs of this Myſtery. He has there eſtabliſh'd the Faith of the Church in a demonſtrative Manner: he has clearly detected the Errors of the Hereticks, refuted them ſolidly and anſwered all their Objections: So that this is the largeſt and moſt methodical Work of any, that we have in all Antiquity upon this Subject.

The Firſt Book is a Preface to the Whole, wherein he deſcribes very pleaſantly after what manner a Man arrives at Happineſs, and the Knowledge of the Truth; and then gives an Account of the Subject of the Eleven following Books. He begins with obſerving, that Happineſs does not conſiſt in Abundance, nor in Repoſe, as common People imagine, nor yet in the bare Knowledge of the Firſt Principles of Good and Evil, as many wiſe Men among the *Pagans* thought, but in the Knowledge of the true God. He adds, that Man having an ardent Deſire after this Knowledge, meets with ſome Perſons that give him low and mean Idea's, unworthy of the Divinity. Some would perſuade him that there are many Gods of different Sexes: Others take the Repreſentations of Men, of Beaſts, and Birds, for Divinities: Others acknowledge no God at all; and ſome, in ſhort, confeſs, That there is a God, but deny that he has any Knowledge, or takes any Care of things here below. But the Reaſon of a Man diſcovers theſe Notions to be falſe, and ſo by the Light of Nature, he comes to know, That there can be but one God Almighty, Eternal and Infinite, who is in all places

(g) *He finiſh'd his Courſe in the Year* 367.] St. *Jerom* places his Death in this Year. *Sulpitius Severus* ſays, that he died Six Years after his Return into *Gaul*, and *Gregory* of *Tours B.* I. of his *Hiſt. ch.* 3. ſays, that his Death happen'd in the Fourth Year of *Valentinian*. Theſe Two Dates fall out juſt in the ſame Year; for the one reckons ſix Years after the end of the Year 360, which reaches to the Beginning of 367, and the 4th. Year of *Valentinian*'s Reign begun in the Month of *February* the ſame Year.

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who Knows all things, and Orders all things; and afterwards by reading the Books of *Moses* and the Prophets, where he found these Truths explain'd, he was fully convinc'd of them, and studied with the greatest Application of mind to know this Sovereign Being, who is the Fountain of all kind of Beauty and Perfection. Neither did he stop here, but upon further Enquiry, he came to understand, That 'twas unworthy of God to suppose that Man to whom he had given so much Knowledge, should be annihilated for ever; for if this were true, to what purpose would his Knowledge serve, since Death would one Day deprive him of all Understanding? But than as on the one side, Reason discovers it to be fit, that Man should be Immortal; so on the other side, the Sense of his present Weakness, and the Apprehension of Death, which he sees is unavoidable, fill him with anxious Fears. In this State, he has recourse to the Gospel, which perfects all the Knowledge he had before, and resolves all the Doubts that yet remain with him. There he learns, That there is an Eternal Word, the Son of God, who was made Man, and came into the World to communicate to it the Fulness of Grace and Truth. This gives him hopes infinitely above all that he could have before, for now he presently perceives the Excellency and Greatness of these Gifts, by understanding, That since the Son of God was made Man, nothing can hinder, but Men may become the Sons of God; and so when a Man joyfully receives this Doctrine, he perfects the Knowledge he had of the Divinity, by the Knowledge of the Humanity of Jesus Christ. He renews his Spirit by Faith; He acknowledges the Providence of one God over him, and begins to be fully persuaded, that he who created him, will not annihilate him. In short, he understands, That Faith is the only infallible means of coming to the Knowledge of the Truth; That it rejects unprofitable Questions, and resolves the captious Difficulties of humane Philosophy; That it judges not of the Conduct of God according to the Thoughts of Men, nor of that of Jesus Christ, according to the Maxims of this World; That 'twas by his Faith, (whereof the Law was only a Shadow and Type,) that Jesus Christ having rais'd our Minds to that which is most Sublime and Divine, prescrib'd to us, instead of the Circumcision of the Flesh, the Circumcision of the Spirit, which consists in the Reformation of our Lives, and the Renovation of our Hearts: That as we die to Sin in Baptism, that we may live a Spiritual and Immortal Life, so Jesus Christ died for us, that we might rise again together with him; and so the Death of him who is Immortal, procur'd Immortality to us Mortals. Now when once the Soul is fully possess'd with these Thoughts she rests satisfied with this Hope, without fearing Death, or being wearied of Life: For she considers Death as the beginning of Eternal Life, and looks upon this present Life, as the means of obtaining a happy Immortality. St. *Hilary*.

These are the Steps by which St. *Hilary* guides the minds of Men to the Knowledge of Happiness and Truth, after he himself had arriv'd at it by the same Methods: For he does not deliver these things as curious and profound Discourses which he had meditated in his Study, but as the History of his own Thoughts which by degrees carried him on to a perfect Conversion. Then he declares, That afterwards being Ordain'd Bishop, as his Office oblig'd him to take Care of the Salvation of others, he preach'd the Truths of the Gospel; And at last, That the Heresy of the *Arians*, who would judge of the Almighty Power of God, by the weak Light of their own Reason, had oblig'd him to undertake the Defence of the Truth, and the Refutation of their Errors. After he has in a few words Explain'd the Faith of the Church, he admonishes the Reader, above all things, when he thinks of God, to devest his Mind of the meanness of humane Opinions, and to judge of God according to the Light of Faith, and agreeable to the Testimony of God himself. "For, says he, the chief Qualification re-"quir'd in a Reader, is, That he be willing to take the Sence of an Author from what he reads, and "not give that Sence wherewith he himself is prepossess'd. He must take the meaning of the Author, "and not give him one of his own: He ought not to endeavour to find in the Passages which he reads, "that which he presum'd, ought to be found there before he read them; wherefore in Discoursing "of God, he ought at least to be persuaded, that he knew himself, and so to Embrace with Reve-"rence, that Doctrine which he teaches us. He only can give an Account worthy of himself, because "he is not known but from himself, and by himself. But if it happens, says St. *Hilary*, That some "Comparison, from humane Affairs be us'd in Discoursing of these Mysteries, we must not believe "that they are Just, or have a perfect Resemblance to them." After this Excellent Advertisement, St. *Hilary* gives an Account of the Subject of his Eleven Books of the Trinity, and finishes this First Book, with an Invocation of the Divine Assistance.

In the Second Book, He explains the Catholick Doctrine concerning the Three Divine Persons. He says, He should have permitted Christians to keep themselves to the Words of the Gospel, without diving further into the Mystery of the Trinity, if the Hereticks had not oblig'd them to explain it more clearly. "The Errors and Blasphemies of the Hereticks, says he, oblige us to do those things "which are forbidden us, to search into those Mysteries which are Incomprehensible, to speak those "things that are Ineffable, and to explain that which we are not permitted to examine: And instead "of performing with a sincere Faith, (which were otherwise sufficient) that which is commanded us, *i.e.* "Worshipping the Father and the Son, and being fill'd with the Holy Spirit, we are obliged to em-"ploy our weak Reasonings to explain those things which are Incomprehensible; being constrain'd, if "a Man may so say, by the fault of others, to commit this one our selves, lest we fall into the Error "of those who have dar'd to give an heretical Sence to the Words of Scripture; for that which makes "the Heresy, says he, is not the Scripture, but the manner of Expounding it; 'tis the Interpretation "that makes the Crime, and not the Words." After this, he gives an Account of the Errors of the *Sabellians*, the *Ebionites* and *Arians*, to which he opposes the Faith of the Church. He says, That the Father who is the First Person of the Trinity, is the Fountain and First Principle of all Things, being Eternal and Infinite; and that the Word, who is the Second Person of the Trinity, is the Son

St *Hilary.* begotten from all Eternity of the Father. He confeſſes, That this Generation is Incomprehenſible, and reproves thoſe that endeavour to explain it. He asks them, If they can comprehend how they came into this World; How they receiv'd their Feeling, Life, Perception, Taſte, Sight, Underſtanding, and the other Senſes; How they can Communicate them to others. [*Tell me,* ſays he, *O Man, if thou canſt comprehend how all this is done, and if thou canſt not comprehend it, with what Face doſt thou demand an Explication of the Generation of the Son of God? Thou that art ſo ignorant of what paſſes in thy ſelf, Wilt thou be ſo inſolent as to complain for not knowing what paſſes in God?*] And ſo, without inſiſting on the Explication of the Eternal Generation of the Word by humane Reaſon, he proves it by Holy Scripture, and confirms the Catholick Faith of the Divinity of the Word againſt all Hereſies. He ſpeaks occaſionally of the Temporal Generation of the Son of God, that is to ſay, of the Myſtery of the Incarnation. At laſt, He treats of the Holy Spirit, who is the Third Perſon of the Trinity and maintains, That he is a Divine Perſon, diſtinct from the Father and the Son: He obſerves, That tho' the Name of Spirit be given ſometimes in Scripture to the Father and the Son, yet in moſt places, it ſignifies a Perſon diſtinct from them both. He Diſcourſes of the Effects and Gifts of the Holy Spirit; and ſays, That he Intercedes for us; That he Enlightens our Underſtandings, and warms our Hearts; That he is the Author of all Grace, and of all heavenly Gifts; That he will be with us till the End of the World; That he is our Comforter here while we live in Expectation of a future Life, the earneſt of our future Hopes, the Light of our Minds, and the Warmth of our Souls. From whence he concludes, That we muſt beg this Holy Spirit, to enable us to do Good, and to perſevere in the Faith, and keeping the Commands of God.

In the Third Book, He proves the Divinity of the Son of God, by the Words of the Goſpel of St. *John, I am in my Father, and my Father is in me.* He obſerves alſo, "That the Generation of the "Word is incomprehenſible, as well as the moſt part of the Miracles of Jeſus Chriſt; That Humane "Reaſon cannot give an Account of it; and, That Jeſus Chriſt was made Man, to Preach this Eternal "Power to Men, and to make known his Father unto them; That in this Sence, we muſt under- "ſtand his deſire to be Glorified, that he might glorify his Father, *viz.* That the Glory which the "Humanity of Jeſus Chriſt receiv'd and made appear unto Men, diſcover'd the Dignity and Power "of his Father." He obſerves alſo, That the Birth of Jeſus Chriſt, His Reſurrection, His Entring into the Room where the Diſciples were, unſeen, through the Doors, and the other Miracles of Jeſus Chriſt, are no leſs above Reaſon, than his Eternal Generation. From whence he concludes, "That "the Nature and Operations of God, are above the Reaſon, Perception, and Underſtanding of Men; "That we muſt acknowledge in theſe things, the folly of Worldly Wiſdom, and the Vanity of Hu- "mane Knowledge, and Embrace that Heavenly Prudence, and Divine Wiſdom, that ſeems to be "folly to the World.

In the Fourth Book, He deſcribes the Errors of the Hereticks concerning the Conſubſtantiality of the Word; He oppoſes to them the Faith of the Church; Anſwers the Paſſages which they alledge, and endeavours to prove the Divinity of the Word, by many Paſſages taken out of the Old Teſtament.

He continues the ſame Subject in the Fifth Book, where he thinks, That 'twas the Word which appear'd to *Abraham*, to *Jacob*, to *Moſes* and the other Patriarchs, who is call'd an Angel, becauſe of his Miniſtery, and not becauſe of his Nature.

In the Sixth Book, he proves, That Jeſus Chriſt is the Son of God, By the Teſtimony of his Father; By his own Declaration; By the Preaching of the Apoſtles; By the Confeſſion of the Faithful; By the Acknowledgment of the Devils and Jews, and by the Belief of the Gentiles. We muſt obſerve here, That in citing a Paſſage of the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, he appeals to the Greek Text, as to the Original.

In the Seventh, He ſhews that the Son of God, is truly God. There he obſerves, That the Hereticks uſe very great Addreſs and Subtilty to Maintain their corrupt Opinions which they falſly pretend to have from Religion; That they deceive the Simple by their Expreſſions, which are Catholick in appearance; that they accommodate themſelves to the Wiſdom of this World, That they corrupt the true Sence of Scripture-Expreſſions, by the Explications which they add, as it were to give an Account of what they ſay. He adds, That 'tis this which renders the Matter of the Trinity, a difficult Subject to treat on: [*For if on the one ſide,* ſays he, *I declare that there is but one God,* Sabellius, *will think, that I eſpouſe his Opinion: If I ſay, That the Son is God, the modern Hereticks will accuſe me of admitting Two Gods: If I affirm, That the Son is born of the Virgin,* Ebion *and* Photinus *will make uſe of this Truth, to Eſtabliſh their Impiety. But,* ſays he, *the Doctrine of the Church confounds all theſe Errors. The Power of Truth is ſo great, that even its Enemies explain it; that the more 'tis oppos'd, the more force it gains; and certainly, the Church was never more Triumphant, than when it was moſt vigorouſly attack'd: It was never more Famous, than when it was reproach'd: It was never more Powerful, than when it ſeem'd to be abandon'd. She wiſhes, That all Men would continue in her Boſom, and She is never more troubled, than when She is oblig'd to throw any one out, and deliver him up to the Devil. But when the Hereticks go out from Her, or when She caſts them out, as She loſes on one ſide the occaſion of giving them Salvation, ſo She gains this Advantage on the other, of diſcovering the Happineſs of thoſe who continue inviolably fix'd in Her Communion.* And a few Lines after, he adds, *All Hereſies attack the Church, and while they attack the Church, they overcome one another. But the Victory is gain'd to the Church and not to them; for they all Quarrel about thoſe Errors, which are all equally rejected by the Church.* Sabellius, *for Inſtance, does unanſwerably confute the Error of* Arius; Arius *confounds the Error of* Photinus, *and ſo of the reſt: but in vain do they mutually Conquer one another, for they are always*

always overcome in some Article or other, and the Church alone remains victorious over all Errors, by professing that Jesus Christ is the true God, Son of the true God, born before all Ages, and afterwards begotten of Mary.] Lastly, he proves that he is God, because the Name of God is given him in the New Testament, and from what is there said of his Birth, his Nature, his Power and his Actions. St. *Hilary.*

In the Eighth Book he shows the essential Unity of the Father and the Son; and refutes the Interpretations of the Hereticks, by explaining the Passages which they alledged, to prove that the Unity of the Father and the Son is an Unity of Will and Judgment, and not of Essence and Nature. At the Beginning of this Book he observes, "That 'tis not sufficient for a Bishop to live a Good Life, "but he must also teach Sound Doctrine; that as his Life must be Innocent, so his Preaching must be "Learn'd: for if he be Pious without being Learned, he will not be serviceable to others; and if he "be Learned without being Holy, his Doctrine will want Authority: From whence he concludes, "That the Holiness of a Bishop should shine more brightly by his Learning, and his Doctrine should "be recommended by the Holiness of his Life, *Ut & vita ejus ornetur docendo, & doctrina vivendo.* There is in this Book an excellent Passage for the real Presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, where he says, *That by this Sacrament we truly receive the Flesh and Blood of Jesus Christ, who remains corporeally in us.*

In the Ninth Book he answers the great Objections of the *Arians* founded upon Five Passages of Scripture, whereof he explains the true sence. And First of all, he shews, That they abuse the Passages which they alledge by perverting them from their Natural Sence; That they do not explain them by their Connexion with what follows, and what goes before; That they attribute to the Divinity of Jesus Christ, that which should only be attributed to his Humanity. Upon this occasion he discourses of the Union of the two Natures in Jesus Christ, and explains how by virtue of this Union, those things are attributed to God which agree only to the Humane Nature, and those to Man which belong to the Divinity. Afterwards he explains the Passages which the *Arians* continually object to the Catholicks, one by one: The First, which is taken out of the Tenth Chapter of St. *Mark*, is the Answer which Jesus Christ made to the Rich young Man, who call'd him Good Master, *Why call'st thou me Good*, says he, *there is none Good but God*; from whence the *Arians* concluded, That Jesus Christ was not truly God. St. *Hilary* answers, That he does not particularly reprove the Young Man, for calling him Good, but because he gives him this Title, as if it agreed to him in the Capacity of a Doctor of the Law. *The Young Man*, says he, *not knowing that he was the Messias, who came to save the lost Sheep of the House of* Israel, *ask'd him as a Doctor of the Law, and gave him the Title which the Doctors take to themselves. Jesus Christ reproves this Notion, and to explain to him in what sence he should be called Good, he tells him, None is Good but God; showing by this, That he was so far from rejecting the title of Good, as it agreed to God, that he accepted of it in that sence. And therefore his Answer is one Proof of his Divinity, which ought to be understood in this sence, Why call you me good, if you believe not that I am God? There is none Good but God; which supposes that he himself was God.* St. *Hilary* confirms this Answer by many places of Scripture, where Jesus Christ gives himself the Title of *Good*, and of *Master*; from whence it appears that the Title was not here refus'd upon its own Account. Upon this occasion he Answers the Objection of the *Arians*, who say, That Jesus Christ call'd his Father the only God; and shows that the Father is the only God, because the Divinity of the Father is the same with that of the Son, which Truth he proves by many Passages of Scripture.

The Second Passage objected by the *Arians* is taken out of the Gospel of St. *John*, Chap. 17. *This is life Eternal to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent*; from whence the *Arians* concluded, That Jesus Christ was not the true God, but one sent from the true God. St *Hilary* answers, "That this Passage does not exclude the Essential Unity of the Father and the Son, since "in this and other places, Jesus Christ affirms, That he came forth from God; That he is with God; "That he had overcome the World; That he should be honour'd as the Father; That he had receiv"ed the Power of giving Eternal Life; That all things which are the Father's are his. He adds, That in the same Place Jesus Christ prays the Father to glorify him with the Glory that he had with him from all Eternity; which evidently proves the Unity of the Essence of the Father and the Son: Moreover the words alledg'd in the Objection, prove nothing contrary to the Faith of the Church, which acknowledges that the Father is the only true God, though Jesus Christ is also God, because the Father and the Son are not two Gods, but one God only.

The Third Objection is taken from *Ch.* 5th. of the same Gospel of St. *John*. *The Son can do nothing of himself, he doth only what he seeth his Father do.* St. *Hilary* shows that this Passage establishes the Divinity of Jesus Christ, and is very far from destroying it, because it proves the Unity and Equality of the Father and the Son.

The Fourth Passage is the grand Objection of the *Arians* founded upon those words of Jesus Christ in St. *John*, Chap. 14. *My Father is greater than I.* St. *Hilary* says, That the Father is greater than the Son, consider'd as Man and as Mediator. The last Objection is taken from those words of Jesus Christ in St. *Mark*, Chap. 13. *No Man knoweth the Day of Judgment, nor yet the Angels, nor the Son, but the Father only:* From whence the *Arians* concluded, That the Knowledge of the Father being more extensive than that of the Son, his Nature must be more excellent. St. *Hilary* having in answer to this Objection, proved by many Reasons, that Jesus Christ could not be Ignorant of the Day of Judgment, and having demonstrated this Truth, he adds, That what Christ says in this place, that the Son knew not the Day of Judgment, ought not to be understood literally, as if he were really ignorant of it; but in this sence, that he did not know it, not so as to tell it unto Men. Wherefore being ask'd about the same Matter after his Resurrection, he does not say, That he was ignorant of it;

but

but he reproves his Apoſtles with that heat, which teſtified his Knowledge of it, by ſaying unto them, St. *Hilary*. *'Tis not for you to know the times and the ſeaſons which my Father has reſerv'd in his own Power.* He adds alſo, that it may be ſaid in another ſence, That the Son of Man was ignorant of the Day of Judgment, becauſe he knew it not as he was Man, but as he was God: For, ſays he, as we may ſay, That the Son of God was ſubject to Fear, to Sadneſs, and to Sleep: becauſe the Humanity of Jeſus Chriſt was ſubject to theſe Infirmities; So we may ſay, That he was ignorant of the Day of Judgment, becauſe he knew it not as he was Man, but upon the account of his Divinity.

In the Tenth Book he Anſwers the Objections which the *Arians* draw from thoſe Paſſages of Scripture which prove that Jeſus Chriſt was ſubject to Fear, to Sorrow and Pain. And here he maintains, That Jeſus Chriſt had not truly any Fear or Pain, but only the Repreſentation of thoſe Paſſions within him: In which, if his Judgment is not different from that of the Church, yet it muſt be confeſs'd, that the manner of expreſſing it is very harſh. He had anſwer'd the *Arians* better, if he had ſaid, That the Fear, the Sorrow and Pain of Jeſus Chriſt did belong to his Humane Nature, and not to his Divinity. He acknowledges in this Book, That all Men are conceiv'd in Sin, and that none but Jeſus Chriſt ought to be excepted from this General Law. He ſays, That the Soul is not communicated to Children by the Parents. He obſerves, That what is ſaid in the Goſpel of St. *Luke* concerning the Bloody Sweat of Jeſus Chriſt, and of the Angel that appear'd unto him, is not to be found in many Greek and Latin Copies of this Goſpel.

In the Eleventh Book, he Anſwers ſome Paſſages of the Goſpels and of St. *Paul* concerning Jeſus Chriſt's being riſen from the Dead, and becoming Glorious, which are alledg'd by the *Arians* to prove that the Son is not equal to the Father: But St. *Hilary* ſhows, That thoſe Paſſages do much rather prove the Divinity of Jeſus Chriſt, than deſtroy it.

In the laſt Book, St. *Hilary* explains that Paſſage of the Proverbs, *God created me in the Beginning of his Ways*, &c. He demonſtrates that the Word of God was not properly created, but begotten of God from all Eternity; which he proves by many Paſſages of Scripture. He expounds this Paſſage of the Proverbs of the Incarnation of Jeſus Chriſt. He adds ſome Proofs of the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, and Ends with a Prayer to God, wherein he begs Grace to preſerve in his Heart that Faith whereof he made Profeſſion at his Baptiſm, that he may always worſhip the Father and the Son, and receive the Holy Spirit which proceeds from the Father by the Son.

His Book of Synods is Addreſs'd to the Biſhops of *France* and *Britain*. He commends them for the Conſtancy which they had ſhown in refuſing Communion to *Saturninus*, and for the Zeal wherewith they maintain'd the Faith of the Church, by condemning the Impieties of the *Arians* ſo ſharply: After this, he ſets himſelf to explain the Creeds made by the Eaſtern Biſhops after the Council of *Nice*. He declares, That if there were any Error in ſome of thoſe Creeds, it ought not to be attributed to him, ſince he only relates what others had ſaid; and if they were found agreeable to the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, the Praiſe of it ought not to be given to him but to the Original Authors: He leaves it to the Judgment of the Biſhops, to whom his Book is written, whether they be Heretical or Catholick. Then he intimates to them, what Obligation lay upon him to inſtruct them in the Opinions of the Eaſtern Biſhops, that they might Join with the right Side in thoſe Councils which were ſhortly to be held at *Ariminum* and *Ancyra*. But before he comes to ſpeak of thoſe Creeds which are ſuſpected, he relates and explains that of the Council of *Ancyra*, which was made in oppoſition to the Second Creed of *Sirmium*, afterwards he relates the Creeds made by the Eaſtern Biſhops after the Council of *Nice*, at *Antioch*, *Sardica*, and the Firſt Creed at *Sirmium*. He ſhows, That thoſe Creeds are Catholick, and endeavours to excuſe the Oriental Biſhops for making ſo many, by alledging the Multitude and Obſtinacy of the *Arians* that were in the Eaſt. He ſays, That in thoſe Provinces to which he was Baniſh'd, there was only *Eleuſius*, and a ſmall number of Biſhops with him, that acknowledg'd the Divinity of the Word. He Congratulates the Weſtern Biſhops for maintaining the Apoſtolical Faith, engrav'd by the Holy Spirit in their Hearts, who were ignorant of the Creeds written by the hands of Men. After this, he explains in a lively and clear manner his own Doctrine and that of the Weſtern Biſhops concerning the Myſtery of the Trinity, and ſecures it againſt the falſe Explications of the Hereticks. He gives the true ſence of the word *Conſubſtantial*, which he juſtifies againſt thoſe that directly oppoſe it, or that think fit it ſhould be ſuppreſs'd. He Exhorts the Eaſtern Biſhops with much Eloquence to uſe this term, and to receive the Confeſſion of Faith made by the Council of *Nice*. He concludes with conjuring his Brethren in much Humility, to Pardon the Freedom he had taken to inform them of theſe things, and adviſe them what they ought to do. He Exhorts them to preſerve with inviolable Fidelity, the Doctrines of Piety and Religion which were written upon their Hearts, and Requeſts them to remember his Baniſhment in their Prayers.

The Third Diſcourſe addreſs'd to the Emperor *Conſtantius*, which ſhould be the Firſt as we have obſerv'd already, is a Petition preſented to this Emperor, wherein he remonſtrates, that he was a Catholick Biſhop of *France*, baniſh'd by the Intrigues of his Enemies, who had falſly accus'd him to his Majeſty. He prays the Emperour that he would grant him Audience in the Preſence of *Saturninus*, who was the chief Cauſe of his Sufferings, that he might have Opportunity to juſtify himſelf from thoſe Accuſations that were form'd againſt him: and he makes no ſcruple to declare, that if his Adverſary could ſhow that he had done any one thing unworthy, either of the Holineſs of a Biſhop, or the Piety of a Chriſtian, he would not only quit all Claim to his Favour for continuing to him his Biſhoprick, but on the contrary, he would be willing to ſpend his Old Age in a State of Penance among the Laity. But ſo far as this Petition concern'd only his own Perſon, he went further and proteſted, that he would never ſpeak more of it unleſs the Emperour commanded him;

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yet still he desir'd with great Boldness and Earnestness, an Audience about the Cause of the Faith, which was common to him with all other Catholicks. And to this purpose, he represents to the Emperor the Confusion of so many Creeds. " When once they begun, says he, to make new Con- " fessions of Faith, the Faith became the Creed of the Times rather than of the Gospel: *Facta est* " *Fides temporum potius quam Evangeliorum.* Every Year new Creeds were made, and Men did not " keep to that Simplicity of Faith which they profess'd at their Baptism: And O what Miseries en- " sued! For presently, there were as many Creeds as might please each particular Party; and no- " thing else has been minded since the Council of *Nice*, but this making of Creeds. New Creeds " have been made every Year and every Month, they have been chang'd, they have been anathema- " tiz'd, and then re-establish'd; and so by enquiring too much into the Faith, there is none left; it " has always continued uncertain, and there was never any Certainty of the Truth. " After he has described this Confusion very smartly, he remonstrates to the Emperour, that the only way to save himself from this Shipwrack, was to acquiesce in the Faith of the Gospel, whereof he made Profession at his Baptism. Then he prays the Emperour, that he would give him Audience in the Presence of the Council, which was to meet at *Constantinople*; and promises that for explaining and proving the Faith of the Church, he would only make use of the Words of Jesus Christ. He confesses, that all the Hereticks boast of preaching the Gospel, but, says he, they do not understand it; *For they alledge Scripture without knowing the meaning of it, and make use of Orthodox Terms without having the True Faith.* He presses the Emperour to grant him this Audience for the good of the whole Church; and promises him, that being to speak publickly to him of a Question so famous in the Presence of a Council divided upon this Subject, he would say nothing but what should tend to the Honour of the Emperour, the Preservation of the Faith, and the peaceable Union of the *East* and the *West*. And to assure him of this Promise, he gives him this Sign of it, by confining himself wholly to the Terms of the Gospel, in declaring his Doctrine at present. With this Declaration he concludes this Paper, which some have thought Imperfect, but without any Ground. St. *Hilary*.

The Second Book of St. *Hilary* to *Constantius*, is also a kind of Petition, wherein he prays him, To put an End to the Persecutions and Vexations wherewith the *Arians* exercis'd the Church; To forbid the Secular Judges to meddle in Affairs of Religion; To leave his Subjects to their Liberty, whether they will be *Arians*, or no; To permit them to continue united to the Catholick Bishops, and separated from the *Arian* Bishops; and in short, To suffer all the banish'd Bishops to return to their Sees. After this, He compares the Persecution of the *Arians* against the Catholicks, with that of the Pagans against the Christians: He shows how Cruel it was, and how far distant from the Spirit of the Church and of Jesus Christ. *The Bishops*, says he, *are put in Prison; The People are oblig'd to serve as their Guard; The holy Bodies of the Virgins of Jesus Christ, are expos'd to the View of all the World, to abuse them; Men are compell'd, I do not say to be Christians, but to become* Arians; *The Name and Authority of the Emperour is abus'd; He is impos'd upon by Surprize; Judges are desir'd of him for approving these Injustices; and in short, The People are forc'd to consent unto them.* After this, He describes particularly, the Violence that was us'd to *Paulinus* of *Triers*, to *Dionysius* of *Milan*, to *Eusebius* of *Vercellæ*, and many others. This Book is imperfect.

These Discourses of St. *Hilary*, are written with great Moderation, as to what concerns the Emperour, whose Conduct he excuses; but he has not us'd the same Moderation in the last, which is commonly plac'd before the other Two. There he speaks with so fervent a Zeal, that he might deserve to be accus'd of too violent a Passion, if it were not otherwise certain that he was acted only from a principle of Love to the Truth*. He begins with these Words which are all Sparks of Fire: *'Tis time to Speak, since the time to be Silent is past; we must wait upon Jesus Christ, since Anti-Christ Governs: Let the true Pastors cry aloud, since the Hirelings are fled: Let us die for the Sheep, since the Thieves are entered, and the Lion full of Rage, goes about the Sheep-fold.* After he has exhorted the Pastors in these Words, and many others of the same Nature, to Defend the Truths of the Gospel with Courage and Boldness, He gives an Account of the Conduct which he had observ'd since his Banishment. He says, That he kept Silence in Modesty, hoping that things would change for the better, but there being now no further place for hope, he found himself oblig'd to speak: He declares, That he wishes he had rather been in the time of *Decius* or *Nero*, than in that wherein he liv'd; That neither Tortures, nor the Fire, nor the Cross, could have made him afraid, but he would boldly have maintain'd the Combate against his declared Enemies, and suffer'd with Constancy in this publick Persecution. *But now*, adds he, *we oppose a Persecutor that deceives us with false appearances, an Enemy that puts on a Friendly Countenance to us*; Constantius, *the Anti-christ, who Persecutes the Church under a mask of designing its advancement. He professes*, says he, *to be a Christian, that he may deny Jesus Christ; He procures Union, to hinder Peace; He stifles Heresies, to ruine Christianity; He honours the Bishops, that he may make them lose the Title of the Ministers of Jesus Christ; He builds up Churches, that he may destroy the Faith. Let him not imagine*, adds he, *that I Charge him falsly; That I Reproach him: The Ministers of Jesus Christ, ought to speak the Truth: If what I have propos'd be a Calumny, I am willing to pass for an infamous Person; but if it be true and publickly known, I use the freedom of an Apostle, in reproving it after a long Silence.* After this, He Justifies his calling *Constantius*, Anti-christ, by giving a horrible Representation of the Persecution that he

*[The best Excuse that can be made for St. *Hilary*, is, That *Oppression may make a Wise Man mad*; and St. *Athanasius* needs it as much as he; for in his Letter *to all those that lead a Monastick Life*; he shews as great Marks of Rage and Anger against *Constantius*, as St. *Hilary* does here; and yet St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, a Man that was never suspected of *Arianism*, has said very great Things of that Prince, when he set him against *Julian* the Apostate.]

he raiſed. He adds, That it was neither through Indiſcretion, nor Raſhneſs, nor Anger, that he
St. *Hilary.* ſpoke ſo of him, but that his Reaſon, his Conſtancy, and his Faith oblig'd him to ſay theſe things. *Yes,* ſays he, *addreſſing himſelf to* Conſtantius, *I tell you what I ſhould have told* Nero, *what* Diocleſian *and* Maximian *ſhould have heard from my Mouth: You fight againſt God; You uſe Cruelties to the Church? You Perſecute the Saints; You hate thoſe that Preach Jeſus Chriſt; You utterly aboliſh Religion: In a word, You are a Tyrant; I ſpeak not with reference to the Things of this World, but with reference to the Things of God. This is what is common to you with the Pagan Emperours. Let us now come to that which is peculiar to your ſelf. You feign your ſelf to be a Chriſtian, and you are the Enemy of Jeſus Chriſt; You are become Anti-chriſt, and have begun his Work: You intrude into the Office of procuring New Creeds to be made, and you live like a Pagan; You teach things Profane, and are ignorant of Piety and Religion; You give Biſhopricks to thoſe of your own Faction, and take them away from the good Biſhops, that you may beſtow them upon the Bad. You put the Biſhops in Priſon; You keep your Armies in the Field to terrify the Church; You aſſemble Councils to eſtabliſh Impiety in them, and you compel the Weſtern Biſhops to renounce the Faith, that they may embrace Error. You ſhut them up in a City to weaken them by Famine, to kill them with the Rigour of the Winter, and to corrupt them by your Diſſimulation: You foment the Diſſentions of the Eaſt by your Artifices.* He adds alſo many other Accuſations of the ſame Nature; and to compleat all, he ſays, *That the Church never ſuffer'd ſo much, under* Nero, *under* Decius, *and* Maximianus, *as it has done under* Conſtantius, *who is more cruel than all thoſe Tyrants, becauſe the former gave Martyrs to the Church, who overcame Devils, whereas* Conſtantius *makes an Infinite number of Prevaricators, who cannot ſo much as comfort themſelves by ſaying, that they were overcome by the violence of their Torments.* I ſhould never have done, if I ſhould relate all that St. *Hilary* ſays in this place of the Perſecution of *Conſtantius.* He charges him particularly, with the Baniſhment of *Paulinus* and *Liberius,* and the Troubles wherewith he exercis'd the Church of *Tholouſe;* and concludes with ſaying, That all thoſe things that he had accus'd him of, were publick and certain; and therefore he had Juſt Cauſe to call him Anti-chriſt. He ſhows afterwards, the Impiety of thoſe Biſhops that Aſſiſted at the Council of *Seleucia,* who maintain'd, that the Father was not like in Subſtance to the Son, and condemn'd the Words, *Conſubſtantial,* and *like in Subſtance.* He anſwers, what *Conſtantius* alledges, as the Reaſon of condemning theſe Terms, That we muſt not make uſe of any but Scripture Expreſſions. He anſwers, I ſay, That theſe Terms agree with the Doctrine of the Goſpel; That *Conſtantius,* and thoſe of his Party, are alſo forc'd to make uſe of ſuch Terms as are not to be found in Scripture; and in ſhort, That the Scripture makes uſe of Terms more Emphatical, ſince it eſtabliſhes the Equality and Unity of the Father and the Son. He blames *Conſtantius* for the variety and contrariety of thoſe Creeds that were made after that of the Council of *Nice.* He explains the Faith of the Church concerning the Majeſty of God, and proves by many Examples, That we are not to wonder, if the Eternal Generation of the Son is Incomprehenſible. This Book is alſo imperfect.

The Book of Fragments, is a Collection of many Pieces taken out of two Books of St. *Hilary,* and likewiſe of ſome Paſſages out of his other Works. 'Tis not known who is the Author of this Abridgment, nor when he liv'd. The Paſſages that are cited in it, are certainly St. *Hilary*'s, and for the moſt part, the Pieces that are collected in it are ancient; but he does not obſerve any Order in this Collection.

He begins with a Fragment of St. *Hilary*'s Preface, wherein after he had ſpoken of the Excellency of Faith, Hope and Charity, he declares, "That he had undertaken to publiſh a Work of great Im-
" portance and vaſt Extent, but very Intricate, becauſe of the Diabolical Cheats of the Hereticks, and
" wherein he muſt uſe great Cunning, becauſe of their Knaveries; againſt which alſo, there were
" many Prejudices, by reaſon of the Diſſimulation and fear of many: That this Book would ſeem
" ſtrange, even to thoſe of the Country where he was, tho' there the things themſelves were done
" which he treated of: That what he was to deliver, had come to paſs ſome years ago, but the Si-
" lence which he had hitherto kept, made all theſe things ſtill ſeem New; That the Peace had almoſt
" made him forget the Memory of them, but that not long before theſe things had been renew'd
" again by the impious Malice of ſome notable Seducers." After this, He deſcribes the State of the Affairs of the Church under *Conſtantius;* He complains, That he had Baniſh'd thoſe Biſhops that would not condemn St. *Athanaſius,* and that he interpos'd his Authority in Eccleſiaſtical Deciſions. At laſt, he ſays, That he had treated in his Work, of Faith in God, of the Hope of Eternity, and the Defence of the Truth; and he exhorts all Chriſtians to inform themſelves of thoſe things which he there recites, that ſo every one may be ſatisfied in his own Judgment, without following the Opinions of others blindly.

After his Preface, follow the Letters of the Council of *Sardica,* to all the Churches, and in particular to *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome,* together with the Subſcriptions of ſome Biſhops, and the Names of the Hereticks that were condemned.

The Author of theſe Fragments, has join'd to theſe two Letters, a Fragment of St. *Hilary* for St. *Athanaſius*; at the End; the Recantation of *Urſacius* and *Valens,* is mention'd: Their Letters to *Julius* and St. *Athanaſius,* are at the bottom of this Fragment. The Paſſage which immediately follows, has reference to the Condemnation of *Photinus*; and that of *Marcellus* of *Ancyra,* which he conſented to; but the End of that Paſſage concerns the Council of *Nice,* whoſe Creed he recites and explains.

The

The First Letter of *Liberius* here produc'd, is suppositious, as the Passage which follows, plainly discovers, and as we have already shown when we treated of the Works of this Pope: The Second, is Genuine, which is directed to the Bishops of *Italy*, concerning the Restitution of the Bishops who had approv'd the *Arian* Creeds. The Letter of the Bishops of *Illyricum*, concerning the Condemnation of the Creed of *Ariminum*, is one of the most Excellent Monuments of that time. The Letters of *Ursacius* and *Valens*, *to Germinius*, and his Answer, are put here out of their proper place, being written in the Year 366. We have already spoken of Pope *Liberius*'s Letters that are set down: After which, there follows a Letter of the Eastern Bishops, to the Council of *Ariminum*, with some Reflections of St. *Hilary*, which are very much corrupted. After this Fragment, the Author of this Collection has added this Note: *Here endeth the Book taken out of the Historical Work of St.* Hilary: And yet he adds afterwards many Pieces which are probably taken out of the same Book, St. *Hilary*.

The 1st. is a Letter from a Council of the Bishops of *France*, held at *Paris*, against the Creed made at *Ariminum*.

The 2d. is a Letter of *Eusebius* of *Vercellæ*, written to *Gregory*, a Bishop in *Spain*, wherein he commends him for opposing *Hosius*, and preserving the Faith.

The 3d. is a Letter, or rather a Confession of Faith, by *Germinius* the *Arian* Bishop, against those of his own Party, who had Sign'd the Creed of *Ariminum*.

The 4th. is a Letter written by the Eastern Bishops in the Name of the Council of *Sardica*, against the Bishops of the West: This Letter should have been plac'd before those others which we have already spoken of.

The 5th. is a Letter of the Bishops of the Council of *Ariminum* to the Emperour *Constantius*, before they had Sign'd the Creed which was presented to them by the *Arians*. There follows after it a short Reflection concerning the Stile of St. *Hilary*.

The 6th. is the Approbation which the Legates of the Council of *Ariminum*, gave to the Creed made by the *Arians* at *Nice*, a City of *Thracia*.

The 7th. is a Letter written to the Emperour *Constantius*, by the Bishops of *Ariminum*; after they had approv'd the Confession of Faith made at *Nice*, which was presented to them by the *Arians*.

The 8th. is a large Letter of *Liberius* to *Constantius*, in Favour of St. *Athanasius*. This is mis-plac'd as well in respect of time, as of the Matter it self.

The 9th, is a Letter of *Constantius*, to the Council of *Ariminum*.

The 10th. is the Decree of this Council before they had surrendred up themselves to the Emperour's Pleasure.

The 11th, is the Condemnation of *Ursacius* and *Valens*, in this Council. Here end the Monuments taken out of the Works of St. *Hilary*, to which there is subjoin'd in some Copies, the Creed of the *Nicene* Council, the Creeds of *Ariminum*, and that which is attributed to St. *Athanasius*. These are the Pieces contain'd in the Fragments of St. *Hilary*, which might be read with more Pleasure and Profit, if they were dispos'd according to the Order of time which I have set down in the Notes (*b*).

The Book against *Auxentius*, Bishop of *Milan*, is a *Manifesto* against this Bishop, and against those that maintain him. Who, because they cover'd themselves chiefly under the Cloak of procuring Peace and Unity, St. *Hilary* says, That we can have no other true Peace, but that of Jesus Christ and the Gospel; and that this Peace cannot take place in a time when the Ministers of the Church are become Anti-Christs, by opposing the Doctrine of Jesus Christ and the Gospel, while they pretend to preach

(h) *According to the Order of Time which I have set down in the Notes*] These pieces are:

Pages of the Paris-*Edition* 1652.		*The Year of Christ.*
Pag. 447	The *Nicene* Creed in the Year	325
433	The Letter of the Council of *Sardica* to all the Bishops.	347
	A Letter of the same Council to *Julius*.	
465	The Letter of the Bishops of the *East*, written from *Philippopolis* upon their Departure from *Sardica*.	
443	The Letters of *Ursacius* and *Valens* to *Liberius* and St. *Athanasius*.	349
484	The Letter of *Liberius* to *Constantius* about the Cause of St. *Athanasius*.	352
450	The Suppositious Letter of *Liberius* to the Bishops of the *East*.	
	A Letter of *Liberius* before his Banishment.	
456	To *Eusebius*, *Dionysius* and *Lucifer*.	354
457	To *Vincentius* of *Capua*.	
463	A Letter of *Eusebius* of *Vercellæ*, to *Gregory* a Bishop of *Spain* upon occasion of the Fall of *Hosius*.	357
	The Letters of *Liberius*, written in his Banishment after his Subscription.	358
457	To the Bishops of the *East*.	
458	To *Ursacius* and *Valens*.	
459	Letters which concern the Council of *Ariminum*.	358
487	A Letter of the Emperor to the Council.	
488	The Catholick Determination.	
Ibid.	The Condemnation of *Ursacius*, of *Valens* and *Germinius*.	
481	The Answer of the Council to the Emperor before he had subscrib'd.	
459	The Profession of Faith, of the Bishops of the *East* that was given in to the Legates of the Council.	359
482	The Acts of the Subscription of the Legates.	
483	A Letter to the Emperor after their Subscription.	
465	A Letter of *Germinius* after the Council of *Ariminum*.	360
462	A Letter of the Council of *Paris*.	
451	A Letter of *Liberius* to the Bishops of *Italy*.	362
452	A Letter of the Bishops of *Italy* to the Bishops of *Illyricum*.	
Ibid.	A Letter of *Ursacius* and *Valens* to *Germinius*.	366
453	The Answer of *Germinius* to their Letter.	

it. He complains, That they make uſe of Temporal Power, to maintain a Falſe Doctrine. He en-
St. *Hilary.* deavours to prove, that *Auxentius*, foſters Heretical Opinions; he recites the Conference that he had with him, and exhorts the Catholicks to take heed of Anti-chriſt, and to ſeparate themſelves from *Auxentius*. After this Book, follows a Letter of *Auxentius* to the Emperour, wherein he endeavours to purge himſelf from the Hereſy of *Arius*, yet without approving the Term *Conſubſtantial*, or rejecting the Creed of *Ariminum*.

The Commentaries of St. *Hilary* upon St. *Matthew*, are very excellent; for there he had made many very uſeful Hiſtorical and Moral Obſervations. The Chief of them are theſe following.

In the 1ſt. Canon, he endeavours to reconcile the two Genealogies of Jeſus Chriſt, by ſaying, That St. *Matthew* deſcribes the Royal Race of Jeſus Chriſt, by *Solomon*; and St. *Luke*, the Sacerdotal Race, by *Nathan*. He maintains, That the Virgin was of the ſame Tribe, and the ſame Family with *Joſeph*; and that ſhe continued a Virgin after her Child-bearing, and that the Perſons who are call'd in Scripture, the Brethren of Jeſus Chriſt, were indeed, the Children of *Joſeph*, that he had by a former Wife. He ſays, That the Wiſe-men acknowledg'd the Royal Power of Jeſus Chriſt, by preſenting him with Gold, his Divinity by offering him Incenſe, and his Humanity by giving him Myrrh. He obſerves, That *Rachel* who mourn'd for her Children, is a Figure of the Church, which having been a long time barren, became afterwards fruitful. He ſays, That the Innocents were made partakers of Eternal Life by the Martyrdom which they ſuffer'd.

In the 2d. Canon, he ſays, That Jeſus Chriſt did not cauſe St. *John* to Baptize him for the Purification of his Sins, ſince he was without Sin, but that Water might Sanctify us by Jeſus Chriſt. Then he ſpeaks of the Effects of Baptiſm. *After Baptiſm*, ſays he, *the Holy Spirit deſcends upon the baptiz'd, he fills them with a Cœleſtial Unction, and makes them the adopted Children of God.*

In the 3d. Canon, he explains the Temptations of Jeſus Chriſt, and ſpeaks of his Faſt for Forty Days. He ſays, That the Devil was ignorant of the Incarnation.

In the 4th. he explains the Beatitudes: He ſays, That none but the perfect Man who is wholly purified from his Sins, ſhall enjoy the Viſion of God. He obſerves, That Adultery is the only cauſe for which married Perſons can be Divorc'd. He condemns Oaths, Revenge and Vanity.

In the 5th. he ſends the Reader to a Book of St. *Cyprian*, for the Explication of the Lord's Prayer: He alſo mentions *Tertullian*; but he ſays of this laſt Author, That his following Errors depriv'd his Firſt Books of that Authority, which he could otherwiſe have allow'd them. He occaſionally ſays, That the Soul is Corporeal.

In the 6th. Canon, he particularly recommends Good Works, without which, all other things are unprofitable to Salvation.

In the 7th. he explains allegorically the Cure of the Leper, and of St. *Peter*'s Mother-in-Law; underſtanding thoſe places of the Curing of Sinners. He compares the Church to a Ship toſt with a Tempeſt; and towards the latter End, he obſerves, That we ought not to mention the Names of Dead Infidels, in the Commemorations of the Saints.

In the 8th. he Diſcourſes particularly of the Fall of humane Nature by the Sin of the firſt Man, and of the Reparation of Mankind by Jeſus Chriſt.

In the 10th. he adviſes Catholicks not to enter into the Churches of *Hereticks*. He obſerves, That nothing in the Eccleſiaſtical Miniſtry, ought to be ſold for Money, and that the Eccleſiaſtical State, ought not to be ambitious of obtaining Temporal Authority. He ſays, That at the End of the World, the Jews that ſhall be then alive, ſhall believe in Jeſus Chriſt, and be ſaved. He aſſures us, That Man was created Free, but that the Sin of *Adam* enſlav'd him to Sin and Vice; and that in Baptiſm we are deliver'd by the Word from Sins, contracted by our Birth.

Towards the latter End of the 11th. he explains wherein the Eaſineſs of Chriſt's Yoke conſiſts excellently, and in a few Words. *What is more Eaſy*, ſays he, *than the Yoke of Chriſt, and what is more Light than his Burthen? It is only to be obliging to all the World; To abſtain from committing Sin; To deſire that which is Good, not to deſire that which is Evil; To Love our Neighbour; To Hate no Body; To lay up for Eternity; Not to addict our ſelves to things preſent; Not to do to another, what we would not they ſhould do unto us.*

In the 12th. he explains after the ſame Manner as St. *Athanaſius*, the Blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt, by ſaying, That it is the denying of Jeſus Chriſt to be God.

In the 13th. he obſerves, That thoſe who are out of the Church, cannot underſtand the Word of God.

In the 14th. ſpeaking of St. *Joſeph*, he ſays, That he was a *Lock-Smith*, and not a *Carpenter*, as is commonly believ'd.

In the 15th. he obſerves, that thoſe who are to be baptiz'd, make profeſſion of their Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and of being firmly perſuaded of his Death and Reſurrection; and that their Actions may be agreeable to their Words; they paſs all the time of the Paſſion of Chriſt, in Faſting, that ſo in ſome meaſure, they may ſuffer with Jeſus Chriſt.

He ſpeaks in the 16th. of the Prerogative that St. *Peter* received, when Jeſus Chriſt gave him the Keys of his Church, after this manner: *O happy Foundation of the Church*, ſays he, *in the change of your Name! O Rock, worthy of the Building of Jeſus Chriſt, ſince it was to abrogate the Laws of Hell, to break its Gates, and to open all the Priſons of Death! O happy Porter of Heaven, to whom are entruſted the Keys of admiſſion into it, and whoſe Judgment on Earth, is a fore-judging of what is done in Heaven, ſince whatſoever he binds or looſes upon Earth, ſhall be bound or looſed in Heaven.*

In the 18th. Canon, he concludes with theſe Words of Jeſus Chriſt; *The Angels of theſe Children ſee the Face of my Father.* From whence, ſays he, it may be concluded, That the Angels rejoyce at the Sight of God, and that they preſide over the Prayers of the Faithful, which they offer continually

tinually to God. *He says, that those who are bound on Earth by the Ministers of Jesus Christ, (that is,* says he, *those whom the Ministers of Jesus Christ leave bound in their sins,) and that those who are loosed by receiving them unto the Grace of Salvation, upon the Declaration which they make, having obtain'd Pardon of their Sins, shall be bound and loosed in Heaven according to the Apostolical Judgment.* St. Hilary.

In the 19th. after he has spoken of those that voluntarily make themselves Eunuchs to preserve their Chastity, he speaks of Riches, and the use we should make of them. He says, That 'tis no Crime to enjoy them, but that we should observe Moderation, and employ them innocently: That 'tis dangerous to desire to enrich our selves, and that an innocent Man finds himself overcharg'd when he is taken up in purchasing, in preserving and encreasing his Riches. From whence he concludes, That tho' 'tis not absolutely impossible for a rich Man to be sav'd, yet very few of them shall be saved, because it is so difficult a thing to make use of the Goods of this World, as we ought.

In the 20th. he affirms, That *Moses* and *Elias* shall come with Jesus Christ, at the last Judgment, and that they shall be put to Death by Antichrist; he rejects the Opinion of those who thought that *Enoch* or *Jeremy* should come before Jesus Christ.

In the 23d. he says, That Spiritual Persons ought not to entangle themselves in the Affairs of this World; but that they ought to render unto God that which is due, that is to say, their Heart, their Soul, their Will. He shows the Necessity of Loving God in Order to Salvation.

In the 25th. he observes, That *Nicholas*, one of the Seven Deacons, was a false Prophet and a Heretick, and that the last Judgment shall be given in the place were Christ suffer'd.

In the 26th, he speaks of the uncertainty of the time of the last Judgment, and observes, That 'tis useful to keep all Men upon their Guard.

In the 27th. he observes, That tho' all Christians are oblig'd to Watchfulness, yet the Princes of People, and the Bishops are more particularly oblig'd to Watch over themselves and their Flocks.

In the 30th. he asserts, That *Judas* was not present, when Jesus Christ distributed the Sacrament, because he was unworthy of those Eternal Sacraments. He says, That when St. *Peter* said so boldly, that he would not be offended because of Christ, he did not consider the weakness of the Flesh.

In the 31st. he thinks that Jesus Christ had no fear of Death at all. He says, He was Consecrated in the Sacrament of that Blood which he was to shed for the Remission of Sins. [This Opinion seems not easily reconcileable with the Account which the Evangelists give of the Agonies of our Saviour in the Garden, and upon the Cross.]

In the 32d. he observes, That St. *Peter*'s Denials were still more and more Criminal. *At first,* says he, *he only answered, That he knew not what she meant; then he deny'd that he was of the number of Christ's Disciples; and at last, he said, That he knew him not: But presently he wept, after that Fault, which he could not avoid, tho' he was fore-warned of it.*

In the 33d. he says, That the Words of Jesus Christ upon the Cross, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* Belong'd to his Body, which complain'd of its Separation from the Divine Word. He compares the Crime of those who abuse the Gifts given to the Church, with that of the Scribes and Pharisees, who gave Money to *Judas* to betray Jesus Christ, and with the Souldiers who Guarded his Sepulchre, that they might say, *He was not risen.* Lastly, He observes upon the Words of Jesus Christ, *Go and teach all Nations, baptizing them,* &c. He observes, I say, That Instruction ought to precede Baptism, because the Body ought not to receive the Sacrament of Baptism, unless the Soul has receiv'd the Truth of Faith.

There is a Preface prefix'd to the Commentaries of St. *Hilary* upon the Psalms, wherein he treats of some Critical Questions. He says, That some Jews have divided the Psalms into Five Books, and that others have entituled them, *The Psalms*; but for his part, he gives them the Title of, *The Book of Psalms.* He maintains, That they are written by the Persons whose Names they bear at the beginning, and is of Opinion, That those that carry no Name, are written by the same Author with the last foregoing Psalm, where the Name of some Author is to be found. He says, There are some that are falsly attributed to *Jeremy*, *Haggai*, and *Zachary*, since those Names are not found in those Copies of the Version of the *Septuagint*, which he thinks to be authentick. He objects to himself, That there is a Psalm which bears the Name of *Moses*, wherein *Samuel* is mention'd, who liv'd many Ages after. He contents himself with answering this difficulty by saying, That *Moses* nam'd *Samuel* by the Spirit of Prophecy. He attributes to *Ezra* that Collection of the Psalms which we have at present. He maintains, That all the Psalms ought to be Expounded, with a reference to Jesus Christ and the Gospel. He observes that the Hebrews call the Psaltery *Nabla*, and he thinks that they never distinguished the Psalms at all. He makes the LXX. Interpreters Authors of their Distinction, and observes, that they have not always follow'd the Order of Time. From this Distribution, He passes on to the number of Canonical Books. He reckons 22 of them according to the Hebrews, and says, that some have added *Tobit* and *Judith*. He observes, That the Lord's Day is a Day of Prayer and of Rest for Christians; and that they are forbidden to Prostrate themselves, or Fast on that Day. He explains afterwards the Titles of the Psalms in general *. He says, That those which are called *Songs*, were made to be sung without any Instrument of Musick; That those which are entituled *Psalms*, were made to be Play'd upon Instruments of Musick without Singing. That those which are call'd, *Songs of a Psalm*, were such as the Chorister Sung after the Instrument; but those which are call'd *Psalms of a Song*, are such as the Chorister Sung before the Instrument of Musick. Lastly, That those which are call'd, *in Psalms*, are such wherein

* [This Distinction of the Titles of the Psalms, is according to the LXX; in that Translation some Psalms are called Ψάλμοι, *Psalms*: Others, Ωδαὶ, *Songs*. Others Ψάλμοι ᾠδῆς, *Psalms of a Song*: Others ᾠδαὶ Ψάλμων, *Songs of a Psalm*: Others again, ἐν Ψάλμοις & ἐν ὕμνοις, *in Psalms or Hymns.*

there is a change both of the Person and the Voice. He gives also some Moral Interpretations of those
St. *Hilary*. Titles, which are too useless to be repeated. After all, he says, That the Key for understanding the Psalms, is to enquire, what Person it is to whom they agree; for some of them agree to *David*, and others to Jesus Christ, and others to some Prophet, and so of the rest.

In his Commentary upon the First Psalm, he says, That there are three or four degrees of Happiness mark'd in those words, *Blessed is the Man who hath not stood in the Counsel of the ungodly, and who hath not walk'd in the way of Sinners, and who hath not sate in the* Chair of Infection. [According to the LXX, ἐν καθέδρᾳ λοιμῶν] The First degree is, Not to be of the Number of the Impious, and the Hereticks: The Second, is not to be of the number of the Wicked, as the Covetous, the Drunkards, the Incontinent, the Proud, the Detractors, the Robbers, &c. who observe not the Discipline of the Church. The Third, Is not to sit in the Chair of Infection. By this Chair, he understands the Cares and Affairs of the World, which corrupt Men by an Infection, that is almost unavoidable. "For "though, says he, some Persons that enter upon Secular Offices, and engage in the Affairs of the "World, have a Holy and Religious Will, yet they are often corrupted by those Affairs in which "they are oblig'd to employ themselves, and the Rules of this World do not permit them to live "according to the Maxims of Christianity". He adds, That those Three Degrees ought to be crown'd with a Fourth; which is, continual Meditation in the Law of God: That this Meditation, as well as Prayer, does not only consist in Reading, or reciting the Holy Books, but in the Practice of those things which are prescrib'd and taught in them; and that 'tis not sufficient to do it out of Fear, but our Practice must proceed from Love and Good-will. He applies the rest of the Psalm to Jesus Christ, and observes, That he restores unto Man, that Immortality which the First Man had lost by his Sin; That the Impious shall be as it were annihilated by the Fire of Hell. He confesses, That they shall rise again at the Day of Judgment, but he maintains that they shall not there be judg'd at all, because they are already condemn'd; and that the Judgment shall be only for those, who having had Faith did not live up to the Laws of Christianity. This Opinion is very singular, and we may believe that he took it from *Origen*. His next Observation is much more reasonable, which is this, That when it is said in Scripture, That God learns any thing; we must not understand it as if he were ignorant of it before; but only that he then gave to Men the Signs of his Knowledge: As when he says to *Adam*, *Where art thou?* This does not imply that he was ignorant of it before, but only that he had a Mind to put him to shame; And so again, when he says to *Abraham*, *Now I know your Faith*; this does not signifie that he knew it not before, but only that he had now prov'd it.

He begins his Commentary upon the Second Psalm with this Observation, That this Psalm is call'd the First by St. *Paul* (*Act.* 13.) because in the Hebrew it is one continued Psalm with the First, though it has been since distinguish'd from it in the Version of the *Septuagint*. [In the common Editions of the New Testament, this is quoted as the Second Psalm by St. *Paul*; and in the common Editions of the Hebrew Bible, the Second Psalm is always distinguished from the First.] He says, That this Version was made in the time of *Ptolomy*, and that its Authors were the Successors of the Seventy appointed by *Moses*, who entrusted to them secret Mysteries, which he would not commit to Writing in his Books: That their Successors, instructed by this Tradition, have translated the Psalms according to those Notices which they had, and fix'd the sence of many Hebrew words which before were undetermined: That therefore the Version of the *Septuagint*, ought to be of great Authority, and is to be preferr'd before all other Versions, which have been made by such Persons as were ignorant of the Tradition which *Moses* left to the Synagogue. After he has made these Remarks (whether they be just or no, this is not a place to examine) he applies all that's said in this Psalm to Jesus Christ and his Church. He thinks that the first words are spoken in the Person of God the Father, and that the following words beginning at these, *Let us break their Cords asunder*, agree to the Apostles, understanding by these Cords the Cords of Sin. He observes in this Psalm, That God has no need of any of his Creatures; so that God did not create them for himself, but for themselves: That when he requires Men to Love and to Fear him, this is not for any Profit that he can draw from their Service, but only that this Love and Fear may be serviceable to their own Salvation. He establishes Free-Will, and says, That Justice is the Consequence of our Good Will, and Happiness is the Reward of our Merits, and that Hell is the Punishment of Sins freely committed: That God does not put himself in a Passion to punish us, being no ways Subject to Change, but that his Justice produces those Effects of Vengeance which Men attribute to Anger. So that he appears not to be Angry, but when he would bring us to Repentance. He says upon these Words, *Hearken, O ye Kings of the Earth*, That the true Royalty of a Man consists in conquering his Passions, and that the Kings of the Earth who are estranged from the Commandments of God are Unhappy Kings. He observes, That the Motives of Fear and Joy are intermix'd in this Psalm; That Fear may retain Men in Reverence and Devotion, and that Joy may temper this Fear. At last, he assures us, That after Death, the Impious are reserv'd in a place of Torment unto the Day of Judgment; and that the Just are conducted by the Angels to the Mansions of the blessed in *Abraham*'s bosom.

In the Fragment of a Commentary upon the Thirteenth Psalm, he Discourses of the Necessity that Mankind lay under of having a Saviour and a Physician.

In his Commentary upon the Fifteenth Psalm, he says, That this Psalm is nothing else but *David*'s Prayer which he made to God, to beg of him the Knowledge of what a Man ought to do in order to the obtaining of Eternal Blessedness. By the Tabernacles which he desires, we must understand, says St. *Hilary*, the Multitude of those Churches that have been Establish'd since the coming of Jesus Christ, who is this Mountain that *David* seeks after. He says, That Good Works avail nothing without Faith in Jesus Christ. He seems to approve a Lye as Necessary upon some Occasions; but he absolutely condemns Usury, and chiefly that which tends to the Ruin of the Poor: *If ye be Christians*, says

says he, *Wherefore do ye draw a Temporal Profit for your Silver? Wherefore do ye not rather lay up for your selves a treasure in Heaven? If ye be Christians, wherefore do ye expect from men a recompence of your Liberality? I do not say that you should give them your Goods; but at least ye should be content to demand back again what you had Lent, without Robbing him of more. And remember ye, that he from whom ye exact this Usury is a Poor Christian, for whom Christ was willing to be Poor; Therefore when ye do Good or Evil to this Poor Man, it is to Jesus Christ that ye do it,* &c. He discourses against Pride and False Confidence. He says, That we must reprove with all possible sweetness, if we would amend our Brother by it, and we must not use bloody Accusations, which only provoke him: That we must despise the Wicked with Freedom, and honour the Good with Humility, and resist the Powers with an holy Boldness, when they would oblige us to do Evil. He praises this Psalm, which, says he, should be written in the Hearts of Christians, and engraven upon their Memory: They ought to be intent upon it Night and Day, and to make it the subject of their Meditations. In effect, it contains the principal Rules of an holy Life. St. Hilary.

He applies to Jesus Christ the 52d. Psalm., and Exhorts the Rich not to put their Confidence in their Riches, and to make good use of them. He says, That the Just are at Rest till the Day of Judgment, and that the Wicked are in Pain; That there is no Repentance after Death, because there is no more freedom of Choice.

Upon these words in the 53d. Psalm, *The Fool hath said in his heart, There is no God*; he observes That the Wicked commonly dare not speak out the Blasphemies that they have in their Hearts; That there is no Man but is convinc'd that there is a God, but the Pleasure that the Wicked take in committing Sin, makes them say that there is no God. In the rest of this Commentary, he discourses of the Goodness of God, and the Corruption of Men. He excuses the Sin of St. *Peter*, and blames the Avarice of some Pastors, *who eat up the People of God*, as it is said in the Psalm. *They make*, says he, *their Belly their God, as the Apostle speaks, they make a Trade of their Ministry, and enrich themselves with the Offerings and Gifts of their People; They make sumptuous Feasts under Pretence of Religion: They fill their Purses with the beneficence of Christians, though the use of these Offerings was intended by the Apostles, only for their daily Food, who renounce the World, or are in want.* He condemns those that flatter the Powers, because we must Fear God more than Man.

He applies the 54th. Psalm to Jesus Christ. There you may find a pretty Moral Reflection upon the Disorders of the Tongue, to which the far greater part of Men are subject, either when they are Angry, or when they Complain; when they Reproach, or when they Flatter; or lastly, when they reprove others. He maintains in the Commentary upon this Psalm, as well as in his Books of the Trinity, that Jesus Christ did not really suffer.

He Interprets also the 55th. Psalm, of Jesus Christ. In his Commentary upon it, you may find a good Passage about Prayer. *God despises*, says he, *the Prayers which are accompanied with lightness and diffidence, which are disorder'd with the Cares of this Life, which are mix'd with Desires of worldly Good Things, and which do not bring forth the fruit of Good Works.*

There is nothing considerable in the Commentaries upon the following Psalms: You may find in that upon the 57th. his singular Opinion concerning the Last Judgment, which we have already observ'd: In that upon the 64th, he approves the Vows that are made to perform certain Actions of Piety, such as the Contempt of one's Body, the Preservation of our Chastity and Fasting. He assures us, That Men are Predestinated according to their Merits; he discourses of the wonderful Effects of Baptism.

His Commentrary upon Psalm 119th. is very large and full of Moral thoughts: He there distinguishes the words which are often repeated in this Psalm, the Law, the Commandments, the Testimonies, the Judgments, &c. and gives them such senses as are not very Natural. He teaches, That Grace is necessary to the Observation of the Commandments of God; That the Beginning comes from our selves, but the Grace of God comes in to our help, and that afterwards it depends upon us, whether we will retain or reject this Grace: That all Men are subject to Sin; That their Faults shall be expiated by the Fire of the last Judgment; *He seems also to think that the Virgin* Mary *shall not be exempted from passing through this Fire*; He observes, That a Minister of Jesus Christ who Preaches his word should be without blame; That he should Pray in the Night-time; That a Christian should shun the Pleasures and the Pride of the Men of this World; That to make our Actions perfect, they must be done from a Principle of Love to God; That Celibacy is more perfect than a State of Marriage; and that those who are out of the Church, which is the Body of Jesus Christ are deliver'd up to the Devil. There are also in this Commentary, divers pretty Remarks about Alms-giving, Humility, the forbearing of those things which are to others an occasion of Scandal and Falling, about Fasting, about Charity, about Prayer, about the Attention we should have in time of Prayer, and about many other Subjects.

In the Commentary upon Psalm 121. he says, That God does not forsake us, but when we offend him by our Sins: He maintains, That the Just are in *Abraham*'s Bosom till the Day of Judgment; he declaims against those who live in Excess. He says, That in Baptism a Man is Purg'd from his Sins, and exchanges his Vices for Vertues.

In Psalm 123. he discourses against Pride; and admirably describes the Slavery into which the Passions of the Vicious precipitate them, in his Comment upon Psalm 125; These are his words: *Consider*, says he, *a Covetous Man, who deprives himself of all kind of Satisfaction, lest he should want Money; you may see him busie, sad, anxious, restless; his Mind is always full of fear, lest he should lose what he has: He forgets Honesty, neglects his Friends, and has no Civility: He has neither Religion, nor Sincerity. The same may be said of other Passions: Into what an Abyss of Infamy does a Man precipitate*

St. *Hilary.* *pitate himself who is master'd by the Passion of Love? Who can be more miserable than he who is a Slave to Drunkenness? Can you see any thing more Shameful than the Motions of a Man transported with Anger?* &c.

In the Commentary upon Psalm 117. he treats largely of the Fear of God. He says, That it is never spoken of in Scripture, but there are joyn'd with it many Conditions: That it consists not in Terrour; That 'tis not a Passion which proceeds from Nature, but a rational Motion excited by the knowledge and love of Goodness and Truth. *Wherefore*, says he, *the Fear of God consists entirely in Love. Perfect Charity perfects Fear. The Effects of this love of God, are to obey his Commandments, to follow his Precepts, to believe his Word, and to hope in his Promises.*

In the Commentary upon Psalm 129, he tells us, that 'tis in respect of the soul that a Man is said to be like God; That the Soul is Spiritual, and the Angels are active Spirits, whom God makes use of to assist the weakness of Men.

In his Commentary upon Psalm 132. he observes, That the Woman which anointed the Head of Jesus Christ was different from her that anointed his Feet. He takes notice that some have said, That it was upon Mount *Hermon* the Angels descended to have commerce with Women; but he rejects this Imagination, because we cannot trust those things, but to that which is written in the Book of the Law.

In Psalm 135. he reproves those that are not Attentive to what is Read in the Church.

In the Comment on Psalm 137. he observes, That true Repentance consists in refraining from all those Sins which we know our selves to have formerly committed and in doing them no more.

In the Comment upon the following Psalm, he blames the Ministers of Jesus Christ, who addict themselves wholly to the Affairs of this World, that they may purchase Temporal Riches. He says That we are permitted to hate the Enemies of God; that's to say, as far as they are the Enemies of God, according to that excellent Saying, *That we should hate the Vices and love the Persons.*

Upon Psalm 140. he distinguishes Four sorts of Prayer, Deprecation, Oration, Petition, and Thanksgiving: And he says, That *it belongs to our Humility to Pray, to the Majesty of God to be Pray'd unto; it belongs to our Faith to Petition, and to our Gratitude to Thank God for his Benefits.* He describes the Easiness and Danger of offending God by the Sins of the Tongue. He observes that the Book of Wisdom, which the Latins attribute to *Solomon*, passes among the Greeks and Hebrews for *Jesus* the Son of *Syrach*'s.

An infinite number of other Remarks might yet be drawn from these Commentaries, but these are sufficient for our Design: For if we should give an Account of all the Commentaries of Authors upon the Scripture, and all that they contain, we should never have done. Wherefore we pray the Reader, that he would be content with these Extracts which we have made from the Commentaries of St. *Hilary*, which cannot but be too long already. 'Tis plain, That these Commentaries are almost wholly taken out of *Origen*. They contain many Allegories and many Moral Thoughts: There is much Wit and Learning observable in them. He advertises the Reader often, that the Latin does not fully express the sence of the Greek word, which also discovers that this Work was taken from a Greek Commentary; and that he follow'd the Emphasis of the Greek words, the sence whereof the Latin Translator was oblig'd to express. St. *Jerom* calls St. *Hilary* the *Rhosne* of Latin Eloquence, *Latinæ Eloquentiæ Rhodanum*, alluding not only to the Country where he was Born, but also to the Genius of his Stile, which is violent and rapid like the Course of the *Rhosne*: for as this River by the Violence of its Waters carries all before it that hinders its course; so St. *Hilary* ravishes the Mind and Judgment, and extorts a Consent by the Vehemence of his Expressions. His manner of expressing things smites, astonishes, overthrows, and perswades. His Periods are commonly long and intricate, which renders him every-where obscure, and almost unintelligible in some places. He often uses barbarous terms, and there are some places in his Works, where there is no Syntax. He is full of Figures and Antitheses; his Reasons, though solid, yet are much improv'd by the lively and smart turn that he gives them. He does not spare his Adversaries, but he speaks to Powers and of Powers with an unparallell'd freedom. He is partial to none, but is a rigid Censor of Manners, and a severe defender of the Faith. Though St. *Jerom* says in his Seventh Epistle to *Leta*, That one may read St. *Hilary*'s Works without meeting any thing that is offensive to Piety and Religion, *inoffenso decurrat pede*; yet it must be confess'd, that there are some Errors and some Expressions which are not agreeable to the Doctrine of the Church. One of the principal, is his Opinion concerning the Passion of Jesus Christ. He thinks that he had no sense of Pain, though he received upon his Body the Wounds and Blows which cause pain. The Schoolmen have endeavour'd to give a good sence to this Expression. Some have said with the Master of the Sentences, That he does not deny, but Jesus Christ felt Pain; but he denies that the Pain he had was the Effect of Sin, as it is in other Men. Others have said, That he does not exclude his Sufferings, but the Necessity of Suffering. Some have affirm'd, That he speaks in this place of the Divinity of Jesus Christ and not of his Humanity. But all these Solutions appear to me to be groundless; and if one would excuse St. *Hilary* it might better be done by saying That the words, Pain, Suffering, Fear and Sorrow, are not to be understood precisely of the perception that is in the Senses, but of the trouble that results from thence in the Soul and Spirit, of the uneasiness of Pain, or the sensible Commotions of Fear or Sorrow: And in this sence it may be said, That Jesus Christ had no Pain, nor Fear; because his Soul continued in a Perfect Tranquillity. St. *Hilary* had not very clear Notions concerning Spiritual Beings; for in the Fifth Canon of his Commentary upon St. *Matthew*, he says, That all Creatures are corporeal, and that the Souls which are in Bodies are corporeal Substances. He held also an intolerable Error concerning the Last Judgment. I do not insist upon some smaller Errors, as when in Canon 31st. and 32d. upon St. *Matthew* he

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excuses the Sin of St. *Peter*, when he says in Canon 16th. That the Words of Jesus Christ, *Get thee behind me, Satan*, were not address'd to this Apostle; when he affirms in Canon 33d. that the Divinity of Jesus Christ was separated from his Humanity at the time of his Death; upon Psalm 119. That the Virgin shall be Purg'd by the Fire of the Day of Judgment; In Canon 14th. and upon Psalm 129th. That God created the Soul of the first Man before his Body; In Canon 17th. That the World shall not continue above 6000 Years; In Canon 20th. That *Moses* did not Die, and that he shall come again at the Day of Judgment. But if this Father had some Errors of this Nature, yet it must also be acknowledg'd, that he held a very Orthodox Doctrine about the chief Mysteries of Faith. He speaks of the Attributes of God in a Sublime and Noble manner; He explains the Mystery of the Trinity, with wonderful clearness and exactness. Every time that he speaks of the Mystery of the Incarnation, he uses the most proper terms to express the Hypostatical Union of the two Natures in Jesus Christ. He explains the different Orders of the Angels and their Ministry. He makes Happiness to consist in the Vision of God, and says expressly, That the Good and Evil are Happy or Miserable before the Day of Judgment. He thinks that on this Day there will be a Purgatorial Fire to expiate the Sins of the Just: He acknowledges the Fall of Mankind in *Adam*, Original Sin, and the Necessity of a Mediator. He attributes much to Free-Will, and the Merit of Good-Works; and yet he admits the Necessity of the Grace of Jesus Christ, which he seems to subject to Free-Will. He alledges often the Authority of the Church, and is clearly of opinion, that there is no Salvation out of her Communion. He ascribes wonderful Effects to Baptism, when it is received with good Dispositions. He says expressly in the Eighth Book of the Trinity, That in the Eucharist we Eat and Drink the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. He approves of Vows and Invocation of Saints; He praises Penance, Fasting and Celebacy: He condemns Simony, Usury and Luxury: In a word, his Writings are full of most pure Morality, and a most holy Discipline. *St. Hilary.*

The Works of St. *Hilary* were printed at *Paris* in the Year 1500 by *Badius Ascensius*: Afterwards *Erasmus* having corrected them, caus'd them to be printed at *Basle* in 1535. They were also printed in the same City in 1550, revis'd by *Justus Lipsius*. In 1572, *Gillot* publish'd a New Edition of St. *Hilary*'s Works, together with a Preface, which contains the Life of this Father, and some Notes: It was printed the same Year at *Paris*. In 1605. this very Edition was Re-printed more correctly, because some Able Men, as *Nicolaus Faber* and *Bongarsius* gave themselves the trouble to compare this Impression with many Manuscripts. There is added in this Edition, the Fragments of St. *Hilary*, which were publish'd by the *Pithoei*, and printed at *Paris* in the Year 1598, with an excellent Preface of *Nicolaus Faber* about these Fragments, and the Commentaries of St. *Hilary* upon the Psalms 13, 14, 149, and 150, which had not been publish'd before. The same Edition has been printed anew at *Paris* in 1631, and 1652. *Leunclavius* has publish'd under the Name of St. *Hilary*, A Confession of the Faith of the Trinity, Greek and Latin, printed at *Basle* in 1578. The Book of the Unity of the Father and the Son, was printed at the same place in 1528. There is a New Edition expected soon from the *Benedictins*.

LUCIFER CALARITANUS.

LUCIFER, Bishop of *Calaris*, the Metropolitan City of the Isle of *Sardinia*, was Deputed with *Hilary* and *Pancratius*, by Pope *Liberius*, to the Emperour *Constantius*, after the Fall of *Vincentius* of *Capua*. He came to the Council of *Milan*, held in the Year 354, where he Defended *Athanasius* and his Cause, with great Courage. The Emperour being provok'd by his Firmness, sent him into Banishment, where he was detain'd till the Reign of *Julian*; but they forc'd him many times to change his Habitation: For, at first, he was Banish'd to *Germanicia*, a City of *Syria*, whereof *Eudoxus* was Bishop, afterwards to *Eleutheroplis* in *Palæstine*, where he was extremely tormented by *Eutychus*, Bishop of that City. At the Death of *Constantius*, he was found banish'd in *Thebais*, and he suffer'd also a fourth Banishment, the place whereof is not known: 'Twas at the time when he was in *Palæstine*, towards the Year 356, that he wrote his Books. They are all against *Constantius*, in behalf of St. *Athanasius* and his Defenders. The Two First, have no other Title, but, *The Books in behalf of St.* Athanasius *against* Constantius. The Third, is entitled, *Of Apostate Kings*. The Fourth, bears this Title, *That we must not Assemble with Heretics*. And the Fifth, *That we must not Pardon those that Offend against God.* *Lucifer Calaritanus.*

All these Books are written with so much Heat and Boldness, that *Lucifer* must needs have a Soul fully prepar'd to suffer Martyrdom, when he wrote them, as is observ'd by St. *Jerom*. But that which is most surprizing is, that he was not contented with publishing of them, but also sent a Copy of them to *Constantius*, and caus'd them to be presented to him in his own Name. The Emperour being astonish'd at this Boldness, gave this Copy to *Florentius*, Grand-Master of his Palace, to send it to *Lucifer*, that he might declare, whether the Book was his or no. *Lucifer* confess'd it openly, and acknowledg'd that it was by his Order, that it was presented to the Emperour. He had charg'd one named *Bonosus*, to report this at Court, and now made Answer to *Florentius*, who had written to him, that he was ready to suffer Death with Joy. It was probably upon this occasion, and at this time, that he added his Last Book, entitled, *That we should die for the Son of God.* St. *Athanasius* understanding that *Lucifer* had undertaken his Defence with so much Courage, sent a Deacon to him nam'd *Eutychus*, to carry a Letter in his Name, wherein, after he had testified the Obligation that he had laid upon the Church, he prays him to send him a Copy of his Works; which having receiv'd,

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Lucifer Calaritanus.

he ſent him a very obliging Letter of Thanks, and tranſlated them into Greek. We have now thoſe Letters of St. *Athanaſius*, the Letter of *Florentius*, and the Anſwer of *Lucifer* at the End of the Works of this Biſhop of *Calaris*; and what we have ſaid of the reſt of his Life is taken out of St. *Jerom*, and a Petition preſented to the Emperours *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian*, by *Marcellinus* and *Fauſtinus*, two *Luciferian* Prieſts.

After the Death of *Conſtantius*, *Lucifer* obtain'd his Liberty as well as the other Biſhops that were baniſh'd for the Faith. He came to *Antioch*, and found the Church of that City in Diviſion. For after that *Euſtathius* had been forc'd to leave it, many Catholicks did always ſeparate from thoſe Biſhops, that ſome would have ſet over them. They were not willing to acknowledge *Meletius*, who was then Biſhop of *Antioch*, tho' they had nothing to reprehend in his Faith. Theſe Catholicks were then govern'd only by Prieſts, and they were call'd *Euſtathians*. *Lucifer*, a ſevere Man and a rigorous Defender of Diſcipline, being come to *Antioch*, was perſuaded, That *Meletius* was Ordain'd by *Arian* Biſhops, or ſuch as were ſuſpected of *Arianiſm*, and had communicated with them, and therefore could not be a lawful Biſhop; whereupon he join'd himſelf to the *Euſtathians*, and Ordain'd *Paulinus* a Prieſt to be their Biſhop. This Ordination, which ſtill heightned the Diviſion of the Church of *Antioch*, was diſapprov'd by *Euſebius* of *Vercellæ*, who was ſent to *Antioch*, in the Name of the Synod of *Alexandria*. He condemn'd the Conduct of *Lucifer*, and retir'd into the Weſt, having no more hope of reſtoring Peace to the Church of *Antioch*; *Lucifer*, on the contrary, to maintain what he had done, reſolv'd to have no more Converſation or Correſpondence with any of the Biſhops who had received into their Communion, thoſe that had formerly ſign'd the *Arian* Creeds. He withdraws therefore into his own Iſland, and ſeparates from the Communion of almoſt all the Biſhops of the World. He died in this Reſolution, and left ſome followers call'd *Luciferians*, who ſpread themſelves over all the World.

The Works of *Lucifer* are written without Art and Eloquence, with much Heat and Paſſion; the Stile is Harſh and Barbarous; there is no Reaſoning, nor Principles in any thing that he ſays. He only propoſes Maxims, which he proves by the Teſtimonies and Examples of Scripture, whether they be pertinent to his Subject or no; from whence it comes to paſs, that his Writings, are nothing but a Collection of Paſſages of Scripture mix'd with *Apoſtrophe*'s, Applications and Reflections.

In the Two Books againſt *Conſtantius*, he deſigns to prove, That this Emperour was very much to blame for endeavouring to compel the Biſhops to condemn St. *Athanaſius*, who was Abſent and Innocent. To prove this Truth, he produces abundance of Hiſtories and Paſſages out of Scripture, which ſhow, Firſt, That God condemns no Man without hearing him; And, Secondly, That 'tis forbidden in Scripture to condemn any Man without hearing his Defence; Thirdly, That thoſe who ſhed the Blood of the Innocent, ſhall be moſt ſeverely puniſh'd; Fourthly, That *Conſtantius*, has no right to command Biſhops, becauſe he is a Profane Perſon, a Heretick, and a Perſecutor.

The deſign of the Treatiſe *Of Apoſtate Kings*, is to prove by the Examples of many impious Kings, That the Succeſs of *Conſtantius*, does not demonſtrate, that he has any right to Perſecute the Orthodox Biſhops, nor that his Doctrine is true.

The other Books ſhew their Arguments by their Titles. The Firſt, is to ſhow, That we muſt neither Aſſemble nor Pray with the *Arians*, who are declar'd Hereticks: The Second, Is to Juſtify the ſevere Conduct of the Catholicks againſt the *Arians*, and the Liberty, that they take to reprove them with boldneſs and vehemence, without ſparing even the Powers themſelves: that is to ſay, this Book is peculiarly deſign'd to juſtify *Lucifer*, St. *Hilary*, and ſome other Catholicks, in their way of ſpeaking to the Emperour *Conſtantius*. The laſt Book contains many Proofs of this Truth, That we muſt die for the Son of God: He blames the Emperour *Conſtantius*, for his Impiety and Cruelty, at the ſame time, he praiſes the Conſtancy of the Catholicks, who ſuffer Martyrdom with Joy, for the Defence of the Orthodox Faith. [*Lucifer*'s Works, with the Letters of St. *Athanaſius* and *Florentius*, were Printed at *Paris*, in 8vo, by *Johannes Tillius*, Biſhop of *Meaux*, in 1568. and afterwards inſerted into the *Bibliothecæ Patrum*.]

VICTORINUS *of* Africk.

Victorinus of Africk.

FABIUS] *MARIUS VICTORINUS*, born in *Africk*; after he had profeſs'd Rhetorick for the ſpace of many Years in the City of *Rome*, with ſo much Reputation, that a Statue was erected for him in one of the publick Places of the City, did at laſt in his old Age, embrace the Chriſtian Religion. The ſtudying of *Plato*'s Books, which he had tranſlated, gave him ſome reliſh for the Holy Scripture; for when he read it, he admir'd it, and ſo became a Chriſtian in his heart. He diſcover'd this Inclination to his Friend *Simplicianus*, who exhorted him to enter into the Church of Chriſt, ſince he was perſuaded of the Truth of his Religion. *Victorinus*, thinking it was ſufficient to know the Truth, anſwer'd him, as it were jeſting upon his Simplicity, *And do the Walls then make Chriſtians?* But at laſt, being confirm'd in the Faith, by Reading and Meditating upon the Holy Scripture, and conſidering that Jeſus Chriſt would not own him at the Day of Judgment, if he ſhould be aſham'd to confeſs him publickly here; he ſays to his Friend *Simplicianus*, *Let us go to Church*; and after he had been ſome time a Catechumen, he was baptiz'd in the preſence of all the People. St. *Auſtin*, reports this Hiſtory, *B.* VIII. of his *Confeſſions*, *Ch.* 2. which he ſays, he learn'd from St. *Ambroſe*. St. *Jerom* places this *Victorinus* among the Number of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, and obſerves, that he wrote Books againſt *Arius*, compos'd in a Logical Method, *Dialectico More*, which are very obſcure, and

and cannot be understood but by Learned Men. He adds, That he had also written Commentaries upon the Apostle St. *Paul*, but he says in another place, that these Commentaries were almost useless, because this Author having been wholly addicted to the Study of humane Learning, did not understand the true Sence of the Holy Scripture. *Victorinus of Africk.*

We have at present those Four Books of *Victorinus* against *Arius*, which are printed in the *Orthodoxographa*, and in the *Bibliothecæ Patrum*; but besides this Book which St. *Jerom* mentions, there are some other Tracts which bear the Name of the same Author. These are in the *Bibliothecæ Patrum*, *viz.* one in Defence of the Word *Consubstantial*, three Hymns of the Trinity, and one Poem of the *Maccabees*: *Sirmondus* has also publish'd by its self, in the Year 1630, a little Treatise against the *Manichees* and another about the beginning of Day. All these Books are written in the same Stile, and by the same Author.

In the Four Books against *Arius*, dedicated to *Candidus*, he refutes the Errors of this Heretick, and those of his Followers; he proves there the Divinity of the Word, and defends the Consubstantiality: But he does it in so Scholastick and Intricate a way, that 'tis very difficult to comprehend his Arguments. One may find several Expressions about the Mystery of the Trinity, that are scarce Sence, and quite different from that way of speaking which is us'd in the Holy Scripture, and by the Church of God. The Book in Defence of the Term *Consubstantial*, is a kind of Summary of those Four Books.

The Treatise to *Justinus*, who was a *Manichee*, is written against the Error of those Hereticks, who admitted two Principles of the Word, and believ'd that the Flesh was created by an Evil Principle. *Victorinus*, refutes these two Errors in few words, and exhorts *Justinus* to acknowledge one God only. " Suffer not any more, says he, my Friend *Justinus*, suffer not your self, you who are of " the City of *Rome*, to be abus'd by the Impieties of the *Persians*, or *Armenians*. In vain do you " macerate your self with extraordinary Mortifications, for after you have made your self lean by those " Austerities, your Flesh is of no other kind, than that which shall return to the Devil in darkness, " who according to you, created it. I advise and require you to acknowledge, That God Almighty " is he that created you, that so you may be truly the Temple of God, according to the Words of " the Apostle, *You are truly the Temple of God, and his Spirit dwelleth in you.* If you have not the " Honour to be the Temple of God, and to receive the Holy Spirit into you, Jesus Christ is not come " to save, but to destroy you; for if we are his, our Body and Soul must belong to him, and then it " may be truly said, *That God is all in all*; That he is the One, and only Almighty and Eternal Prin- " ciple of the whole Universe, and perfectly Infinite, to whom be Honour and Glory." This is the Conclusion of this Treatise which is pleasanter and more intelligible than those which are written against the *Arians*.

In the little Tract about the beginning of Day, he endeavours to show, That the Days of the Creation which are mention'd in *Genesis*, do not begin at Night, but at the Morning, and end at the Morning of the Day following.

The First and Third of his Hymns, are in commendation of the Mystery of the most Holy Trinity, which he explains in many Words.

The Second, is a Prayer to God, and is rather in Prose, like the Creed attributed to St. *Athanasius* than in Verse.

The Poem of the *Maccabees*, is a Description in *Hexameter* Verse, of the Martyrdom of those Seven Brethren. There is nothing extraordinary in this Poem; there is nothing Poetical in it, but some mean Imitations of *Virgil*, and for the most part, the Verses are low and despicable.

The Commentaries of *Victorinus* upon St. *Paul*, have not yet been publish'd. *Sirmondus* found some Fragments of them in a Manuscript, from which he took those two little Treatises of which we have already spoken. But probably, he judg'd them not worth publishing, though he says in his Advertisement, That the Stile of these Commentaries is more clear and clean, than that of his Dogmatical Works.

There are many Philosophical Books attributed to the same *Victorinus*, as his Commentaries upon *Tully*'s Rhetorick, cited by *Cassiodorus* in his *Bibliotheca*, and by Pope *Sylvester* the II. in his Epistle 130, which have been Printed several times. There is also attributed to him the Version of *Porphyry*'s *Isagoge*, which is amongst *Boetius*'s Works, a Book about Poetry, and some Books of *Grammar*. But those sort of Books ought not to come into our *Bibliotheca*, which should contain none but Ecclesiastical Monuments.

St. PACIANUS.

ST. *PACIANUS*, Bishop of *Barcelona*, no less Famous, says St. *Jerom*, for the Holiness of his Life, than the Eloquence of his Discourse, wrote many Books, among which there is one entitled, *Cervus* or *The Hart*, and some other Treatises against the *Novatians*. He died under the Reign of *Theodosius*, towards the Year 380. We have three Letters of his against the *Novatians*, address'd to *Sempronianus*, who was of this Sect. *An Exhortation to Repentance*, and a *Treatise or Sermon of Baptism*, address'd to the Catechumens. All these Pieces are written with much Wit and Eloquence. St. *Pacianus.*

The First Letter to *Sempronianus*, has Two Parts. In the First, he makes use of the way of Prescription from the Name and Authority of the Catholick Church, to show, that the Sect of the *Novatians*, cannot be the Church of Jesus Christ. In the Second, he refutes their Doctrine about Repentance.

S. *Pacianus.*

He observes at the beginning of the First Part, That since the coming of Jesus Christ, there have appear'd an infinite Number of Sects, who have all been denominated from the Names of their Authors; That the Name of Catholick is continued only in the True Church; That the *Novatians* make one of those Sects which are separated from the Catholick Church; That they have forsaken the Tradition of the Church under pretence of Reformation. He opposes to them the Authority of the Ancient Fathers of the Church, who were Successors to the Apostles. "Why should not we, says he, have a Respect to the Authority of those Apostolical Men? Shall we pay no Deference to the Testimony of "St. *Cyprian*? Would we teach this Doctrine? Are we wiser than he? But what shall we say of so "many Bishops dispers'd over all the World, who are united with these Saints? What shall we say "of so many Venerable Old Men, of so many Martyrs, and so many Confessors? Is it for us to Reform them? Shall our times corrupted by Vice, efface the Venerable Antiquity of our Ancestors?" *My Name*, says he, addressing himself to *Sempronianus*, *is Christian, and my Sur-Name, is Catholick. Christianus mihi nomen est, Catholicus cognomen.* He explains afterwards, the Name of Catholick, and tells us, that the most Learned say, that it signifies *Obedient*; and that according to others it means, *one thro' all*, and shews, that these two Significations agree to the Catholick Church, which alone is obedient to the Voice of Jesus Christ, and which only is the same in all the World. After he has thus spoken of the Church, he proceeds to Penance, and so he enters into the Merits of the Question: "May it please God, says he, that none of the Faithful may ever stand in need of it; That no Man "after Baptism may ever fall into the precipice of Sin; That so the Ministers of Jesus Christ may "never be oblig'd to Preach and Apply long and tedious Remedies, for fear of Patronizing the Liberty "of sinning by flattering Sinners with their Remedies. Nevertheless, we allow this Mercy from our God, "not to those who are so happy as to preserve their Innocence, but to those who have been so unhappy "as to lose it by their Sins. It is not to the Sound, but to the Sick, that we Preach these Remedies. "If the Evil Spirits have no more Power over the baptiz'd; If the Fraud of the Serpent which destroy'd the first Man, and gave so great occasion of Damnation to his Posterity, has ceas'd; If, I say "the Devil is gone out of the World; If we may sport our selves in Peace; If Man does not fall into "many Sins of Thought, Word and Deed: Then let us not acknowledge this Gift of God; Let us "reject this Aid; Let us have no more Confessions; Let us no longer hearken to Sighs and Tears; "Let Justice and Innocence proudly despise these Remedies. But if Man be subject to these Miseries, "Let us no more accuse the Mercy of God, who has propos'd these Remedies to our Diseases, and Rewards to those that preserve their Health; Let us no more efface the Titles of God's Clemency "by an unsupportable Rigour, nor hinder Sinners by an inflexible hardness from rejoycing in "those Gifts which he has freely bestow'd upon them. 'Tis not we who give this Grace of our own "Authority, but God himself who says, *Be converted to me*, &c." After he has set down many Passages of Scripture, which prove, That God Pardons penitent Sinners, he proposes this Objection of the *Novatians*: *God only*, will you say, *can grant Pardon of Sin*; *That's true*, answers he, *but what he does by his Ministers, he does by his own Power, For he says to his Apostles, Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth, shall be loos'd in Heaven. But, perhaps, he did not give this Power to any but the Apostles? If this were true, then they must say, That they only had also Power to Baptize, to give the Holy Spirit, and to Purify the Gentiles from their sins: For in the same place, where he gives them Power to Administer the Sacrament of Baptism; he also gives them Power to loose Sinners. Either then these two Powers were peculiarly reserv'd to the Apostles, or they are both continued to their Successors, and therefore since it is certain that the Power of giving Baptism and Unction, is continued in the Bishops; that same must consequently be granted of the Power of binding and loosing.* He adds, That whatever Power the Bishop has, he receiv'd it from the Apostles; That the right of administring Unction and Baptism, of Forgiving Sins, of Consecrating the Body of Jesus Christ, was devolv'd upon him, because he is Successor to the Apostles. He concludes this Letter with saying, *I know very well, my dear Brother, that the Pardon of sins is not to be granted indifferently to all Sinners, and that they are not to be loos'd, before there be some Signs of the Will of God, that it should be done; That Absolution is not to be given, but with much precaution and discretion, after Sinners have sighed and wept long; and when the whole Church has pray'd for them, that so no Man may prevent the Judgment of Jesus Christ. If you would write your Thoughts more clearly to me, my dear Brother, I would Instruct you more fully. Sempronianus*, having answered this Letter, St. *Pacianus*, confirm'd the Two Parts of his Letter, by Two other Answers.

In the First, he proves what he had said concerning the Name of the Catholick Church, and as to what *Sempronianus* had objected, that the People of St. *Cyprian* had been treated as Apostates, as Sectaries, &c. He shews, that they did not commonly carry these Names, but on the contrary, were always call'd *Catholicks*, whereas *Sempronianus* cannot deny, but the Sect whereof he was, did bear the Name of *Novatian*. He answers afterwards to the Accusation of *Sempronianus*, founded upon his making use of a Verse of *Virgil* in his Letter, and shows, that a Bishop is allow'd to know humane Learning, and to make a profitable use of it. He answers also another Accusation against the Catholicks, concerning the Persecution which he pretends the *Novatians* had suffer'd from them. He says, "That the *Novatians* must not attribute to the Catholicks the severity of some Princes who would "not tolerate them; That this was not done upon the Complaint, and at the desire of Catholicks, "but by the proper Motion of Christian Princes who espous'd the Interests of the Church; That the "Powers had reason to Protect the Innocent, and to make use of their Authority for the publick Good." The rest of this Letter, respects some particular Debates between them, concerning the Persons of *Novatian*, St. *Cyprian* and *Cornelius*. St. *Pacianus*, defends and praises these two last, and accuses the first

first of Pride and Schism. In the last Letter to *Sempronianus*, he treats of Penance against *Novatian*. He says, That all the Doctrine of the *Novatians*, explain'd by *Sempronianus*, is contain'd in this Proposition, *That Penance is not allow'd after Baptism, because the Church cannot forgive Mortal Sin: and in short, That she destroys her self by receiving Sinners.* " Who is it, says he, that proposes this " Doctrine? Is it *Moses*? Is it St. *Paul*? Is it Jesus Christ? No, it is *Novatian*. And who is this " *Novatian*? Is he a Man pure and blameless, who has never forsaken the Church, who was lawfully " Ordain'd Bishop, and by the common Methods, succeeded in the room of a Bishop deceas'd? What " do you mean, you will tell me? It suffices that he has taught this Doctrine. But still, when was " it taught? Was it immediately after the Passion of Jesus Christ? Not at all, It was after the Reign " of *Decius*, 300 Years after Christ. But did this Man follow the Prophets? Was he a Prophet? Did " he raise the Dead? Did he work Miracles? Did he speak all sorts of Languages? For at least he " ought to have these signs for establishing a new Gospel; and though he had, yet the Apostle assures us, " That though an Angel should descend from Heaven to teach us a new Gospel, he should be accurs'd? Was there never any Person, since the coming of Christ till *Novatian*, that understood the " Doctrine of Jesus Christ? and since the Reign of *Decius*, Is there none but *Novatian* in the way of " Salvation? But you will tell me, We do not acquiesce in Authority, we make use of Reason. But " as to me, who hitherto have been settled in my Religion upon the Authority and Tradition of the " Church, and am satisfied with the Communion of this Ancient Society, I will not now dissent " from it, I will not seek after Disputes; and you who have separated from this Body and divided " from your Mother, search in Books for every thing that is most secret, that you may disturb those " that are at rest. 'Tis not we, but you, that have raised this Dispute. But still let us hear what " you say, let us examine your Reasons. You say, That the Church is a Body of Men regenerate by Water and the Holy Spirit, who have not deny'd the Name of Christ, which is the Temple " and House of God, the Pillar and Ground of Truth: we say the same also. But who has taken away " from us this Living Water? Have we it not, we who draw from its Fountain? But you who are " separated from it, how can you be regenerate by Baptism? How can the Holy Spirit, who has " not deserted the Church, come upon you who are fallen off from it? How can your People receive " the Holy Spirit, since they are not Confirm'd by Bishops, who have receiv'd the Sacerdotal Unction? " Have not we had some Confessors and Martyrs? Yes, you will say, you have had; but they are " now lost by receiving of Apostates. I will not tell you, that *Novatian*, while he was yet in the " Church, wrote a Book to prove that we ought to receive them; but how do you prove that the " whole Church is perish'd by receiving Penitent Sinners? If some Churches have shown too great Indulgence, must others, who have not approv'd them, but have follow'd the old way, and preserv'd " Peace, lose upon that account the Name of Christians? He proves afterwards by many Reasons, That the Church by receiving Penitent Sinners, did not cease to be the Church, and that the Schism of *Novatian* made his Disciples lose the Title of the Sons of the Church. He strongly urges the Testimony of *Novatian*, who approv'd before his Separation, the Conduct of those that receiv'd the laps'd that were Penitent. He describes afterwards the Origin of the Sect of *Novatians*; and says, That *Novatus* an African Priest, being convicted in his own Country of many Crimes, came to *Rome* to avoid the Condemnation which he had deserv'd; and that being arriv'd there, he perswaded *Novatian* who was vex'd that *Cornelius* was Ordain'd Bishop of *Rome*; he perswaded him, I say, to procure himself to be Ordain'd Bishop, and advis'd him for gaining his design, to object against *Cornelius*, the ill Conduct he observ'd in receiving Penitent Sinners. St. *Pacianus* enters upon this Matter, and justifies against the *Novatians* the Conduct of *Cornelius*, by showing that we ought to receive Sinners to Penance: and that God has given his Church the Power of forgiving Sins. But at the same time, he takes Notice, That there is not the same reason of Penance as of Baptism, for the former ought to be accompanied with much Labour, with Tears and Sighs? He confutes the Objections of the *Novatians*, and shows, that the passage of St. *Matthew*, *Whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth, shall be loos'd in Heaven*, cannot be understood of Baptism. He proves all the Answers of *Sempronianus* to the Passages alledg'd in his first Letter to him, to be false. He objects to the *Novatians* their Hardheartedness, with reference to Penitents. He shows, That those of this Sect are not so pure, nor so Innocent as they boast themselves to be, and that there have been many Persons among them guilty of enormous Crimes. He opposes to them the Authority of St. *Cyprian* and *Tertullian* before his Fall. He ends with an Exhortation to *Sempronianus* to return into the Church.

St. *Pacianus*.

He begins his Exhortation to Repentance with an Introduction, wherein he observes, That oftentimes it were better not to mention some Sins than to reprove them; because the Sin is rather learn'd than restrain'd. He says, That the Book that he had written against the Play called *Cervulus*, or *the Little Heart*, had the Misfortune to render that Immorality the more common. Concerning which, we may learn by the bye, That the Book of St. *Pacianus*, entiled, *Cervus* or *Cervulus*, *The Little Hart*, mention'd by St. *Jerom*, which is not extant, was compos'd against some Profane and Lascivious Play or Ceremony, wherein probably there were us'd indecent Postures. He adds, That this Treatise was written against the Heathens, who mocked at it, and that he was not to expect better success from this Exhortation to Repentance, which was address'd to the Christians of his own Diocess. He says, That we cannot but imagine that this Book was design'd only for Penitents, since Penance is as it were the Bond of all Ecclesiastical Discipline: *For*, says he, *we must take care of Catechumens, that they fall not into Sin; of the Faithful, that they relapse not after they have been Purified; and of Penitents, that they may receive quickly the fruit of their Humiliation.* After this, he divides his Discourse into Three Parts: He treats in the First of the different sorts of Sin, lest any should imagine that all Sins deserve the same Punishment. In the Second, he discourses of some Persons that are asham'd

to make use of the Remedy of Penance, and so receive the Sacrament with an heart and mind polluted with Sin: *They are fearful*, says he, *before Men, but impudent before God, they defile by their impure Hands, and by their corrupt Mouth; they defile, I say, that Altar which makes the Angels themselves to tremble.* The last Part, Is of the Pains that they shall suffer who do no Penance, and of the Reward of those that Purify themselves by a true and sincere Confession of their Sins. In the First Part, he distinguishes Sins from Crimes. He averrs, That we must not imagine that Men are oblig'd to do Penance for an infinite number of small Sins, from which no Person is exempt; That according to the Dispensation under the Old Testament, lesser Faults were rigorously punish'd, but Jesus Christ is come to deliver us from this Yoke of the Law. *Thus after Pardon, if a Man may so speak, of an infinite number of Sins, which need no Powerful Remedies to cure them, there remains a small number which may be easily avoided, that deserve a severe Punishment.* Amongst these he reckons Idolatry, Murder and Adultery: *As for other Sins*, says he, *they may be cur'd by the Practice of Good Works, Inhumanity by Civility, Injuries by Satisfaction, Sadness by Mirth, Harshness by Sweetness, Lightness by Gravity; and so of other Vices which are punish'd by the contrary Vertues. But what shall be the Punishment of Idolatry? What shall the Murderer do to expiate his Crime? What shall be the remedy of an Adulterer or Fornicator? These are, my Brethren, Capital Sins, these are Mortal Sins.* After he has terrified those who have committed these Crimes, with the dreadful words of Fire and Brimstone, and almost made them despair of Pardon; he adds, *However you may be healed, if you begin to be sensible of the greatness of your Crime, and the state to which you are reduc'd; if you have a Fear that approaches near to Despair. I address my self first of all to you, who having committed those Crimes refuse to do Penance; you who are so timorous, after you have been so impudent; you who are asham'd to do Penance after you have sinned without blushing; you who are not asham'd to commit those Crimes, but are asham'd to confess them; you who approach the Holy of Holies, with a Conscience polluted by these Crimes, without trembling, when ye present your selves before the Altars; you who receive the Mysteries from the hands of the Priests in the presence of the Angels, as if ye were innocent; you who trample upon the Patience and Mercy of God, and present at his Altars a defil'd Soul and an unclean Body.* After he has thus spoken a word to Impenitent Sinners, he represents to them the Punishments that God has threatned to those that approach unworthily to Holy Things. He proposes to them the terrible words of St. *Paul*, and exhorts them by most powerful Motives, and most convincing Reasons to discover the Wounds of their Conscience. *The Sick that are Prudent*, says he, *do not hide their Wounds from their Physicians, even those that are in the most secret Parts. They suffer them to apply the Iron, the Fire, and Caustick to Cure them; And shall a Sinner be afraid to purchase Eternal Life for a little Shame? Shall he dread to discover his Sins to God, which are but ill hid from him? He that dares offend against God, why does he blush at any thing? Would he rather Perish without Shame, than be asham'd to Perish? But though you should be asham'd to discover your Misery to others, yet fear not to discover it to your Brethren, who bear a part in your unhappiness. It does not become one Part of the Body to rejoyce in the Evil that befalls another Member of the same Body, they suffer all the same Pain, and contribute to the Remedy. The Church consists of the Faithful, and Jesus Christ is in his Church, and so he that discovers his Sins to his Brethren, is assisted by the Tears of the Church, and Absolv'd by the Prayers of Jesus Christ.*

St. *Pacianus.*

After this, he speaks a word *to those, who under pretence of being willing to do Penance, lay open indeed their Wounds by Confession, but know not what it is to do Penance, nor what the Remedies which must Cure them; who are exactly like those who discover their Wounds and Diseases to Physicians, but neglect to bind up their Wounds, and to apply necessary Remedies; nay, encrease their Disease by taking contrary Remedies and pernicious Potions, and add new Crimes to their old Sins. What can I do for these, I who am a Bishop?* Says he, *'Tis very late to give them a Remedy, but yet if any of you be willing to suffer the Iron and the Fire, I can apply them: Behold the Razor which the Prophet presents me. Turn ye, says he, to the Lord your God, with fasting, weeping and mourning, and sighing, and break your hearts: fear not this Incision, for* David *was very willing to endure it.* He relates also many other Examples of Penance, and reproves the Softness, the Pride, and Loosness of the greatest part of Christians and Penitents. He blames them for not observing so much as the daily Exercises of Penance, which are made in the presence of the Bishop; *As to weep in the sight of all the Church, to discover by the uncleanness of their Garments the regret they ought to have for losing their Innocence, to Sigh, to Pray, to throw themselves at the feet of the Faithful, to deprive themselves of Pleasures, to prostrate themselves before the Priests, to hold the hands of the Poor, to supplicate the Widows, to beseech the whole Church, and implore its Prayers; and in short, to try all ways possible to save their Souls.* After this, he quickens the Penitents by the Fear of Eternal Punishments, which he represents to them in a most Pathetical manner; and he invites them to Penance by the consideration of the Mercy and Goodness of God, who desires nothing but the Conversion of Sinners.

The Subject of the Treatise of Baptism addres'd to the Faithful and the Catechumens, is set down by St. *Pacian* in the Beginning of his Discourse, *I will show you*, says he, *in what Condition we are Born, and how we are renew'd by Baptism------To make you understand this, I shall discover to you, what the Gentiles are; what is the Fruit of Faith, and what are the Effects of Baptism.* In order to the Explication of these Three Things, he observes, That by the Sin of *Adam* all Men were enslav'd to Death and Sin; That the Law of *Moses* discover'd this Misery very plainly, but afforded no Remedy at all; That so Sin reign'd from *Adam* till Christ, who deliver'd Mankind from the Tyranny of Sin, because as the Sin of the First Man was imputed to all his Posterity, so the Righteousness of Jesus Christ was communicated to all Men by Baptism, and by the Aid of the Holy Spirit, provided that Faith precede. He adds, That this Regeneration cannot be perfected but by the Sacrament of Baptism, and Unction, and by the Ministry of the Priest. [*For*, says he, *Baptism Purifies from Sins, and Unction brings*

brings down the Holy Spirit, and both the one and the other are applied by the Hand and the Mouth of the Bishop; the whole Man is born again and renewed in Jesus Christ, that we may lead a new Life, which shall never end; because though this Body shall die, yet we shall always live in Jesus Christ, in a heavenly and eternal Life. He observes, That being deliver'd in Baptism from the bands of Sin, we renounce the Devil and the World, and if afterwards, by forgetting the Grace which we have received, we relapse into a Crime, our Relapse is almost irrecoverable; because that Jesus Christ suffer'd but once, and we cannot be wash'd and purified above once. He concludes with an Exhortation to those that are newly Baptiz'd, to preserve the Grace which they had received, to Sin no more, to keep the Purity and Innocence of Baptism till the Day of Judgment, and to endeavour to obtain Eternal Treasures by their Prayers and Spiritual Labours. St. *Pacianus.*

These Extracts which we have drawn from the Writings of St. *Pacianus*, sufficiently discover his Judgment, his Stile and Learning. There is hardly any of the Ancients that speaks more clearly of the Efficacy of the Sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation and Penance: He attributes to Chrism the effect of Confirmation, which is an Opinion very rare among the Latins, who attribute it to Imposition of Hands. Though he speaks advantageously of the Efficacy of the Sacraments, yet he requires very great Dispositions in order to their producing such Effects as they ought to have. He particularly recommends Publick Penance for the Sins of Idolatry, Murder and Fornication: under which Three Sins must be comprehended all the Consequents of them, which extend very far. He thinks that those Sins cannot be pardon'd but by *Publick Penance.* As to all other Sins, he does not believe it necessary to submit to that Penance which the Canons of the Church enjoyned for them. He explains the Fall of all Mankind, that 'twas caus'd by the Sin of the First Man, very clearly, and the unprofitableness of the Law, the Necessity and Effects of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. He equally condemns the Rigour of the *Novatians*, and the Impenitence of some Sinners, as well as the heedlessness and softness wherewith others perform their Penance. His Exhortations are lively and persuasive, his Thoughts well-weigh'd, his Proofs solid, his way of Writing pleasant, his Stile, elegant, and the Periods short. In a word, These little Tracts may pass for Master-pieces in their kind, and these two Treatises may be look'd upon as a perfect Model of Preaching, or Exhortation to the People.

The Works of this Father were Publish'd by *Tilius*, and Printed at *Paris*, with some other Books in 4to, in the Year 1538, by *Guillardus*; in 1655, in 8vo, by *Melchior Gopnerus*; and together with *Hermas* at *Rome* in 1564, in Folio; and in the *Bibliothecæ Patrum.*

GREGORY *of* Bætica.

GREGORY, Bishop of *Elvira*, a City of the Province of *Bætica* in *Spain*, wrote divers Treatises in a low Stile, and an elegant Book concerning the Faith; which were extant in the latter End of St. *Jerom*'s time. We have in the Fragments of St. *Hilary*, a Letter of *Eusebius* of *Vercellæ* to this Bishop, where he commends him for the Constancy wherewith he defended the Faith of the Church, and resisted *Hosius*. *Marcellus* and *Faustinus* the *Luciferians*, tell us, in their Letter to *Valentinian* the Emperour, That *Hosius* being ready to condemn him, was miraculously thrown upon the Ground, and lost the use of his Speech. But there is no probability that this Relation should be true, as we have already shown, when we Discours'd of *Hosius*. St. *Jerom*, in his Chronicle, joyns this Bishop, with *Lucifer Calaritanus*, and observes, that they would never have any Correspondence with those that were suspected of Arianism. This joyn'd with the Honourable mention that *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus* make of this Bishop, may induce us to believe, that he was of the Judgment and Party of *Lucifer*. He flourish'd from the Year 357, till the latter End of that Century. The Ancients speak of him as a simple, plain, sincere Man, but a zealous Defender of the Faith. His Stile was no ways Sublime, if we believe St. *Jerom*. There have been printed under his Name at *Rome*, in the Year 1575, and in the Two first Editions of the *Bibliothecæ Patrum*, seven little Treatises against the *Arians*, which are thought to be the same with the Book concerning the Faith cited by St. *Jerom*: But it has since been discover'd, that they were written by *Faustinus* a *Luciferian* Deacon, to whom the Abbot *Trithemius* attributes them. They are address'd to the Empress *Galla Placidia*, Sister to the Emperour *Honorius*, which discovers that they rather belong to *Faustinus* than *Gregory* of *Bætica*, who was dead when *Placidia* had the Title of Empress. *Gregory of Bætica.*

PHÆBADIUS.

PHÆBADIUS (a), Bishop of *Agen*, having seen the Second Creed of *Sirmium*, compos'd in the Year 357, by *Hosius* and *Potamius*, wrote immediately a Treatise against this Creed. He assisted afterwards at the Council of *Ariminum*, held in 359, wherein he defended untill the End of the Council, the *Nicene* Creed, and refus'd to Sign that which was there propos'd. Neither Fear nor Threatnings could change his Resolution; but the Governor *Taurus*, seeing that his Constancy was *Phæbadius.*

(a) *Phæbadius.*] *Sulpitius Severus*, calls him *Fegadius*; in St. *Jerom*, and the Greek Translator of his Book, he is call'd *Sæbadius*, which is a Fault in the Latin, and ought to be read *Phæbadius*, as it is in the Manuscripts. There is also by mistake in St. *Ambrose Fygadius.*

not

Phæbadius. not to be overcome by theſe means, us'd Entreaties, and beſeech'd him with Tears to take more moderate Courſes, that ſo he might releaſe a great Number of Biſhops, who had been ſhut up for the ſpace of ſeven Months in one City, where they were diſtreſs'd by the Rigour of the Winter, and the want of all things. He remonſtrated to him, That if all the Biſhops did not ſign the Creed that was brought from the Eaſt, there would be no hopes, that they ſhould ever have permiſſion to return from thence: In ſhort, That he muſt fix his Reſolution, and that he ought to follow the Example and Authority of many that had already ſign'd. *Phæbadius* anſwered, That he was ready to go into Baniſhment, and ſuffer all ſorts of Puniſhment, rather than do that which was deſir'd of him, and that he would never receive a Creed made by the *Arians*. Some days paſs'd in theſe Debates; but at laſt, ſeeing that there was no hopes left of obtaining Peace, he departed from his Reſolution, after that *Urſacius* and *Valens* had declar'd, That the Profeſſion of Faith, which they propos'd, was Catholick, and that thoſe, to whom it appear'd not ſufficient, might add to it what they thought fit. This Propoſition was favourably receiv'd by all the Weſtern Biſhops: *Phæbadius* and *Servatio Tungrenſis*, drew up Declarations, wherein they condemn'd *Arius* and his impious Doctrine, acknowledging that the Son of God was without Beginning, and that he was not a Creature. But *Urſacius* and *Valens*, added maliciouſly, that he was not a Creature as others are; and ſo deceiv'd the Biſhops who ſign'd, with thoſe Declarations, the Creed compos'd at *Nice* by the Biſhops of the Eaſt. *Phæbadius*, being upon his return to his own Country, was one of thoſe Biſhops who were moſt troubled for their Fault, and who aton'd for it, by Declarations and Proteſtations againſt what they had done by Surpriſe: He aſſiſted at the Council of *Valentia* in 374. We have a Letter of St. *Ambroſe*, addreſs'd to him and *Delphinius*, Biſhop of *Bordeaux*. St. *Jerom* aſſures us in his Book of *Illuſtrious Men*, That *Phæbadius* liv'd in his time, and that he was then extremely old: He adds, That he alſo wrote ſome other Books, beſides that which we have already mention'd. The Memory of this Saint, is particularly honoured at *Agen*, where he is commonly call'd St. *Fiari*.

We have ſtill extant in the *Bibliothecæ Patrum*, a Treatiſe of this Biſhop, againſt the Second Creed of *Sirmium*, which was firſt publiſh'd by *Pithæus*, in a Collection of Ancient *French* Eccleſiaſtical Authors, printed by *Nivelle*, in the Year 1589. This Treatiſe is a refutation of the Second Creed of *Sirmium*, compos'd by *Potamius*, Biſhop of *Lisbon*, and Sign'd by *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba*. In the *Exordium*, he ſays, That if the greater part of Chriſtians had not been circumvented by the Artifices of the Devil, who makes them take Hereſy for Faith, and condemn the Faith for Hereſy; he had not undertaken to ſay any thing of this Writing, which was ſent a little while ago into *France*: That he could be content to continue Firm in his own Faith, without medling with the Examination of other Men's: "But ſince, ſays he, we are reduc'd to this Condition, that we muſt neceſſarily embrace Hereſy, that we may be call'd Catholicks, or ceaſe to be Catholicks by not rejecting "Hereſy, we find our ſelves oblig'd to diſcover the Poyſon of Hereſy hid under the appearance of "Religion, and to lay open that Error, which is wrapt up in ſuch Terms, as appear at firſt ſight "to be Innocent, that ſo Falſhood being diſcover'd, the oppreſs'd Truth may at laſt take breath. "We muſt deſtroy the Opinions of Strangers, that ours may be believ'd, and ſo in refuting Error, I "ſhall prove at the ſame time, the Truth of my Creed, and demonſtrate my ſelf to be a Catholick to "thoſe that are not over-aw'd by Fear, nor brib'd by Ambition." After this, he Examines the Second Creed of *Sirmium*, diſcovers the Malignity of it, and refutes by Teſtimonies of Scripture, the Errors that it contains about the Trinity. He ſpeaks alſo occaſionally of the Myſtery of the Incarnation, whileſt he refutes a Letter of *Potamius*; who had affirm'd, That by the Incarnation of the Word, God was render'd paſſible, and that the Son of God, and the Fleſh of Man, were become as it were, a Third Perſon, who was neither God nor Man. He diſputes againſt this Opinion, ſhowing by Scripture, That the Two Subſtances, or the Two Natures, continued without mixture in the Perſon of Jeſus Chriſt; That the Word did ſtill preſerve the Properties of the Divine Nature, and the Humanity of the Humane Nature. He is very angry afterwards, that they ſuppreſs'd the word *Subſtance*, which was order'd by the Creed, that he examines. The Biſhops, ſays he, make an Edict, whereby they decree, *That no Perſon ſhall ſpeak of One Subſtance.* "Alas, What have you done, "O ye Holy Biſhops, Aſſembled at *Nice* from all parts of the World? You have to no purpoſe "Compos'd with admirable Circumſpection, a Creed which ſhould be the Infallible Rule of Truth? "To what End was your Labour deſign'd? What is the Fruit of your Care? 'Tis now forbidden "to teach in the Church, the only Thing which you commanded to be taught there for the Con- "founding of Error. That is now condemn'd, which you approv'd; and that is now approv'd, which "you condemn'd; Falſhood is maintain'd, and the Truth is oppos'd. But in vain do they ſtrive to "do it, for Truth ſhall never be deſtroy'd, it ſhall remain eternally without Change, and ſhall puniſh "thoſe that ſet themſelves againſt it. *Let no Man, ſay they, make uſe of the Word* Subſtance. Ha, "What Evil, what Crime is it, to make uſe of this Word? Wherein does it wound the Faith? Is it "the Sound? Is it the Sence?" Afterwards he makes it appear, That this Word is us'd in Scripture; That the Sence of it is moſt Catholick; and, That 'tis moſt proper to expound the Faith of the Church in ſuch a manner, as it may not be capable of any further Explication. At the End of this Treatiſe, he refutes thoſe that ſay, The Word of God ſuffer'd Pain. At laſt, he concludes with ſaying, *That there is but One only God in Three Perſons.* "This is what we believe, this is what we defend, what "the Prophets have taught us, what the Goſpel preaches to us, what the Apoſtles left us by Tradition, "what the Martyrs confeſs'd in their Suffering. This is the Faith which is engraven on the Hearts "and Minds of the Faithful; and when an Angel ſhall deſcend from Heaven and teach the contrary, "he ſhall be accurſed." He adds afterwards, as a kind of an Appendix, when he ſpeaks of *Hoſius*, Biſhop of *Corduba*; "I know very well, ſays he, that the Name of *Hoſius*, that ancient Biſhop, may "be

" be objected to me, whose Faith was always so Firm, and I doubt, not but they will make use of
" his Authority, as a Buckler to cover the Opinion that is contrary to ours. But I answer in a word *Phœbadius.*
" to those who will make use of these Arms, that his Authority cannot be alledg'd as an unanswerable
" Argument, because either he is at present in an Error, or else he always was so. The World knows
" what he believ'd till this present time, with what Assurance he approv'd the *Sardican* and *Nicene*
" Doctrine which I defend, and with what Rigor he condemned the *Arians*. But if he be at present
" of another Opinion, if he maintains now what he always condemned heretofore, if he condemns
" now what he always maintained; How can his Authority be objected to me? If he was in an Er-
" ror for 82 Years together, How comes it to pass, that I must believe, that at this Age he found out
" the Truth? But suppose I could believe it, What Judgment can be given of those who died in the
" Faith of the same Doctrine which he maintained before he altered his Opinion? What Judgment
" would he have given of himself, if he had died before that Council wherein he changed? And so
" the prejudice drawn from the Authority of *Hosius*, is of no Consideration, because it opposes it self:
" Besides that, we read in the Scripture, that the Righteousness of a Judge, shall not save him, when
" he shall depart from it.

I was very willing to set down this Passage entire, because it may be of great use to weak Persons, who suffer themselves to be drawn into Errors, by the Authority of those whom they highly Esteem and Value. It serves also to discover, that the greatest Men are subject to great Infirmities, and that therefore we must not follow their Example blindly, especially, when Religion is the Matter in question; and that the only Infallible Rule to which we should adhere, is the Authority of the Church, to which we ought to pay a blind Obedience, and without reserve.

To Conclude, This Tract is written very politely, the Stile is clear and clean, the Subject is handled very plainly; and there are sometimes Sallies of Wit, which discover that the Author wrote with much Vigour and Easiness.

St. OPTATUS.

ST. *OPTATUS* (*a*), Bishop of *Melevi* (*b*), a City of *Numidia*, wrote under the Reign of *Valens* and *Valentinian*, about the Year 370, his Books of the Schism of the *Donatists*, against *Parmenianus*, a Bishop of that Sect. There is nothing in particular, known of the Life of this Author. He died, according to the Testimony of St. *Jerom*, under the Reign of *Valentinian* (*c*). St *Austin* and St. *Fulgentius*, cite him with great Commendation, and he has been numbred among the Saints, because of the Service he did the Church, by this excellent Book which he compos'd in its Defence. It was divided into Six Books, since St. *Jerom*'s time: There is a Seventh now extant, but 'tis very probable, that it is Suppositious. First of all, Because *Optatus* himself in his First Book, divides his Treatise into Six Books, without mentioning a Seventh. Secondly, because St. *Jerom* says, That *Optatus* wrote but Six Books against the Schism of the *Donatists*. Thirdly, Because the Stile of the last Book (*d*), comes not near the Elegance and Sublimeness that is in the others. And Lastly, Because it contains Opinions contrary to those that are in the other Books (*e*). This Book therefore was written by some *African*, who lived soon after St. *Optatus* (for it cannot be doubted but that the Book is ancient) who thought he ought to make this Addition, which was afterwards attributed to this Father. St Optatus.

St. *Optatus* begins his First Book with words very full of Charity. He complains, That the Peace which Jesus Christ left to his Church, is disturb'd by the Schism and by the Actions of the *Donatists*: Yet he gives them the Name and Title of Brethren. " Though they renounce us, says he, though all
" the World knows that they hate us, that they detest us; though they would not have us call them
" our Brethren, yet we will follow the Command of the Prophet *Isaiah*, in saying unto them, Ye are
" nevertheless our Brethren, though ye be Evil: We have the same Spiritual Birth, but our Actions
" are different". Afterwards, he gives an Account of his Undertaking to write to *Parmenianus*,

(a) St. *Optatus*.] The Name of *Optatus* is very common among the *Africans*. St. Austin speaks of many other Persons of this Name, who are easily distinguish'd from this Bishop.

(b) *Milevi*.] Some Authors have thought that he was Bishop of *Malta*; but this is a gross mistake: *Milevi* is a City of *Numidia* in *Africk*, often mention'd in the *African* Councils.

(c) *He died under the Reign of* Valentinian.] In *B.* II. he places in his Catalogue of Popes, Pope *Siricius*, who was not Bishop of *Rome* till after the Death of *Valentinian*; which would cause a doubt of what St. *Jerom* says, if it were not easy for a Transcriber to add the Name of *Siricius*, when he Copied out this Book after the Death of *Optatus*.

(d) *The Stile of the last Book*.] The Stile of it is flat, mean and weak, whereas the Stile of *Optatus* is sublime, masculine, and enrich'd with many Figures; there are also many Terms, which appear not to be *Optatus*'s: The Author of this Book treats of what *Optatus* had already handled in *B.* I. and III. and the beginning of the IV. which Repetition does also show, that it is none of his.

(e) *Opinions contrary to those that are in the other Books*.] This Author extenuates the enormity of their Crime, who deliver'd up the Holy Books to be burnt; he denies that it was a Capital Crime, and endeavours to prove that it was light and pardonable. On the contrary, St. *Optatus* declares, *B* I. That it was a great Sin, equal to that of Schism, and that those who committed it, should, purchase some Years of this Life, with the loss of Eternal Life. which supposes, that this Crime was Mortal, and deserv'd Damnation; but the Author of the Seventh Book, teaches the contrary.

whom

St *Optatus*. whom he calls his Brother: He ſays, That he was the only *Donatiſt* with whom he could have a Conference in Writing, and he ſhews the Uſefulneſs of it: He obſerves, That this Biſhop in writing againſt the Catholick Church had written for it: ſo that it had not been neceſſary to have anſwer'd his Treatiſe, if he had not affirm'd many things whereof he was not well-inform'd, as when he charges the Catholicks with deſiring Souldiers that they might Perſecute the *Donatiſts*. *He owns, That this is the only place in all the Books of* Parmenianus *which is againſt the Church*; and that all others are either for the Catholicks only, as when he proves that there is but one Church only; or for the Catholicks and the *Donatiſts*, as when he ſhows that Hereticks have not the Sacraments of the Church; Or laſtly, againſt the *Donatiſts* only, as when he ſpeaks of the Enormity of their Crime, who deliver'd up the Holy Books and made a Schiſm. He adds, That the Compariſon which *Parmenianus* has made of Baptiſm with Circumciſion, and the Flood, is honourable to the Church, which maintains, that there is but one only Baptiſm, as there was but one Circumciſion and one Flood.

Optatus having made this general Remark upon the Book of *Parmenianus*, gives an account of the Method he has obſerv'd in his Work; and then lays down a Scheme of his Refutation, and propoſes the Subject of his Books. "I ſhall begin, ſays he, Firſt of all, with giving an Hiſtory of the Tra-"ditors and Schiſmaticks, with an Account of their Abode, their Perſons, and their Names; that ſo it "may be known who thoſe are that are guilty of the Crimes that *Parmenianus* has Condemn'd. "Secondly, I muſt ſhow what is the Church, and where it is, becauſe there is but one only, and there "cannot poſſibly be two Churches. Thirdly, I am to prove, That we did not deſire the Souldiers, "and that we are not guilty of the Crimes which are ſaid to be done by thoſe, who would have pro-"cur'd a Re-union. Fourthly, 'Twill be neceſſary to ſhew who is the Sinner, whoſe Sacrifice God re-"fuſes, and whoſe Unction we muſt flee from. In the 5th. Book, I ſhall treat of Baptiſm. In the "6th. I ſhall lay open your Errors and Deſigns". This is the Argument of thoſe Six Books of *Optatus*. In the Firſt Book before we come to the Hiſtory of the *Donatiſts*, which is the Subject of it, we muſt obſerve a Miſtake of *Parmenianus*, who ſays, *That the ſinful Fleſh being drown'd in the Waters of* Jordan, *was purified from all its ſtains*. He reproves this Paſſage of *Parmenianus*, becauſe from hence it would follow, either that the Fleſh of all Men was purified by the Baptiſm of Jeſus Chriſt; or that the Fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt was ſinful. But becauſe he foreſaw very well, that *Parmenianus* might explain his meaning, by ſaying, That nothing elſe was intended by thoſe words, but that the Fleſh of Men was purified in the Fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt, therefore he ſhows that this Expreſſion is improper: for we never ſay, That a Chriſtian was baptiz'd in the Fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt; but in the Name of Jeſus Chriſt. He adds, That the Fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt could not be baptiz'd for the Remiſſion of Sins, ſince he had not committed any. At laſt, That he might not Pardon *Parmenian* in any thing, he blames him even for the term *Drown'd*, which he uſes, and tells us, That he could only ſay of *Pharaoh*, that he continued at the bottom of the Waters, and not of Jeſus Chriſt, who deſcended into *Jordan* that he might come out of it, and who Sanctified the Waters of this River by his deſcent. He ſays, That he cannot paſs over the Imprudence of *Parmenianus*, who having given a Deſcription of the Flood and Circumciſion, and ſpoken in the Praiſe of Baptiſm, ſhould go about (if I may ſay ſo) to raiſe from the Dead the ancient Hereticks, who were buried together with their Hereſies in Oblivion, and whoſe Names and Hereſies were unknown long ago in *Africa*, ſuch as *Praxeas*, *Sabellius*, *Valentinus* and others, who had been confuted in their time, by *Victorinus* of *Paſſaw*, by *Zephyrinus* of *Rome*, by *Tertullian* of *Carthage*, and other Defenders of the Catholick Church.

"Wherefore, ſays he, do ye make ſuch a War with the Dead, as does not concern the Affairs of our "Time: Is it becauſe ye have no Proof that the Catholicks are Schiſmaticks, therefore ye would ſwell "your Book with a Catalogue of the Names and Errors of the ancient Hereticks? Why do ye ſpeak "of thoſe who had no Sacraments which are common to us? Thoſe that are in Health have no need "of Remedies. Vertue and Innocence ſeek no help nor ſupport but in themſelves. Truth wants no "far-fetch'd Proofs. None but the Sick ſeek after Remedies; only the Weak and Sluggiſh truſt to "External Succors, and 'tis a Sign of a Lye when Men take much pains to find out a Juſtification: *Parmenianus* had not mention'd theſe Hereticks, but to tell us, That they had not the Signs of a true Church; That their Churches were Strumpets who had no right to the Sacraments, and could not be the Spouſes of Jeſus Chriſt. *Optatus* was ſo far from refuting this Propoſition, that he approv'd it, but he wondred that *Parmenianus* had joyn'd the Schiſmaticks with them, ſince he himſelf was one of this Number.

"I ſee very well, ſays he to *Parmenianus*, That you know not who were the Authors of the Schiſm "at *Carthage*. Look back to the Riſe of this Affair, and you will ſee that you have condemn'd your "ſelves, by joyning the Schiſmaticks to the Hereticks: for *Cæcilian* did not ſeparate from *Majorinus* "your Predeceſſor, but *Majorinus* ſeparated from *Cæcilian*. 'Twas not *Cæcilian* that deſerted the "Chair of St. *Peter* or St. *Cyprian*, but *Majorinus*, in whoſe Chair you ſit, a Chair that is of no older "Original than *Majorinus* himſelf". This being ſo, he wonders that *Parmenian* ſhould joyn the Schiſmatick with the Heretick, and ſhould ſay of the former as well as the latter after this manner: *How can a Man that is defil'd, cleanſe another by a falſe Baptiſm? How can an impure Man Purifie? How can one that makes others fall, lift up thoſe that are faln down? How can one that is guilty, grant Pardon? or one that is Condemn'd, abſolve?* *Optatus* confeſſes, That all this may be truly ſaid of Hereticks who have corrupted the Creed, and have no ſhare in the Sacraments of the Church; but he denies that this can be ſaid of thoſe that are only Schiſmaticks; who, as he thinks, may lawfully Adminiſter the Sacraments. To prove this, he ſhows the difference between Hereticks and Schiſmaticks. "Two things, ſays he, are neceſſary to render the Church Catholick; The Confeſſion of the true "Faith, and the Unity of Hearts. Schiſm which breaks the Bond of Peace is begotten by Diſcord,

"nouriſh'd

" nouriſh'd by Envy, and confirm'd by Diſputes; thus impious Children forſake the Catholick Church
" their Mother, withdraw and ſeparate themſelves, as you have done, being cut off from the Church St. *Optatus.*
" and become Rebels and Enemies: But they innovate nothing in Doctrine, ſtill retaining what
" they had learn'd from their Mother. The Hereticks on the contrary are Enemies to the Truth, De-
" ſerters of the true Creed, though they are begotten in the boſom of the Church, and being corrupted
" by their Impious Errors, they call themſelves Authors of their Sect". *Optatus* concludes from theſe Definitions, That Hereticks can have no Baptiſm nor valid Sacraments, but that there is not the ſame Reaſon for Schiſmaticks, becauſe they have preſerv'd the true Sacraments of the Church, though they are ſeparated from its Body. After this Digreſſion, he returns to his Subject, and undertakes to prove Hiſtorically, that the Authors of the *Donatiſts* are guilty of delivering up the Holy Books and making a Schiſm. " Tis now, ſays he, 60 Years and more ſince *Africk* was harraſs'd with a violent
" Perſecution, at which time you might have ſeen many Martyrs and Confeſſors; but there were alſo
" ſome Chriſtians who yielded in this Day of Tryal, and others who hid themſelves: To ſay nothing of
" the Laity, Miniſters, Deacons or Prieſts, there were even Biſhops, thoſe that were the Heads and Chief
" of the Clergy, who deliver'd up the Books of the Divine Law, with an aſtoniſhing Impiety; and to
" preſerve for ſome Years this Mortal Life, expos'd themſelves to the loſs of Eternal Life. *Donatus*
" of *Maſcula*, *Victor* of *Ruſiccadia*, *Marinus* of *Aquæ Tibilitanæ*, *Donatus* of *Calama*, and *Purpu-*
" *rius* the Homicide of *Limata*, were of the Number of thoſe Biſhops, together with *Menalius*, who
" fearing to be accus'd of Sacrificing, would not be preſent at the Aſſembly of his Brethren. Theſe
" Biſhops and ſome others, whom we ſhall ſhow to have been your Authors, aſſembled together af-
" ter the Perſecution, on the 12th. of *May*, in the City of *Cirtha*, in the Houſe of *Urbanus Cariſius*
" becauſe the Churches were not yet rebuilt. *Secundus* of *Tigiſis* having ask'd them, they confeſs'd to
" him that they had deliver'd up the Holy Books; and when *Purpurius* objected the ſame thing to
" *Secundus*, they all began to murmur; ſo that *Secundus* being afraid of himſelf, follow'd the Advice
" of his Nephew *Secundus*, who conſell'd him to leave this Cauſe to the Judgment of God. The
" other Biſhops, *Victor Garbienſis*, *Felix* of *Rotarium*, and *Nabor* of *Centurio*, were of the ſame
" opinion, and therefore, *Secundus* declar'd that all the Biſhops ſhould Sit in the Council. Sometime
" after the ſame Biſhops, Traitors and Murderers, ordain'd *Majorinus* Biſhop of *Carthage*, in whoſe
" Chair *Parmenianus* now Sits. *Optatus* having thus ſhown that the Ring-leaders of the *Donatiſts*
" were Traditors, Convicts them alſo of being the Authors of a Schiſm. In treating of this Separa-
" tion, 'tis certain, ſays he, that there was but one Church in *Africk*, as there is in all other Parts of
" the World, before it was divided by the Biſhops who ordain'd *Majorinus*. It is only to be enquir'd,
" who thoſe were that remain'd united to the Body of the Church with all the World; and who
" they were that departed from it, who it was that ſate in a Chair wherein he had no Predeceſſor, who
" thoſe were that ſet up Altar againſt Altar, who he was that Ordain'd a Biſhop in the room of ano-
" ther Biſhop, yet alive. All the World knows that this was done at *Carthage* after the Ordination
" of *Cæcilian*, and that it was done at the Inſtigation of *Lucilla*, a great Lady: This Woman had
" been reprov'd by the Arch-Deacon *Cæcilian*, even before the Perſecution begun, becauſe before re-
" ceiving the Spiritual Food and Drink, ſhe had kiſs'd the Bones of a Dead Man, who was not pub-
" lickly acknowledg'd for a Martyr, preferring thus the Carcaſs of a Dead Man before the Cup of Sal-
" vation. She retir'd in great Anger, and very much enrag'd at this Reprimand. The Perſecution
" came on, which hinder'd the Biſhop from reducing her within the Bounds of her Duty. In the
" mean time, a certain Deacon, nam'd *Felix*, being cited to appear before the Tyrant, and accus'd
" of writing a Defamatory Libel againſt him, hid himſelf in the Houſe of *Menſurius* the Biſhop:
" who being interrogated about this Fact, deny'd it publickly, and upon his Denial there came an
" Order from Court, importing, That if *Menſurius* did not bring forth the Deacon *Felix*, he ſhould
" be ſent to Court. When he had received this Order, he was very much concerned: He had then in
" the Church a great Number of Ornaments of Gold and Silver, which he durſt neither hide under
" Ground, nor carry away with him; he truſted them with the moſt ancient Men of his Church,
" believing them Faithful, and made an Inventory of them, which he is ſaid to have deliver'd to an
" old Woman, with this Charge, That if he did not return again, ſhe ſhould deliver it to him that
" ſhould be choſen Biſhop in his Room. When he came to Court, he defended himſelf, and being
" permitted to return to *Carthage*, he died by the Way. Liberty being reſtor'd to the Church of
" *Africk* by an Edict of *Maxentius*, *Botrus* and *Celeſius* who were ambitious to be Ordain'd Biſhops
" of *Carthage*, call'd together the Neighbouring Biſhops about this City, without Summoning thoſe
" of *Numidia* to come to them: Yet *Cæcilian* was choſen by the unanimous Suffrages of the People,
" and Ordain'd by *Felix* of *Aptungis*, and ſo *Botrus* and *Celeſius* fail'd of their hopes. The Inventory
" of the Gold and Silver belonging to the Church, was deliver'd to *Cæcilian*; who ſends for the Old
" Men that were entruſted with this Charge: who had already made it their own Property. When
" they ſaw themſelves oblig'd to reſtore it, they alienated the People from the Communion of *Cæci-*
" *lian*. Thoſe who had intrigued for the See, did the ſame thing; and in ſhort, *Lucilla*, an impe-
" rious and powerful Woman, who could not bear a reproof, would not hold Communion with him,
" and hindred thoſe that belong'd to her from doing it. So the Schiſm was begun by the Paſſion of a
" furious Woman, nouriſh'd by the Ambition of *Botrus* and *Celeſius*, and confirm'd by the Avarice of
" the Old Men. Theſe three ſorts of Perſons invented Accuſations againſt *Cæcilian*, and endeavour'd
" to get his Ordination condemn'd. They fetcht *Secundus* Biſhop of *Tigiſis* to *Carthage*: thither they
" came with the Biſhops Traditors whom we have mention'd, and were receiv'd by the Covetous,
" Ambitious and Furious, that we nam'd before, but not at all by the Catholicks, who had choſen
" *Cæcilian*. Not one of them durſt enter into the Church where he was with all the People. *Cæcilian*

St. *Optatus*. " took care to acquaint them, That if his Accusers had any thing to say or prove against him, they " had nothing to do but appear. His Enemies could find nothing to blame in his Conduct. But " they accus'd him that Ordain'd *Cæcilian*, of being a Traditor, making this Infamy rebound upon " him. *Cæcilian* also told them, That if *Felix* had no Power to conferr Orders, as they pretended, " they might Ordain him anew, as if he had been but a Deacon still: *Purpurius* then answer'd with " his ordinary Malice: Very well, let him come; Let us make as if we would lay hands upon him " to Ordain him Bishop, and instead of doing that, let us put him under Penance. This Design being " discover'd, the Catholicks detain'd *Cæcilian*, and hindred him from exposing himself to the fury of " his Enemies. They must then either force him away as a Criminal, or Communicate with him as " an Innocent Man: The whole Church was full of People, the Episcopal Chair was filled, the Altar " was in its place, *that Altar* on which the Pacifick Bishops had offer'd, as St. *Cyprian*, *Lucianus* and " others. Nevertheless, they set up an Altar against this Altar, and made an Ordination against all " the Laws. *Majorinus* a Domestick of *Lucilla*, who had been Reader when *Cæcilian* was Deacon, " was Ordain'd by the Bishops of *Numidia*, who had themselves confess'd their Crimes, and Pardon'd " themselves. 'Tis plain then that *Majorinus* withdrew from the Church, and that those were the " Ring-leaders of the *Donatists* who separated themselves, and deliver'd up the Holy Books". After *Optatus* has thus prov'd that the *Donatists* were the Authors of the Schism which divided *Africk*, he shows by the Example of *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, that there is no Crime greater, or which deserves a more severe Punishment than Schism: But not contenting himself with convicting the *Donatists*, he undertakes also to justifie *Cæcilian*; and proves that he was Innocent by the Judgment of the Council of *Rome*, which Condemn'd *Donatus*, and declar'd *Cæcilian* Innocent. He observes that the Ring-leaders of the *Donatists* had themselves desir'd Judges of *Constantine*, and that the Emperour had answer'd them in great Passion, *Do ye desire Judges of me, of me who am waiting for the Judgment of Heaven?* He shows, That nevertheless, he gave them for Judges, *Maternus* Bishop of *Cologne* *Rheticius* Bishop of *Autun*, and *Marinus* Bishop of *Arles*; which Judges came to *Rome*, and there held a Council with *Miltiades*, and Fifteen Italian Bishops: That *Donatus* was there condemn'd upon the Confession that he made of having re-baptiz'd and re-ordain'd the Bishops which yielded in the time of Persecution; That the Witnesses which he had produc'd against *Cæcilian* having declar'd they had nothing to say against him, he was sent back acquitted by the Sentence of all the Bishops, and of *Miltiades* who concluded this Judgment: That the *Donatists* having appeal'd to the Emperour, he cry'd out aloud, *O strange Fury! They appeal from us, as if we had given a Pagan Sentence.* That the Emperour detain'd *Cæcilian* at *Bressia* by the Sollicitation of *Filuminus* a Partisan of *Donatus*. That there were sent into *Africk* two Bishops, *Eunomius* and *Olympus*, to declare where the Catholick Church was; That being come to *Carthage*, they were hindred from doing it by the Seditious Party of *Donatus*; That these two Bishops made Oath in favour of *Cæcilian*; That *Donatus* came first to *Carthage* and *Cæcilian* follow'd him, after he had been declar'd Innocent by many Judgments. There remain'd now nothing more for *Optatus* to do, but to Vindicate *Felix* of *Aptungis*, who Ordain'd *Cæcilian*, from the Calumny of being a Traditor, which he proves by the Information that *Elianus* the Pro-consul had given about this Matter, who after a most strict Enquiry into it, had declar'd him Innocent of this Crime.

The Second Book of *Optatus* is concerning the Church. There he supposes as an uncontested Principle, That there is but one only Church, which Jesus Christ calls his Spouse and his Dove. This Principle being suppos'd, he proves that the Party of the *Donatists* were not the Catholick Church; because from thence it would follow, that the Church had perish'd in all other parts of the World, and was enclosed in a little Corner of *Africk*; which was contrary to the Signification of the Catholick Church, that signifies a Society spread over all the Earth. He adds for Confirmation of this Truth, That those who shut up the Church within such narrow bounds defeated the Promise of Jesus Christ; that they straitned the Extent of God's Mercy, and gave the Lye to the Holy Spirit who has spoken by the Prophets. After he has made use of this general Reason against the *Donatists*, he proves that the Signs of the True Church do not in the least agree to them. The first of those Signs is the Chair, that is, the Succession of Bishops. He says to *Parmenianus*, That he cannot be ignorant of this Sign of the True Church; " For you cannot deny, says he, but St. *Peter*, the Chief of the Apostles, esta- " blish'd an Episcopal Chair at *Rome*; This Chair was one, that all others might preserve Unity by " the Union they had with it; So that whosoever set up a Chair against it, was a Schismatick and an " Offender. 'Twas then in this one Chair, which is the first Sign of the Church, that St. *Peter* first " sate; to St. *Peter* succeeded St. *Linus*, and after him others till *Damasus*, who is now our Collegue: " by whose means, all the Churches of the World are United with us in the same Communion, keeping " Correspondence by Circular Letters. As to your Party, which would willingly be thought to be the " Church, enquire after the Original of your Chair. You tell us, That you are a Part of the Roman " Church, but this is a branch of your Error, which proceeds from the Root of Falshood, and not " from the Stock of Truth. If *Macrobius* be ask'd in what Chair he Sits, can he say, That it is in the " Chair of St. *Peter*, which perhaps he never saw; for certainly he never went to the Sepulchre of the " Apostles. He is disobedient to the Command of the Apostle, who would have us Communicate to " the Memory of the Saints; and the Relicks of the two Apostles, St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* are in the " Church of *Rome*. Tell me, I pray you, if ever he could enter there, if ever he could offer in the Place " where these Relicks are certainly kept. *Macrobius*, your Brother, must then confess, That he sate " in the Place where *Eucolpius* held the See; and if we could ask *Eucolpius*, he must say, That he " succeeded to *Boniface* of *Balli*, and *Boniface* to one *Victor Garbiensis*, whom ye sent from *Africk*. " This *Victor* is a Son without a Father, a Disciple without a Master, a Successor without a Predecessor,

" a Pastor

" a Pastor without a Flock, a Bishop without a People. For we cannot call them a Flock or a People
" who were so few, that they had not one of the Forty Churches at *Rome* to keep their Assemblies in, St. *Optatus*
" and who were oblig'd to shut themselves up in a Cave without the City, to keep their Conventicle there". *Optatus* does not enlarge so much on the other Signs of the Church that are very obscure, but he insists particularly upon its Extent. " Wherefore, says he, would you Unchurch an infinite Number of " Christians that are in the East and the West; You are but a small Number of Rebels who have op-" pos'd all the Churches of the World, with which ye have no Communion: You are also convicted of " Falsehood, by the Sacrifices which ye offer; for I believe that you do not omit the Solemn Prayer " that is made at these Sacrifices; I doubt not but you will say, That you offer Sacrifice for that " Church which is one, and scatter'd over all the Earth. Now this Prayer convicts you of a Lye, for " how can you offer Sacrifice for one only Church, since you have divided it into two? How can you " offer for the whole Church, since you are not within the Catholick Church?

Parmenianus objected to the Catholicks, That they had exercis'd Violence and Persecution against them, and concluded from thence that they could not be the true Church, because that ought never to be cruel, nor to feed it self with the Flesh and Blood of the Saints. *Optatus* answers him, That the Church had never Persecuted them, and that he could Name none of the Church that had done it. He retorts this Charge upon the *Donatists*, by observing that in the time of the Emperour *Constantine* the Church enjoy'd a profound Peace, and all its Members liv'd in wonderful Union; That then Pagans were forbidden to exercise their Sacrilegious Ceremonies, then the Devil groan'd in their Temples where he was shut up, and then the *Donatists* were banish'd into Foreign Countries, lest they should disturb the Peace of the Church: But no sooner was *Julian* declar'd Emperour, but they begg'd his leave to return into their own Country, which he granted them very willingly, knowing that they were most fit to trouble the Peace of the Church. He observes, That the same Edict by which he open'd the Pagan Temples, he also restor'd Liberty to them; That they had not so soon obtain'd it; but that they exercis'd horrible Violences in *Africk*. He accuses the *Donatists* of tearing the Members of the Church, of driving away the Bishops, of invading the Churches, of committing Murders, of killing two Deacons at the feet of the Altars, of rending Mens Garments, of dragging the Women, stifling the Children; and in fine, of violating every thing that was most Sacred. *Your Bishops*, says he, *cause the Eucharist to be thrown to the Dogs, and presently the Tokens of God's Anger appear; for the Dogs being enrag'd, turn'd upon their Masters, and tore them as if they had been Thieves whom they never knew, the Justice of God making use of their Teeth to revenge this Sacrilege. They also caus'd a Bottle full of holy Oil to be thrown out at a Window, on purpose to break it: But though it was cast down from a very high place, yet being supported by Angels, it fell upon the Stones without breaking.* He accuses also a Bishop of their Party nam'd *Felix*, of abusing a Virgin to whom himself had given the Veil, and of having afterwards depriv'd an ancient Catholick Bishop, 62 Years old, of his Bishoprick, and put him under Penance. Here he makes a Digression about the Vanity of the *Donatists*, who boasted themselves to be Holy and Innocent. *Whence comes this Sanctity of yours*, says he, *which the Apostle St.* John *durst not attribute to himself, seeing he says, If we say that we have no Sin, we deceive our selves, and the truth is not in us? He that speaks after this manner, does prudently referr himself to the Mercy of God; for a Christian may desire Good, and endeavour to walk in the way of Salvation, but he cannot be perfect of himself: For though he does run, yet there will always remain something to be done by God to perfect him; and 'tis necessary that he should help a Man in his Weakness, for he is Perfection, and there was never any but Jesus Christ the Son of God who was perfect: all other Men are imperfect. It belongs to us to will and to run, but God only can give Perfection. Jesus Christ has not given us perfect Holiness, but has only promis'd it.* *Optatus* afterwards returns to his Subject, and goes on to charge the *Donatists* with the Crimes and Sacrileges which they had committed, and accuses them of exorcising and washing the Walls of Churches, of breaking down the Altars, of throwing the Eucharist to Dogs, of making the People Swear by their Name, of shaving the Bishops, and putting them under Penance, of sparing neither Priests, Deacons, nor the Faithful, of reproaching the Innocent, and putting Christians against their will under Penance; and in fine, of doing an infinite number of things against Piety and Christian Charity.

In the Third Book, *Optatus* vindicates the Church from those Violences of which it was accus'd. In the first place, he says, That if some of those Violences were committed by *Macarius*'s Order, the Predecessors of the *Donatists*, gave occasion to them, because their Seditious Behaviour, oblig'd the Governour to call for Aid, which they no sooner saw come to him, but they presently fled of themselves; and that none but those that were most obstinate had been Banished. But then he maintains, That the Church did not contribute to this Persecution in the least; and that there was nothing of all this done by Her Advice; that she neither wish'd for it, nor knew of it, nor contributed any thing towards it; but the Justice of God alone, had sent this Persecution upon the *Donatists*, to revenge the Dishonour they had done to the Waters of Baptism. Here *Optatus* makes a very obscure Digression concerning Baptism and the Church. And afterwards returning to his Subject, he says, That *Paul* and *Macarius*, were not sent by *Constantine*, to Persecute the *Donatists*, but to carry Alms; That *Donatus* being transported with Rage, demanded of them with unsupportable Pride, what the Emperour had in common with the Church: " That from that time he carried on a Design " of doing Injury to the Kings and Princes of the Earth, contrary to the Precept of St. *Paul*, who com-" mands us to pray for them, that we may lead a quiet Life; *For*, says *Optatus*, *the State is not in the* " *Church, but the Church in the State*; that is, in the *Roman* Empire. Thus St. *Paul* had reason to " say, That we must pray for Kings, even when they made Profession of Paganism: But how much " more reason have we to show respect to a Christian Prince, one that is Religious and Fears God,

St *Optatus.* " and has ſent Alms to the Poor. Wherefore then was *Donatus* tranſported with Fury? Where-
" fore did he refuſe the Alms which the Emperour ſent? His Officers ſaid, That they were come to
" diſtribute Alms in all the Provinces, to thoſe that would receive them; and *Donatus* told them,
" That he had written to all places, forbidding them to receive them. Does this look as if he took
" Care of thoſe that are in Miſery, or would relieve the Neceſſities of the Poor? God hath ſaid, *'Tis I*
" *that make Rich and Poor.* Can he not then give Riches to the Poor? Yes, but if he had given them
" to all the World, then ſinners had wanted the means of expiating their Faults; for 'tis written,
" *That as Water quenches Fire, ſo does an Alms expiate Sin.* This being ſo, What Judgment ſhould
" we give of him that would give to the Poor, and him that would hinder the giving? What would
" *Donatus* anſwer, if God ſhould ask him, O Biſhop, What do you think of *Conſtantine?* Do you
" take him for an Innocent Man, or a Sinner? If you believe him to be an Innocent Man, Why do
" ye not then receive the Preſents of an Innocent Man? And if you believe him to be a Sinner, Why
" do ye not then permit him to give Alms, ſince 'tis for the Sinner that I have made the Poor?
Optatus adds, That *Donatus* had join'd with his Pride, a pitileſs Diſpoſition: That he would be conſider'd as the Prince and Sovereign of *Carthage*; That he exalted himſelf above the Emperour, *tho' there is nothing above the Emperour, but God only who makes Kings*; That he deſpis'd his Brethren, and would not receive their Oblations; That he made thoſe of his Party Swear by his Name, as if he had been God, and that he would have them carry his Name, inſtead of that of Jeſus Chriſt. In the following Part of this Diſcourſe, he proves, That the *Donatiſts* had not only brought upon themſelves Perſecution, by their Pride, and the Contempt they had teſtified of the Emperour; but alſo that 'twas they who had begun the War. That 'twas *Donatus* of *Bagaïs*, who had firſt gather'd together a Multitude of Seditious Perſons, whom he call'd *Agnoſticks* or *Circumcellians*, to hinder *Paul* and *Macarius* from diſtributing their Alms. *Optatus*, deſcribes the horrible Outrages of theſe deſperate Fellows, and ſhews, That the Souldiers who came only to put a ſtop to theſe Diſorders, being attack'd by theſe Madmen, were oblig'd to defend themſelves, and to beat them: That the Church nevertheleſs had no Hand in this, and that the Seditious could attribute it to none but themſelves. He proceeds further, and ſhews, That they did juſtly ſuffer thoſe Miſchiefs, becauſe they broke the Unity of the Church; That the Perſecution which they endured, was an Evil that was neceſſary for procuring the Good of Peace and Union; That this Proceeding againſt them, was Authoriz'd by the Examples of *Moſes*, who put to Death 3000 Men, for Worſhipping the Golden Calf; Of *Phinehas*, who kill'd Two Perſons for violating the Law of God in committing Adultery; and of *Elias*, who put to Death 450 Falſe Prophets. The *Donatiſts* anſwer'd to theſe Inſtances, That we muſt put a great Difference between the Spirit of the Old Teſtament, and that of the New; That Jeſus Chriſt had forbidden in the Goſpel, the uſe of the Sword, when St. *Peter* drew it to cut off *Malchus*'s Ear. *Optatus* maintains to the contrary, That this Prohibition reſpected only the Time and Circumſtances of that Action of St. *Peter*; That Jeſus Chriſt was come to ſuffer, and not to defend himſelf; That if St. *Peter* had compaſs'd what he deſign'd, Mankind had not been deliver'd by the Death of the Meſſias: But as diſtruſting the Truth of this firſt Anſwer, which indeed is not very Solid, becauſe the Advice of Jeſus Chriſt, is general; he trys another Anſwer, and maintains, That *Macarius* did not uſe the Sword as St. *Peter* did, and that he was not the Author of any Perſecution like that of the Pagan Emperours; That he would only oblige Chriſtians to go all into the Church and Pray unto one and the ſame God in the Spirit of Peace and Unity; That thoſe who ſuffer'd on this occaſion were not Martyrs, ſince they had not Charity, without which, none can be crown'd; That this cannot paſs for a Perſecution againſt the Church, but for a juſt puniſhment of ſome Perſons that were refractary to the Church. He objects to the *Donatiſts*, their obliging ſome Catholicks to call themſelves ſtill Pagans, that they might re-baptize them. He obſerves, That they had ſpread about a Report when *Paul* and *Macarius* came into *Africk*; That thoſe two Officers were to ſet up an Image of the Emperour upon the Altar at the time of Offering Sacrifice, but there was nothing done like it; That even thoſe of their own Party who were preſent at the Sacrifices, had acknowledg'd that 'twas a Calumny, and that they ſaw nothing but the ordinary Ceremonies of the Church: In ſhort, That there was nothing chang'd, nothing diminiſh'd, or added to the Sacrifice. He returns again to *Macarius*, and propoſes to himſelf this Objection: If the Catholicks had not approv'd the Action of *Macarius*, they ſhould have excommunicated him, which they did not do, and therefore are guilty of his Crime. He anſwers, That *Macarius* being no Biſhop, they did not Communicate with him, as one Biſhop does with other Biſhops, and by conſequence the Clergy could not be profan'd by his Communion, becauſe a Lay-man has no right to Preach or to Teach, whereas a Biſhop ſpeaks to the People with Authority, beginning his Diſcourſe, and ending it always with the Name of God. The *Donatiſts*, add, That *Macarius* ought not ſo much as to Communicate with Lay-men. *Optatus*, anſwers, That being a Miniſter of the Will of God, and diſcharging the Office of a Judge, who has Secular Authority in his Hand, the Church ought not to Excommunicate him; That moreover what he had done, might be defended by the Examples of *Moſes* and *Phinehas*; but in ſhort, That tho' we ſhould confeſs that *Macarius* was Guilty, yet the Church could not Excommunicate him who was never accus'd; That there was no Accuſer found, neither had he confeſs'd his Crime, and therefore the Eccleſiaſtical Judges could not condemn him, ſince it was forbidden to one and the ſame Perſon to be both Accuſer and Judge at the ſame time.

In the Fourth Book, he refutes the *Donatiſts* for ſaying that the Catholicks were ſuch Sinners, that we ſhould ſhun their Sacrifices, as it is ſaid in *Iſaiah*, ch. 66. and that we ſhould not receive their Unction, as it is in *Pſal.* 140. *Optatus*, after he has given this Caution in his Introduction, that Men ought not mutually to condemn one another, but to wait for the Judgment of God; and after having

having exhorted them to receive the Title of Brethren, which the Catholicks are willing to bestow upon them, he proves that those Accusations which they draw up against the Church, are rather applicable to themselves, than to the Catholicks. For proof of this, he sets down all the Characters of a wicked Man, which are given in *Psal.* 49. *God hath said unto the wicked, Why do they preach my Precepts? Why do they open their Mouth to speak of my Law? Ye that hate Discipline, and have cast my Words behind you? You sit and speak against your Brother. If you see a Thief, you run along with him, and have made your self the Companion of Adulterers.* He shews, That the *Donatists* cannot excuse themselves from these Crimes; that *they hate Discipline*, since they shun Peace, since they re-baptize, and rob the Bishops of their Priesthood: That they *Preach in their Pulpits against their Brethren*; because under pretence of preaching the Gospel they speak injurious Words against Catholicks, and inspire those with hatred against them who hear their Sermons; That they endeavour to perswade them that according to the Apostolical Injunction, they should shun them, they should not Salute them, nor wish them good Morrow, tho' all this is to be understood only of Hereticks, whose Discourse creeps like a Serpent; *that they joyn themselves with Thieves*, since they correspond with the Devil to extirpate one part of the Flock of Jesus Christ. He describes this after a very pleasant manner. "All "Men, says he, that come into the World, tho' they be born of Christian Parents, are fill'd with an "unclean Spirit, which must be driven away by Baptism: This is done by the Exorcism which "drives away this Spirit, and makes it fly into remote places. After this, the Heart of Man becomes "a most pure Habitation. God enters and dwells there, according to that of the Apostle, *We are "the Temple of God.* When therefore ye re-baptize Men, and exorcise them anew, and when ye "say, *O accurs'd come forth of this Man*, 'tis to God that ye speak after this manner, you drive "him disgracefully out of this Man, and the Devil re-enters into his Heart. This place of *Optatus* is very expres for proving Original Sin, and the Antiquity of Exorcisms. At last, *Optatus* shows, That the *Donatists* render themselves Companions of Adulterers, because they separate from the Church, which is the only lawful Spouse of Jesus Christ, to unite themselves with Adulterers. He comes afterwards to the second Passage taken out of *Psal.* 140. *Let not the Oyl of the wicked anoint my Head*; and he observes, That this should only be applied to Jesus Christ, and that it is a Prayer, and not a Precept; a Wish, and not a Command. Then he explains also two other Passages which *Parmenianus* had quoted against the Catholicks, and shews, that the First is to be understood of Adulterers or Hereticks; and the Second, of Jews, and that neither the one nor the other is applicable to Catholicks. St. *Optatus.*

In the Fifth Book, *Optatus* proves, That the *Donatists* commit a great Crime, in reiterating Baptism, which Jesus Christ has commanded to be given but once only. He approves of the Commendations which *Parmenianus* has given this Sacrament, by saying, *That it is the Life of Vertue, the Death of Crimes, the Immortal Birth, the means of obtaining the Kingdom of Heaven, the Port of Innocence, and the Shipwrack of Sins.* But he adds, That 'tis not he who gives this Sacrament of Baptism, that conferrs these Graces, but the Faith of him that receives it and the Virtue of the Trinity; and consequently, that Baptism is not to be reiterated, which is administred in the Name of the Trinity. He has also here a most Remarkable Reflection about the Rule which we should Consult in all Ecclesiastical Controversies. "We ask, says he, if it be lawful to repeat Baptism "given in the Name of the Trinity? Ye maintain, That it is lawful; we say, That it is forbidden. "The People are in suspence, between your affirming and our denying the same thing, and they "can neither believe you nor us, for we are all fallible Men: Let us then search after Judges in this "Case. But where are they to be found? If they be Christians, they are either of your Party or "ours, and by consequence cannot be Judges of our Difference. We must then enquire after a Judge "out of Christendom. But then if he be a Pagan, he understands not our Mysteries; if he be a "Jew, he is an Enemy to the Baptism of Christians. There cannot therefore be found any Judge "upon Earth, but we must seek for one in Heaven. But why should we have recourse to Heaven, "since we have the Testament of our Father upon Earth? Let us search after his Will in the Gospel, "which will inform us, that he who has been once wash'd, needs not to be wash'd again. Where-"fore, adds he, we do not re-baptize those who have been baptiz'd, when they return again to us. He proves also, That it ought not to be done, because there is but one Faith, one Jesus Christ, and one Sacrament of Baptism: That there are three Things to be consider'd in this Sacrament, the Trinity, the Faith of him that receives it, and the Person that administers it: That the Trinity is the first Thing of absolute necessity, without which there can be no Sacrament at all; That the Faith of him that receives the Sacrament, is the second Thing, which is no less necessary, because it ought always to be the same; but then there is not the same Necessity that the Minister should be Faithful and Just, because the Ministers are chang'd every day, and it is Jesus Christ who baptizes, and the Minister ought not to attribute to himself the Effect of the Sacrament which is owing to God only; and in short, because the Sacraments are Holy, and do Sanctify by themselves, tho' the Holiness of the Minister do not contribute to it. *Optatus* proves this Truth by many Reasons, and many Testimonies. He observes by the bye, That those who had been baptiz'd by *John*, before Jesus Christ instituted Baptism, were not re-baptiz'd; but those who were baptiz'd, after Jesus Christ had instituted Baptism, have been re-baptiz'd. At last, he endeavours to prove, That the Faith of him that receives Baptism, is necessary to the validity of this Sacrament, which must be understood of Adult Persons only.

The Sixth Book is written against the Impieties and Sacrileges of the *Donatists*, who had broken, cut in pieces, raz'd, and overturn'd the Altars of the Catholicks; Those Altars, says *Optatus*, which have born the Offerings of the People, and the Members of Jesus Christ, upon which the Almighty

God

God has been invok'd, upon which the Holy Spirit has descended, where the Faithful have receiv'd
St *Optatus*. the earnest of eternal Salvation, the Support of their Faith, and the Hopes of a blessed Resurrection; those Altars upon which we are forbidden to offer any other Offerings, but those of Peace. For what is the Altar, but the place where the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are laid? "What hath Jesus Christ "done to you, says he further to the *Donatists*, that you should destroy the Altars on which he rests "at certain times? Why do ye break the Sacred Tables where Jesus Christ makes his abode? Ye have "imitated the Crime of the Jews, for as they put Jesus Christ to Death upon the Cross, so ye have "beaten him upon these Altars. If ye believ'd that the Eucharist of the Catholicks is Sacrilegious, yet "at least ye should have some respect to the former Offerings that your selves have made upon these "Altars. Upon this occasion, *Optatus* puts a very pleasant Objection to them: All the Faithful "know, says he, that Linen Clothes are laid upon the Altars, for the Celebration of the Holy My-"steries. The Eucharist does not touch the Wood of the Altar, but only the Linen Clothes: Why "then do ye break? Why do ye scrape? Why do ye burn the Wood of the Altar? If the Impurity "can pass through the Linen, Why cannot it penetrate the Wood, nay, and the Ground also? If there-"fore ye scrape off something from the Altars because they are impure, I advise you also to dig into "the Ground, and there to make a great Ditch, that ye may offer in a most pure Place: But take "heed that ye do not dig down to Hell, where ye will find your Masters, *Corah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*." So pleasantly does *Optatus* ridicule the folly of the *Donatists*. But from this Raillery, he quickly passes to most bloody Accusations. "Ye have also redoubled your Sacrileges in breaking the Chalices, "which carried the Bloody of Jesus Christ; ye have melted them down to make Ingots of Gold or "Silver, which you have Sold in the Markets to every one indifferently, that offer'd to buy them: "Sacrilegious Persons as you are, you have not shown the least respect to those Chalices, wherein "you your selves have offer'd. Perhaps, infamous Women bought them for their own use. Perhaps, "the Pagans took them to make Vessels wherewith they might offer Incense to their Idols. O enor-"mous Crime! O unheard-of Impiety!" This Declamation of *Optatus*, clearly shews, what is the Reverence that we ought to pay to the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and evidently proves, that it was not consider'd merely as Bread and Wine, but that it was believ'd to be the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. The *Donatists* answer'd to these Accusations, That those Vessels having been touch'd by polluted Persons, were thereby become unclean, as 'tis said by the Prophet *Haggai*, *That which is touch'd by an impure Man, becomes unclean:* From whence they concluded, that they had reason to make no further use of them, but to consider them as common and ordinary Vessels. [As if a belief that the Eucharist was instituted for a Remembrance of the Death of Christ, and of the Benefits which we receive thereby, had not been sufficient to have commanded Reverence to those Instruments with which it was perform'd.] *Optatus* answers them, by shewing, That the Catholicks were not defil'd with any Crime; That they had not Sacrific'd to Idols; That no such Accusation could be prov'd against them; That the only thing that could render them odious to the *Donatists*, was their Love of Peace, and their endeavours after Union; That they are united by Communion with all the Churches of the World, and that they cannot be accus'd of being defil'd; but supposing that even the Catholicks were unclean, yet the Vessels which they touch'd at the Invocation of the Name of God, would not be so, because that Sacred Name, Sanctifies even that which is unclean: That the touch of an unclean Person, has less Power to render a Vessel impure, than the Invocation of God has to purify it, since 'tis the Invocation, and not the Touch that Sanctifies it.

The Second Accusation that *Optatus* makes against the *Donatists*, is their putting under Penance the Virgins Consecrated to God, and making them leave off the Signs of their former Profession, and forcing them to desire a New one, and doing violence unto them. In this place, he speaks of a little Mitre of Cloth, which they put upon their Heads, and of the Veil wherewith they cover'd them, and says, That those Ornaments were Signs that they had profess'd Virginity, and that the *Donatists*, by taking them away from those Virgins to put them under Penance, had given occasion to many Persons to Ravish and Marry them. He adds, that the *Donatists* had carried away by force the Ornaments of Churches, and the Holy Books, and that they had wash'd the Vestments, the Walls and the Floors of the Churches with Salt-Water. He laughs at their folly, and asks them, Why they wash'd the Vestments, and did not also wash the Books of the Gospel? Why they wash'd the Walls, which are only look'd upon? And why they did not also wash the Pavement of the Streets, and how they would make use of that Water wherewith the Catholicks had wash'd themselves? At last, he accuses them of invading the Cœmeteries, and hindring the Interment of the Catholicks. "Wherefore do you abuse the Dead, says he to them, that you may terrify the Living? Why do "you deny them Burial? If you have any Differences with your Brother while he is alive, yet "Death should put an End to them all. Why do you insult over him after Death? Why do you "refuse him Burial? Why do you quarrel even with the Dead? But, says he, if you could hinder "his Body from being Interr'd among other Christians, yet you cannot separate his Soul from the Com-"pany of those Holy Souls that are with Jesus Christ." At last, *Optatus* says, That the *Donatists* were so extravagantly wicked, that they corrupted all those that came over to their Party: "So those "that were Patient, says he, by going over to you, become Furious of the sudden; those that were "Faithful, become Perfidious; those that were Peaceable, become Quarrelsome; their Simplicity, is "chang'd into Cheating; their Modesty, into Impudence; their Humility, into Pride. Those who "are gone over to your Party, sollicite others to come after them, and accuse of Sloth and Stupi-"dity, all those that are yet in the Bosom of the Church, they lay Traps for them, and make them "to fall into the same precipice with themselves.

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The last Book which is commonly attributed to *Optatus*, is a Recapitulation of some Points that have been handled in other places; particularly, he refutes the Objection of the *Donatists*, who say, That they cannot re-unite themselves to the Catholicks, because they are the Sons and Successors of Traditors. The Author of this Book, extenuates as much as he can the Enormity of this Crime, and shows, that tho' it were much greater, and that those to whom the Catholick Bishops succeed were guilty of it, yet they have no share in that Guilt, neither can it be imputed to them, nor alledg'd against them as a just Cause of Separation. He shews, that we ought sometimes to suffer sinners in the Church, and to dissemble the Sins of our Brethren for the good of Peace. He observes, That there is no Man free from Sin; and that if any one were so, yet he ought not to separate from his Brethren, though they were Sinners: That the Apostles did not separate from the Communion of St. *Peter* after his Sin; but on the contrary the Keys were given him, that he being a Sinner, might open the Gates of Heaven to the Innocent, and teach those that are Innocent, that they should not shut them against Sinners. Besides these, there are many other Repetitions of what had been said by *Optatus* concerning *Macarius*, and the Persecution that he rais'd against the *Donatists*. St. *Optatus*.

Optatus at the End of his Books, had plac'd many authentick Instruments to justifie the Matters of Fact which he had propos'd against the *Donatists*; we have none of those which *Optatus* plac'd there extant, but many other Monuments concerning the History of the *Donatists* have been added to his Books.

The First is a part of the Acts of the Conference between the Catholick Bishops and the *Donatists*, held at *Carthage* by the Order of the Emperour *Honorius*, in the Year 411, which belongs to another Century.

The Second, is part of the Verbal Process made by *Zenophilus*, who had been Consul, on the 30th of *December* in the Year 320, by which it appears, That *Silvanus* who ordain'd *Majorinus*, had given up the Holy Books to the Heathens: *Zenophilus* there examines a Grammarian nam'd *Victor*, a Deacon nam'd *Castus*, and a Sub-Deacon call'd *Crescentianus*, and makes them confess, That *Silvanus* had deliver'd up the Ornaments of the Church and the Holy Books, according to the Deposition of *Nundinarius* the Deacon, who was present. He causes also the Verbal Process made in the Year 363. to be read by *Munatius Felix*, Judge of the Colony of *Cirtha*, who further confirm'd the Deposition of *Nundinarius*. The Letters written to *Silvanus* by the Bishops of his own Party are set down, wherein they reprehend him for his outrageous manner of treating his Deacon *Nundinarius*. He is accus'd also of making a Simonaical Ordination, of appropriating to his one use the Alms that were given for the Poor, and of being ordain'd himself by the Sollicitation of some Country Fellows. There are many things very remarkable in this Act: For there one may see, That at the Beginning of the 3d. Age of the Church, they us'd Chalices of Silver and Gold, Cups, Lamps and Candlesticks of Silver and Copper; That they kept in the Church Garments for the Poor; That the Readers, who were very numerous, had the Holy Books; That the Christians had a Library near the Church, where they put their Books.

The Third Record, is also part of a Verbal Process concerning the Justification of *Felix* of *Aptungis*, made by *Ælianus* the Proconsul in the Year 314, in the Month of *February*, as appears by St. *Austin*: There he examines one nam'd *Ingentius*, and Convicts him of making an Addition to a Letter of *Cæcilian*, that he might falsly accuse *Felix* of being a Traditor.

The Fourth, is a Letter of the Emperour *Constantine* to *Ablabius*; wherein he orders him to send *Cæcilian* to *Arles*, with some Bishops of his Party, as well as some of his Accusers, that he might receive Judgment from the Council which was to assemble there.

The Fifth, is a Letter from the Council of *Arles*, of which we have spoken in its place.

The Sixth, is the Letter which *Constantine* wrote against the *Donatists*, when they appeal'd to his Judgment, after they had been condemn'd in the Council of *Arles*.

The Seventh, is another Letter of the same Emperour, wherein he acquaints the Bishops of *Donatus*'s Party, That he once design'd to send Judges into *Africk*, to determine their Differences with *Cæcilian*; but that he judg'd it more proper to make him come before himself.

The Eighth, is a 4th. Letter of the same Emperour, written to *Celsus*; wherein he acquaints him, That he will quickly come into *Africk* to decide the Differences between *Donatus* and *Cæcilian* himself.

The Ninth, is a 5th. Letter of *Constantine*, where in he gives the *Donatist* Bishops leave to return into *Africk*.

The Tenth, is a 6th. Letter of this Emperour about the Cause of the *Donatists*, address'd to the Catholicks of *Africk*. He tells them, That he had done all that lay in his Power to re-establish Peace, but since the Obstinacy of some Men had fruftrated his good Intentions, they must now wait upon God only for the Remedy of this Mischief, and that till it pleas'd the Divine Mercy to remedy it, they must proceed with Moderation, and bear with Patience the Insolence of the Enemies of the Church: That they must not render Evil for Evil, since Vengeance is reserv'd to God only, and that by suffering patiently the Fury of these Insolent Men, they should certainly merit the Glory of Martyrdom. For, says he, Is not this to Fight and Conquer for God, to bear with Patience the Outrages and Injuries of the Enemies of God's People? At last he assures the Catholicks, That if they observe this Method, they will quickly see their Enemies Party weakned, and that God will give Grace to many to acknowledge their Error and do Penance.

The following Letter is a further Indication of the Meekness of this Emperour, and the Moderation of the Catholicks. The *Donatists* had invaded the Church which *Constantine* had caus'd to be built in *Constantina* a City of *Numidia*; which the Catholicks demanded back again, but they refus'd it.

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St. *Optatus.* The Catholicks to avoid all further Contention, pray'd the Emperour to give them a Place in the Dependances of his Demeſnes thereabouts, where they might Build another Church: To which *Conſtantine* anſwer'd, That he did not only grant their Deſire, but he had alſo written to the Receiver of his Revenues to furniſh them with ſo much Money as was neceſſary for the Building of this Church. In this Letter he praiſes the Moderation of the Catholicks, and condemns the Obſtinacy of the *Donatiſts*; and ordains, That the Laws which he had made for Exemption of the Clergy from all Publick Taxes, ſhould be put in Execution.

The laſt of theſe Records, which are added to the Books of *Optatus*, is a Fragment of the Acts of the Paſſion of the Saints *Dativus*, *Saturnius*, *Felix*, *Ampelius*, and of ſome other African Martyrs, made in the time of *Anulinus*, and written by a *Donatiſt*. This Piece contains ſome part of the Calumnies of the *Donatiſts* againſt *Menſurius* and *Cæcilian*. The Author of theſe Acts accuſes them of hindring the Faithful from carrying Food to the Chriſtians that were in Priſon, and of beating them back with blows of Whips and Cudgels: He adds, That theſe Martyrs would never communicate with *Menſurius*, nor *Cæcilian*, becauſe they had deliver'd up the Holy Books to the Heathens, and that the Church of Chriſt being Holy, ought not to hold Communion with thoſe that are defil'd with a Crime of this heinous Nature. At laſt, he ſays, That thoſe Martyrs who wanted Food by the Cruelty of *Menſurius* and *Cæcilian*, died of Famine in Priſon, and went to Heaven there to receive the Crown of Martyrdom.

The Stile of *Optatus*'s Books is noble, vehement and cloſe, but not enough Polite or Neat. He preſſes briskly upon thoſe againſt whom he Diſputes, and deſcribes very ſenſibly the Tranſactions which he relates, and explains the Paſſages which he produces with a great deal of Wit. He gives his Thoughts a fine and delicate turn, his Expreſſions ſignifie very perfectly what he means to ſay; his Reaſonings are ſubtile, and his Relations pleaſant. In a word, It appears that the Author of this little Book, was Maſter of much Learning and Wit. The Doctrine which he teaches is, and always will be of much uſe to the Church: for there is not the ſame Reaſon of thoſe Queſtions which concern the Truth of the Church, as of thoſe that concern only ſome particular Doctrines. Theſe continue only ſo long as the Sect ſubſiſts which oppoſes theſe Doctrines; and the Books which treat of them become almoſt uſeleſs whenever the Hereſie is extinct. But all Hereſies, all Schiſms having one common Principle, of oppoſing the Church, the Books which are written in its Defence, are contrary to all Hereſies, and will be uſeful as long as there ſhall be any Hereticks in the World whoſoever they be. The Books of *Optatus* teach us alſo a great many very remarkable particulars concerning the Hiſtory of the *Donatiſts*: We find in them many Points of Doctrine, and we may obſerve many things which clear up the ancient Diſcipline. He ſays, That all Chriſtians have but one Faith and one Creed. He explains the chief Myſteries in a moſt Orthodox manner. He ſhows, That there neither is, nor can be any more but one Catholick Church ſpread over all the Earth, that it cannot be ſhut up in a ſmall Part of the World: That this Church is made up of Biſhops, Prieſts, Deacons, Miniſters, and thoſe that are meerly the Faithful. He obſerves, That the Biſhops are above the Prieſts, as the Prieſts are above the Deacons: He conſiders the Church of *Rome* as the chief Church in the World, and as the Centre of Unity, becauſe of St. *Peter*, who was the Head of the Apoſtles: He ſays, That Man by Nature is Weak and Imperfect, and therefore has need of the Grace of Jeſus Chriſt to make him Perfect; That we are all Born in Sin, and that Baptiſm is neceſſary to obtain Remiſſion of it; That when the Sacrament is given in the Name of the Trinity, it ought not to be reiterated: and yet he ſeems to think that we ought to re-baptize thoſe who were baptiz'd by Hereticks; but he does not make the ſame determination for thoſe who were baptiz'd by Schiſmaticks. He mentions Exorciſm with Commendation, as a neceſſary Ceremony at Baptiſm; He ſpeaks of Chriſm alſo as a Holy Thing, and of the Unction that was us'd at Baptiſm. He expreſſes himſelf in ſo plain terms about the Real Preſence of the Body and Blood of Chriſt in the Euchariſt, and about the Adoration that's due to this Holy Sacrament, that nothing can be deſir'd more expreſs. He obſerves many Ceremonies at the Celebration of the Euchariſt, to which he gives the Name of a Sacrifice; and it appears by what he ſays of it, That in his time they offer'd Sacrifice for the whole Catholick Church, and then they recited the Lord's-Prayer; That the Celebration of it was upon an Altar of Wood, which was adorn'd and cover'd with a Linen-Cloth for the greater reſpect; That they then uſed Chalices of Gold and Silver, and alſo had Ornaments. He ſays, That the Church has Judges; That ſhe puniſhes Crimes; That ſhe exacts Penances of thoſe that confeſs their Sins, or are convicted of them. He praiſes Virginity, and yet he ſays, That there is no obligation to it upon thoſe that have not made a Vow. He obſerves, That in his time, this Vow was made Solemnly by the Virgins who dedicated themſelves to God; and that they carried a ſmall covering upon their Head, which was the Sign of the Vow they had made. He teſtifies ſufficiently the reſpect that was paid in his time for the Relicks of the Saints, when he ſpeaks of the Sepulchre of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and ſpeaking of *Lucilla*, he blames thoſe that honour'd the Relicks of falſe Martyrs, which were not own'd by the Church.

The only Error that can be obſerv'd in the Books of *Optatus* is, That he maintains that thoſe who had been baptiz'd with *John*'s Baptiſm, before the Inſtitution of Chriſt's Baptiſm, were not re-baptiz'd [See *Acts* xix. 1--5.] We may add to this, what he ſays of reiterating the Baptiſm of Hereticks, and perhaps alſo what he propoſes about the Power of Free will, to which he ſeems to give the Power of willing and beginning a Good Action, and alſo of advancing in the Way of Salvation, without the help of the Grace of Chriſt, but theſe Errors are light and pardonable. One may alſo reprehend in his Book the Allegorical way in which he explains many Paſſages of Holy Scripture, by giving them a ſence very remote from that which they naturally have, and by applying them to thoſe things with which they have no affinity. This Fault which would be tolerable in a Preacher, ſeems not to be

pardonable

pardonable in an Author who writes a Treatise of Controverse, wherein all Proofs should be solid and convincing. But *Optatus* had to do with such Enemies as us'd the same way, who perverted Passages of Scripture, to Calumniate the Church, and commend their own Sect. St. *Optatus.*

The Text of *Optatus* is much corrupted in many places. It was printed at *Mentz*, in the Year 1549. with many Faults. Afterwards *Balduinus* a Learned Civilian, publish'd it at *Paris*, in 1563. revised by a Manuscript which was communicated to him by *Espencæus*, and corrected in many places. He prefixes to it a large Preface against *Calvin*, wherein he refutes the Conclusion that this Heretick had drawn from the History of *Optatus*, That Princes were lawful Judges in Matters of Religion; and at the same time he discovers a great many stupid Mistakes and gross Errors that he had propos'd. He thought it not proper to prefix this Preface to the Second Edition of *Optatus*, which he caus'd to be printed at *Paris* in 1569, together with *Victor Uticensis*, after he had revis'd and corrected it by a Manuscript. 'Twas by this Edition that *Commelinus* made his in the Year 1599. The Annotations of this famous Civilian upon *Optatus*, are most learned and curious, and they perfectly clear the History of the *Donatists*; but they are so long, that they may rather pass for a Commentary than for Notes. In 1631. *Albaspinæus* caus'd the Books of *Optatus* to be printed in One Volume in *Folio*, with short Notes, and large Observations, which he added to the Annotations of *Balduinus*, and some Notes of an unknown Author. He added the Records of which we have spoken already, together with the History of the Conference of *Carthage*, publish'd by *Balduinus*, and the excellent Observations which he made in French and Latin about the Discipline of the Church. In the same Year 1631. *Meric Casaubon* printed in a little Volume the Text of *Optatus* at *London*, with most Judicious Critical Notes. At last, *Philippus Priorius* took care to make a new Impression of this Author at *Paris* by the Widow of *Dupuis*. In 1679, they put in this Edition the Prefaces of *Balduinus*, the Notes of *Albaspinæus*, *Casaubon* and *Barthius*, and those of the unknown Author: *Priorius* also added some, which he put before the others, though they do not deserve such an honourable place. After this follow'd the Commentary of *Balduinus*, and the Observations of *Albaspinæus* upon *Optatus*, the Conference of *Carthage*, and the other pieces of which we have spoken. The History of the Conference of *Carthage*, written by *Balduinus*, is the last Discourse in this Volume, which has some affinity with the Books of *Optatus*. After so many Editions and Commentaries, one would think that this Author were become most correct and plain: and yet 'tis not so, for the Text is still very much corrupted; there are many places that still want to be clear'd up and restor'd. The Notes of *Balduinus* do indeed enlighten the History; but he is mistaken in many passages of it, as *Valesius* has plainly prov'd in his learned Dissertation of the Schism of the *Donatists*. The Notes and Observations of *Albaspinæus* explain some points of Discipline, but they are not always just. Those of *Meric Casaubon*, are the best for understanding of the Text; but those of *Barthius* and others, are not very valuable: The learned *Rigaltius*, after he had publish'd *Tertullian*, *Minutius* and St. *Cyprian*, design'd to publish *Optatus*: And it may be presum'd, that as he was a very able Critick, very well vers'd in the *African* Antiquities, and in the Knowledge of Manuscripts, he would have made considerable Corrections, and restor'd the Text of *Optatus* in many places: But he dyed before he had undertaken this Work. I shall be able perhaps to undertake it, and to publish the Text of *Optatus* revis'd by many Manuscripts, more correct than any hitherto published.

ACACIUS *of* Cæsarea.

ACACIUS Sirnam'd *One-Ey'd*, because he look'd a squint, Succeeded in the Year 338. to his Master *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palæstine*. He joyn'd himself to the *Eusebians*, and came to *Sardica* with them: He was one of those against whom the Council of the Western Bishops, that was held in that City, pronounc'd the Sentence of Deposition. Being return'd into the East, he had some Differences with *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, and in hatred of this Saint, he separated himself from the *Semi-Arians* and joyn'd with the *Anomæans*, whom he defended stoutly at the Councils of *Seleucia* and *Constantinople*; but he quickly repented of taking their part, and having got *Meletius* Ordain'd, and many other Bishops, whose Doctrine was Catholick, he re-united himself to them, and sign'd the Creed of the *Nicene* Council in the Council of the Eastern Bishops that was held at *Antioch*, under the Reign of *Jovian*. He dyed towards the Year 366. He compos'd many Books before he was Bishop, and wrote a Book against *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, a Fragment whereof is quoted by *Epiphanius* in *Hæres.* 72. Some time after he was Bishop, he wrote the Life of *Eusebius* his Predecessor and Master as *Socrates* testifies, *Ch.* 4. *B.* II. of his History. St. *Jerom* says, That he wrote seventeen Volumes of Commentaries upon Scripture, Seven Volumes about several Questions, and many other Treatises upon different Subjects. This Author had much Wit and Learning, but he several times chang'd his Opinion and Language as he was mov'd by Interest or Passion. *Acacius* of *Cæsarea.*

PHOTINUS.

Photinus.

PHOTINUS Biſhop of *Sirmium*, was originally of *Galatia*. When he was Deacon and Diſciple of *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, he follow'd ſome of his Errors: He did not diſtinguiſh the Perſon of the Word from the Perſon of the Father, and ſaid, That we ought not to give him the Name or Title of the Son of God, before he was born of *Mary* [a]: He had hardly diſcover'd his Error [b], but it was condemn'd by the Biſhops of the Eaſt, in a Council held at *Antioch* in the Year 345, and by the Biſhops of the Weſt in the Council of *Milan* in 346. Theſe laſt aſſembled two Years after at *Sirmium* to depoſe him, but they could not compaſs their Deſign, becauſe of the Oppoſition that was made by the People of that City, and therefore they were contented to draw up a Sentence againſt him, and to write of it to the Biſhops of the Eaſt: But at laſt, the Eaſtern Biſhops being aſſembled at *Sirmium* in the Year 351, when the Emperour *Conſtantius* was Maſter of this City, after the Defeat of *Vetranio*----they depoſed *Photinus*, and procur'd his Baniſhment. He dyed in *Galatia* the place of his Exile, under the Reign of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, towards the Year 376. This Heretick was a great Maſter of Wit and Eloquence, was acute and ſubtle in his Reaſonings, and led an unblameable Life. He wrote many Books, but the chief of them were his Treatiſe againſt the Gentiles, and his Books addreſs'd to the Emperour *Valentinian*. St. *Epiphanius* relates in *Hæreſ.* 71. ſome Extracts of the Conference he held with *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, in the Council of *Sirmium*; and we have nothing elſe of his. *Vincentius Lirinenſis* aſſures us, That he had much Wit, Learning and Eloquence, and that he ſpoke Greek and Latin equally well, as may be ſeen, ſays he, in his Works, whereof he wrote part in Greek, and part in Latin.

[a] *He did not diſtinguiſh*, &c.] After this manner St. *Athanaſius* in his Second Apology, in his Book of Councils, and St. *Epiphanius* in *Hæreſ.* 51. explain the Error of *Photinus*. He is commonly accus'd of renewing the Errors of *Paulus Samoſatenus* and *Ebion*; but though he ſpeaks like them, yet he was not wholly of their Opinion. For he did not believe with *Ebion* and *Paulus Samoſatenus*, That Jeſus Chriſt was a mere Man; but he ſaid, That the Son of God was born of *Mary*, becauſe he did not believe that he had the Title of the Son of God, before he was born of the Virgin. He comes nearer to the Error of *Sabellius*, becauſe he did not diſtinguiſh the *Word*, before he was born of *Mary*.

[b] *He had hardly diſcover'd his Error.*] Some ſay, that he begun to publiſh it under the Reign of *Conſtantine*, which they ground upon the Authority of *Severus Sulpitius*. But *Socrates*, *B. II. Ch.* 18. and St. *Hilary* in his Book of Fragments, teſtifie, That the Error of *Photinus* was not known till a little while before the Council of *Antioch* in the Year 345. All that we have ſaid of the Hiſtory of *Photinus*, is taken out of the Fragments of St. *Hilary*, and what we have obſerv'd about his Writings, is taken out of St. *Jerom* in his Catalogue.

AETIUS *and* EUNOMIUS.

Aëtius and *Eunomius.*

THeſe two Impious Wretches deſerve not to be plac'd amongſt the Eccleſiaſtical Writers, neither ſhould we ſpeak of them here, but to condemn their Books, and their way of Writing about Religion. *Aëtius* was of *Cœloſyria*, the Son of a Souldier in the Governour's Guard. For ſome time he was a Goldſmith, but leaving that Trade, he applyed himſelf to the Study of Logick, and retir'd to the City of *Tyre*, where he put himſelf under the Diſcipline of *Paulinus* Biſhop of that City, about the Year 330. After the Death of this Biſhop, he was driven away by *Eulalius*, and forc'd to withdraw to *Anazarbus*, where he convers'd with two Diſciples of the Martyr *Lucianus*. From thence he came to *Antioch*, where he knew *Leontius*, who was afterward Biſhop of that City, and drove him away a little while after. And now not knowing where to hide his head, he ſet up for Controverſie, and diſputed publickly with very little ſucceſs againſt two Hereticks. But probably finding that this Art would not maintain him, he try'd a little at Phyſick. This is what *Philoſtorgius*, a great Admirer of *Aëtius*, relates of the Beginning of his Maſter's Life. St. *Gregory Nyſſen* paints him forth in very black Colours. He ſays, That from a Vine-Dreſſer, he became a Blackſmith, that he was Indicted in a Court of Juſtice for taking a Gold Chain from a Woman, and returning her one of the ſame form and thickneſs which was nothing but Copper gilt: That afterwards he put himſelf in the Service of a Quack, and having gain'd ſome Money with him, he ſet up for a Phyſician; and that at laſt he learn'd the Subtilties of *Ariſtotle*'s Logick, and by this means was admitted into the preſence of *Gallus Cæſar*. However it was, this is certain that *Aëtius* learn'd all the Subtilties and Sophiſtical Tricks of the *Ariſtotelian* Logick, but he was ignorant in Scripture and Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity. A Man of this Temper was very proper to advance all ſorts of Impiety, to maintain them with Impudence, and alſo to entangle thoſe that he diſputed againſt. He was Ordain'd Deacon by *Leontius* of *Antioch*, who depos'd him ſoon after. *Eudoxus* try'd in vain to reſtore him, and was hindred from doing it by the hatred which the Chriſtians of *Antioch* bore towards him. He continued nevertheleſs in this City, being in Friendſhip with *Eudoxus*, till he was baniſh'd to *Pepuza*, by the Order of the Emperour *Conſtantius*. He came to the Council of *Conſtantinople*, where he diſputed with the *Semi-Arian* Biſhops, who having detected his Impiety, rendred him odious to the Emperour, and procur'd his Baniſhment from the Palace. So that *Eudoxus*, *Acacius*, and thoſe of his own Party, were oblig'd to condemn him in the Year 360. After this Condemnation he was baniſh'd to *Mopſueſtia*, and from thence removed to *Amblada*, a Caſtle in *Phrygia*. He return'd under the Emperour *Julian*, and *Eudoxus*, who was gone

gone to the See of *Constantinople*, wrote to *Euzoius* Bishop of the *Arian* Party at *Antioch*, to receive him; and the Sentence of Condemnation pass'd against him. But *Euzoius*, not doing it very readily *Eudoxus* caus'd him to be Ordain'd Bishop, by some Bishops assembled at *Constantinople*; and soon after, *Euzoius* having assembled a Council of Nine Bishops, declar'd the Sentence null which was given against this Heretick at *Constantinople*. But at last, under the Reign of *Jovian*, *Aëtius* being abandon'd by *Eudoxus*, and the other Bishops that had maintain'd him, made a Faction by himself, and Ordain'd many Bishops for his own Party. He was forc'd in the time of the Emperour *Valens*, to retire to the Isle of *Lesbos*; and yet he died at *Constantinople*, in the Year 366. *Aëtius and Eunomius.*

The Doctrine of *Aëtius*, was the pure Doctrine of *Arius*, without disguise; but he us'd Terms and Comparisons that were very odious to explain it. He affirm'd without hesitation, That the Son of God was unlike to his Father; That he was of another Substance; That he was created of nothing: Wherefore his Disciples were call'd *Anomæans*, *Heterousians*, *Exoucontians*, Terms that denote the three Dogmes, which we just now mention'd. He affirm'd the same things of the Holy Spirit, as of the Word: He imagin'd, That God reveal'd to himself the Mysteries that were unknown to the Apostles: He affirm'd, That he had a clear and distinct Knowledge of God, and comprehended him even as he comprehends himself. He maintain'd also with *Arius*, That the word assum'd the Flesh without a Soul. His Disciples baptiz'd with one Immersion only, and in the Name of the Death of Jesus Christ, they re-baptiz'd those that came over to them, tho' they had been baptiz'd by Catholicks. Some of them are accus'd of having Taught, That the most enormous Crimes would not hinder the Salvation of those that were of their Judgment.

Aëtius, as *Theodoret* observes, made Theology an *Art of Tricks*, or *Sophistry*. He rais'd a great number of Propositions, which contain'd unanswerable difficulties in his Opinion, to destroy the Mystery of the Trinity. We have in the *Hæres. 76.* of *Epiphanius* a Libel which contains 47 Propositions of this Nature; and the same Author attesteth that *Aëtius* compos'd 300 of the very same sort: I shall set down one or two of them, by which ye may sufficiently judge of the rest. *Is it possible for God to make that a Person begotten should not be begotten?----If God is not begotten according to his Essence, How can it be said, that he who is begotten is of his Essence? Can the same Essence be begotten, and not begotten?*

Eunomius, the Disciple of *Aëtius*, was the Son of a Husbandman in a Village of *Cappadocia*: He wrote some time for the publick, after which he was made Master of a School, and at last he put himself under the Discipline of *Aëtius*. He was not so subtile as his Master, but he had a greater command of Words. After he was ordain'd Deacon by *Eudoxus*, he was quickly banish'd to *Myda* a City of *Phrygia*. He return'd to *Constantinople*, at the time of the Council in the Year 359, and some time after, he was Ordain'd Bishop of *Cyzicum* by *Eudoxus* his Protector, who advis'd him to conceal his Doctrine: But he not following this Counsel, was accus'd by his People, and *Eudoxus* was oblig'd to Condemn and Depose him. Afterwards he separated himself wholly from this Bishop, and retir'd to a House which he had at *Chalcedon*, where he hid the Tyrant *Procopius*. His Master *Aëtius* being return'd to *Constantinople*; he liv'd some time with him, and did the last Offices to him: But he was quickly forc'd to retire to *Chalcedon*, and being accus'd before the Emperour, of giving Sanctuary to his Enemy, he was banish'd into *Mauritania*. But *Valens*, Bishop of *Mursa*, obtain'd his Restauration, and he would have obtain'd the Favour of the Emperour, if *Eudoxus* had not hinder'd him from coming into his sight. About the End of the Reign of *Valens*, *Modestus* the Prætorian Prefect, banish'd him into the Isle of *Naxos*, as a Disturber of the Peace of the Church. After the Death of this Emperour, he return'd to *Chalcedon*; but *Theodosius* immediately banish'd him to *Halmyris*, which Castle being taken by the Enemy, he was remov'd to *Cæsarea*, a City of *Cappadocia*. But the Inhabitants of this City not being able to endure him, because he had formerly writ against St. *Basil*, their Bishop, he obtain'd leave to dwell in the place of his Nativity, where he died. He was alive when St. *Jerom* wrote his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers. He wrote many Books against the Church, and Seven Books of Commentaries upon the Epistle to the *Romans*, which are mention'd by *Socrates*, *Ch. 7.* of *B.* IV. of his History. The same Author observes, That he imitated the Sophistical Style of his Master, and follow'd his way of Arguing; That he was not Learned in the Holy Scripture, and had no understanding of it; but that he had abundance of Words; and repeated oftentimes the same thing in different Terms, without ever explaining clearly, what he propos'd; That tho' he employ'd many Words to explain the Epistle of St. *Paul* to the *Romans* yet he could never discover the true Sence of that Apostle. He adds, That his other Books were written after the same manner, and that whoever would take the Pains to read them, would find multitudes of Words and very little Matter. St. *Basil*, quotes in his Books against *Eunomius*, some part of the Books of this Heretick, which he afterwards refutes. *Eunomius*, answer'd St. *Basil*'s Book by an Apology, and St. *Gregory Nyssen*, undertook the Defence of his Brother, and the Refutation of this Heretick's Apology. He quotes also some of his Passages, and many of his Arguments. These Fragments of *Eunomius* shew us, that he follow'd the Method of his Master, but that he was more plain and copious.

George of Laodicea.

GEORGE of Laodicea.

THIS *GEORGE* was a Priest of the Church of *Alexandria*, in the time of *Arius*. He espoused the Interests of this Heretick, and making a show of being Mediator between *Alexander* and him, he maintain'd his Impiety. We have in *Athanasius*'s Book of Synods, Two Letters of this Man's, one written to *Alexander*, wherein he would perswade him, that we may say, That there had been a time when the Son of God was not; and the other to the Followers of *Arius*, wherein he counsels them to acknowledge, That the Son was of the Father, and of God, since all things are of God. *Alexander* cast him out of the Church, not only because of his Heresie, but also upon some other Account. Being Excommunicated at *Alexandria*, he endeavour'd to procure a Reception among the Clergy of *Antioch*; but *Eustathius* refusing him, he retir'd to *Arethusa*, and was there receiv'd; for *Constantine* calls him the Priest of *Arethusa*. He was afterwards Ordain'd Bishop of *Laodicea*, and assisted the *Eusebians* at the Council of *Tyre* and *Antioch*. The Western Bishops pronounc'd Sentence of Deposition against him in the Council of *Sardica*. Afterwards he declar'd himself an Enemy of the *Eunomians*, and the Head of the Party of the *Semi-Arians*. 'Twas he that wrote a Circular Letter to the Bishops of his own Country, against *Aëtius* and *Eudoxus*, set down by *Sozomen*, Ch. 14. of *B.* IV. of his History, wherein he exhorts them to Assemble themselves, that they may condemn those impious Men, as they had done in the Council of *Ancyra*, in the Year 358; soon after this *George* died. He past in those ancient times for a very able Man in Philosophy. *Theodoret* testifies, That he had written against the *Manichees*, and *Socrates* quotes a Book which he compos'd of the Life of *Eusebius Emisenus*.

Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. l. 1. c. 26. *Socrates*, l. 2. c. 9. and lib. 1. c. 24.

The APOLLINARII.

The *Apollinarii*.

APOLLINARIUS [a], the Father, was a Citizen of *Alexandria*, who forsook his Country, and went to teach Grammar at *Berytus*. From thence he past to *Laodicea*, where he had a Son of his own Name, whom he brought up to Learning. This young Man who had a great deal of Wit, in a short time, made a wonderful Progress in Knowledge, and capacitated himself for teaching Rhetorick publickly at *Laodicea*, while his Father was writing Books of Grammar. Both of them afterwards applying themselves to the Study of the Scriptures, the Father was Ordain'd Priest, and the Son Reader. But having a great Affection for profane Learning, they maintain'd an intimate Correspondence with a Pagan Sophist, call'd *Epiphanius*, which render'd them odious to the Christians. *Socrates* says, That *Theodotus* Bishop of *Laodicea*, cast them out of the Church for this cause; and 'tis certain, that *George* the Successor of *Theodotus* laid hold of this Pretence, to Excommunicate them, because they took part with *Athanasius* against him. Nevertheless, *Apollinarius*, the Son was chosen Bishop of *Laodicea* [b], and was belov'd and esteem'd by St. *Athanasius*, St. *Basil*, and St. *Epiphanius*, and all the great Men of his Age [c], upon the account of his Knowledge and Learning. But afterwards falling into Errors concerning the Mystery of the Incarnation, he was look'd upon as a Heretick, and he gave Name to a Sect which was condemn'd by the Church: He died under the Reign of *Theodosius*, about the Year 380. All the Ancients testifie, That this Author wrote an infinite number of Volumes [d] upon the Holy Scripture, and upon other Subjects. He made Books against the *Arians*, *Eunomius*, *Origen*, and against many Hereticks. He compos'd also many Ho-

[a] *Apollinarius.*] The Greeks always called him, Ἀπολλινάριος: St. *Basil* is the only Person that wrote it with a double λλ. St. *Jerom*, called him, *Apollinarius*. The generality of the Latins for softness sake, give him the Name of *Apollinaris*.

[b] *Bishop of* Laodicea.] St. *Athanasius* in a Letter to the *Antiochians*, St. *Epiphanius*, in *Hæres.* 77. St. *Basil*, in Letter 293. *Ruffinus*, in *B.* II. *Ch.* 20. and St. *Jerom* in his Catalogue, all agree, that he was Bishop of this City. *Theodoret* in *B.* V. of his History says, That *Apollinarius* would have invaded the See of *Antioch*, but by his Disciple *Vitalis*.

[c] *He was belov'd and esteem'd by all the great Men of his Age.*] He was a very good Friend to St. *Athanasius*, who had seen him at his return from his Banishment, as St. *Epiphanius* testifies in *Hæres.* 77. *Leontius* in *B.* III. against *Nestorius*, says, That *Apollinarius* boasted, of receiving Letters from *Athanasius*, *Serapion*, and the great Men of his time. He quotes a Fragment of a Letter of *Apollinarius*, where he glories in having Letters from St. *Athanasius*. His Deputies assisted at the Council of *Alexandria*, and sign'd there as the Deputies of an Orthodox Bishop. It does not appear that St. *Athanasius* did ever break with him. St. *Basil* says in his Letter 82, That he ow'd respect to this Man; That he was so much his fast Friend, that he would take his Faults upon himself. St. *Epiphanius* calls him, a Venerable Old Man, and says, That he was very dear to St. *Athanasius*, and all the Orthodox Bishops. St. *Jerom* in his 64 Letter, says, That he had often seen him at *Antioch*, that he honour'd him, and had learn'd many things from him. I pass over in silence, the Testimonies of *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Philostorgius*, *Vincentius Lirinensis*, &c.

[d] *An infinite number of Volumes.*] St. *Basil* in Epistle 47, says, That he had fill'd the World with his Books. *Theophilus* in his first Epistle, says, That he wrote against *Origen*, against the *Eunomians* and *Arians*. *Acacius* of *Beræa*, in his Letter to St. *Cyril*, Tom. 3d. of the Works of this Father, *p.* 63. says the same thing; and St. *Jerom*, says, That he made an infinite number of Books. *Vincentius Lirinensis*, says, That 'twere too long to give a Catalogue of his Books.

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milies, and wrote several Letters e. But his chief Work in the Judgment of all Men, was his great Treatise divided into 30 Books, which he wrote in Defence of Religion against *Porphyrie* the Philosopher f. It excell'd in Beauty and Strength, all that had been written before by *Eusebius* and the Ancients against the Pagan Religion. He wrote also in the time of *Julian*, another great Book of the Truth of Religion against the Emperour and the Pagan Philosophers. 'Tis said, That *Julian* having perus'd it, wrote to him that sent it, *I have read it; I have understood it; I have condemn'd it*; and that St. *Basil* or some other Bishop made answer to him; *You may have read it, but surely you never understood it; for if you had understood it, you had never condemn'd it.* Under the Reign of the same Emperour, *Apollinarius* seeing that Christians were forbidden to read to their Children the Greek Poets, Orators and Philosophers, wrote in Heroick Verse the History of the Jews, down to the time of *Saul*, and divided this Work into 24 Books, in Imitation of *Homer*. He took Subjects also from the Old Testament, to make Tragedies, Comedies and Odes, in imitation of *Euripides*, *Sophocles* and *Pindar*. Besides that, he turn'd the Gospels and the Epistles into Dialogues, in imitation of *Plato*'s Books: And thus he supplied to Christians, the want of profane Authors of all sorts. *Socrates*, attributes the Poetical Books to *Apollinarius* the Father, and 'tis probable that they were rather his, since they are more agreeable to his Profession. We have also a Translation of the Psalms in Verse, which bears the Name of *Apollinarius*; and this is the only entire Book we have extant of this Author. 'Tis an exact, faithful, and noble Translation of all the Psalms: Some have also attributed to him the Tragedy, entitled, *Christ Suffering*, which bears the Name of *Gregory Nazianzen*; but it has neither the same Air nor Stile. *Theodoret* relates some Passages of *Apollinarius* in his Dialogues, which prove that this Author acknowledg'd, That Jesus Christ took Flesh in the Womb of the Virgin, and that this Flesh was not changed into the Divinity; but then withal, they show, That he deny'd that the Soul of Jesus Christ had an Understanding or Mind. *Eulogius* in the extract made by *Photius*, Vol. 230 of his *Bibliotheca*, produces a passage of *Apollinarius*, wherein he seems to admit one Nature only in Jesus Christ. *Polemon*, the Disciple of *Apollinarius*, who is mention'd in the same place, and in the Fourth Book of the Fables of Hereticks, written by *Theodoret*, was of the same Opinion, and attributes it to his Master. The Extracts taken out of the Discourses of *Apollinarius* and *Polemon*, produc'd in the Council of *Lateran*, under *Martin* the V. *Sess.* 5. prove also that *Apollinarius* maintain'd, That there was but one Nature in Jesus Christ after the Union. And yet he ackowledges in the Passages rectied by *Theodoret*, That the Divine and Humane Nature, remain'd in Jesus Christ without Mixture or Confusion, and that each of them retain'd their own Properties. This probably is that Contradiction which made St. *Basil* say, That the Judgment of *Apollinarius*, about the Incarnation, was very obscure and intricate. The same Father, in Letter 59, and 293, and St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, in his first Letter to *Cledonius*, accuse him of the Error of *Sabellius*, who confounded the three Divine Persons. But *Theodoret* observes, That at the bottom he believ'd the Mystery of the Trinity as we do, tho' he explain'd it in such a manner, as gave occasion to accuse him of Error, because he admits Degrees among the three Persons of the Trinity, and seems not to distinguish the Personal Subsistences. And indeed, St. *Epiphanius* vindicates *Apollinarius* from the *Sabellian* Heresie, and says, That *Vitalis*, his most famous Disciple, who calls himself Bishop of *Antioch*, was so far from holding this Heresie, That the Pretence which he alledg'd for his Separation from *Paulinus*, was because he believ'd him to be of *Sabellius*'s Opinion. In short, *Vincentius Lirinensis*, and *Leontius*, vindicate *Apollinarius* from the Suspicion of *Sabellianism*. There are two Errors more attributed to him, which were common to him with many Ancients. The first, is that famous Opinion of the Reign of Christ, and the Saints upon Earth, for the space of 1000 Years, which St. *Basil*, Epist. 47. and 293; St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, Epist. 2. and St. *Jerom* in his Catalogue, *Ch.* 28. do all charge him with. The second Opinion is, That the Souls of Men are produc'd by Souls, as the Bodies are by Bodies. St. *Jerom* and *Nemesius*, are the only Persons that accuse him of this Error; the first in *Ep.* 28. the second in *Ch.* 2. of his Treatise.

The Opinion of *Apollinarius* about the Incarnation, was condemn'd in the Council of *Alexandria*, where it was declar'd, That Jesus Christ assum'd a Body, a Soul and Spirit, such as we have. *Paulinus* of *Antioch*, did also profess this Doctrine in a Discourse by its self, which is at the End of the Council of *Alexandria*, and in St. *Epiphanius*, *Hæres.* 77. In the Year 373. *Vitalis* the Disciple of *Apollinarius*, who caus'd himself to be ordain'd Bishop of *Antioch*, went to find out Pope *Damasus*, and presented to him a Confession of Faith about the Incarnation, which seem'd to be Catholick, and clearly rejected the Error of *Apollinarius*. St. *Cyril* produces a Fragment of this Confession of Faith, in the Book which he dedicated to Queens. When the Pope saw this Confession, he believ'd that *Vitalis* was a Catholick, and therefore did not refuse him his Communion; but having no full Assurance of his Sincerity, he wrote to *Paulinus*, and sent him Articles about the Trinity and the Incarnation, which he should cause *Vitalis* and all those that would be restor'd, to Sign. When these Articles were brought into the East, *Vitalis*, and those of his Sect would not sign them. Damasus *understanding this, says St.* Gregory Nazianzen, *and being informed that they persisted still in their ancient Error, cast them out of the Church, and tore the Libel and Anathematisms which had been presented to*

The *Apollinarii*.

e *Many Homilies, and wrote several Letters.*] There are many of his Sermons quoted in the Council of *Lateran*, under *Martin* the V. whose Extracts are produc'd in *Tom.* 6. of the Councils. *P.* 314, 315. And *Sozomen*, B. II. *Ch.* 17. relates a Fragment of *Apollinarius*, concerning St. *Athanasius*. He wrote also against *Diodorus* of *Tarsus*, as appears by *Suidas*, B. 3. Ch. 4.

f *His chief Work in the Judgment of all Men, was his Treatise against* Porphyrie *the Philosopher.*] St. *Jerom*, says, That his 30 Books against *Porphyrie*, were the most esteem'd of all his Works. *Vincentius Lirinensis* says, That it was his greatest and most excellent Work.

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him by Vitalis, *being very much troubled that he had been ſo deceiv'd.* He gave this Judgment in a Council at *Rome*, held in the Year 377, at which, *Peter*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, aſſiſted. The Biſhops of the Eaſt, approv'd of what *Damaſus* had done, and confirm'd the Judgment which the Pope had given againſt the *Apollinarians*: For in the Synod of *Antioch*, in the Year 378, they ſigned a Tome or a Writing of the Weſtern Biſhops, which condemned their Errors. Afterwards, the *Apollinarians* were always look'd upon as Hereticks, as appears by the Council of *Conſtantinople*, where they are joyn'd with the *Arians*, *Eunomians*, and other declar'd Hereticks.

The Apollinarii.

Apollinarius, of all the Chriſtian Writers, had moſt ſtudied Grammar, Rhetorick, and profane Philoſophy: But he was not profoundly Learned in the Scripture and Religion; he Philoſophiz'd too much upon our Myſteries, and did not confine himſelf enough to the ſimplicity of the Scriptures, which fault was the occaſion of his falling into Error: For when once Men give themſelves up to humane Reaſonings in the Explication of Myſteries, they preſently wander from the right way, and are in danger of falling head-long. He had not the ſublime and affected Eloquence of the Bar, but a Philoſophical kind of Eloquence which conſiſted in turning his Thoughts and Reaſons; after an eaſie, clear and pleaſant manner. *Philoſtorgius* quoted by *Suidas*, compar'd him to St. *Baſil*, and St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, and ſays, "That theſe three were the ableſt Men of their Time. That "they excell'd thoſe who had written before them, and that St. *Athanaſius* in compariſon of them, "appear'd but a Child; That they were well vers'd in profane Learning, and had made a great Pro- "greſs in them; That with all this, they had all that was neceſſary for Reading and Underſtanding "the Scriptures, and chiefly *Apollinarius*, who underſtood Hebrew. That each of them excell'd in his "kind; That the Stile of *Apollinarius* was fitteſt for Writing Books; That St. *Baſil*'s Stile was beſt for "publick Orations, but *Gregory Nazianzen* ſurmounted them both in the ſublimity of his Stile, which "was more lofty than that of *Apollinarius*, and more grave than that of St. *Baſil*. He adds, That "theſe three Perſons had all the Qualities which were moſt proper for winning the Admiration of all "Mankind. The Life of *Apollinarius*, was probably no leſs Holy than that of the other two great Men. "In ſhort, he might have been equal to the greateſt Pillars of the Church, as *Vincentius Lirinenſis* "ſays excellently, if his profane Curioſity had not carried him to the Invention of Novelties, which "made him loſe the Fruit of all his Labours, and made his Doctrine an occaſion of Scandal, rather "than Edification.

Apollinarius's Paraphraſe or Tranſlation of the Pſalms, was printed in Greek at *Paris*, in the Year 1580; and together with the Verſion of *Sylburgius*, by *Commelinus*, in the Year 1596. Since that time, it has been put into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. The other Works of this Author are loſt, except ſome Fragments; and his Error was probably the cauſe of this Loſs. The Catholicks had ſo great a Horror of Books of Hereticks, that they would not ſo much as preſerve thoſe that did not concern their Hereſie, and which might have been uſeful to the Church: Upon which account it is, that we have ſcarce any Book of the ancient Hereticks, and that the *Eutychians* were oblig'd to publiſh *Apollinarius*'s Books under the Names of Catholick Authors, as we have obſerv'd when we ſpoke of the Writings of Pope *Julius*.

TITUS *of* Boſtra.

Titus of Boſtra.

TITUS, Biſhop of *Boſtra*, a City of *Arabia Petræa*, wrote a Treatiſe againſt the *Manichees*, and ſome other Works, in the time of the Emperours *Julian* and *Jovian*. *Julian*, who perſecuted all the Biſhops who had any Reputation, did all that lay in his power, to drive this Biſhop out of his Countrey, and to render him odious to his people. "He wrote to him, that if any trouble "happened in the City of *Boſtra*, he ſhould impute it to himſelf and to his Clergy. This Biſhop "anſwered him, That he kept his People in Peace by his Exhortations, and that tho' he had as many "Chriſtians as Pagans in his City, yet he ſo order'd the Matter, that there was no Contention amongſt "them." *Julian* laid hold on this occaſion, to write to the Inhabitants of *Boſtra* againſt their Biſhop, endeavouring maliciouſly to perſwade them, that his Anſwer reproached them, becauſe it ſuppoſed that without his Exhortations, they would not have continued in their Duty. However this ill-natur'd Accuſation of the Emperour *Julian*, did not hinder them from putting Confidence in their Biſhop, ſo that he continued in his See till the time of the Emperour *Valens*, under whoſe Reign he dyed, about the Year 370. He aſſiſted at the Council of *Meletius*, held at *Antioch*, under the Reign of *Jovian*, in the Year 364.

The Book of *Titus* of *Boſtra*, againſt the *Manichees*, was written in Greek, and divided into four Parts: There is nothing now extant, but the Verſion of three of thoſe Books made by *Turrianus*, and Printed in *Caniſius*'s Collection of Ancient Pieces, and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. To the Text of the Author, there are perfixed the Arguments of the Four Books tranſlated out of Greek, which inform us what is the Subject of them. "The firſt Book, ſays the Author of thoſe Arguments "contains a Refutation of the principal Points of Doctrine taught by the *Manichees*, which "contradict common Senſe, and the Principles of natural Reaſon. The ſecond is intended to ſhow, "That Man is not addicted to Sin by a Principle that is Eternal and without Beginning, or by a "Being that is contrary to the True God: That there is no Subſtance of Evil in the World; That "there is not in us two ſorts of Natures, one Good, and the other Evil; That 'tis Folly and Impiety "to Condemn and Reprehend the manner of Governing the Univerſe. In ſhort, This Book con- "tains all that can be ſaid of Providence, and invincibly proves, That 'tis in no wiſe neceſſary to

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'admit a Second Principle contrary to God. The Third Book is intended to defend the Law and the 'Prophets, and to show that God is the Author of the Old Testament; That there is nothing of Evil 'to be found in it; That it does in every thing agree with the New, and therefore there is no need 'for the Explication of it to have recourse to a Second Principle contrary to God. The Fourth 'Book defends the New Testament against the Blasphemies of the Hereticks: There he shews 'that there is nothing in the Gospel which favours their Error; That they abuse some Passages of 'Scripture to prove their Impiety to no purpose; and that the Diabolical Explications which they give 'of them cannot help to establish what they say against God'. In the first Book, he propounds the Doctrine of the *Manichees*, and detects the Absurdities of it by Metaphysical Arguments. In the Second he shows, That there is but one God only, and that he is the only Principle; That he is not the Author of Sin; That he made Man free and capable of doing Good and Evil; and so 'tis not God but Man who is the Author of Sin, which proceeds not from the Nature of Man, but from his Will. He explains the great difficulty that's urg'd by the *Manichees*, why the Just are so often Unhappy, and the Wicked Happy in this World; and shews that the Just are always Happy and the Wicked Unhappy, because Innocence is the chief Happiness. He adds, That Afflictions are useful to prove and to exercise Vertue. He maintains, That Death is not an Evil, because 'tis the end of sinning to the Wicked, and the Beginning of Recompence to the Good. In short, having survey'd all things in this World, and all the occurrences of this Life, he proves that they are easily reconciled to the Providence of God. *Titus of Bostra.*

In the Third Book he shows, That the Old and New Testament agree very well together, and that one and the same God is the Author of them both.

There are in these Books much Metaphysicks and Logick; the Arguments are solid and subtil; the Stile is fine and clean enough for a Work of this Nature. It is indeed a surprizing thing that he never makes use of Original Sin for the explaining all the Difficulties objected by the *Manichees*: which might have serv'd as one general Solution to almost all their Objections. For when once Original Sin is admitted, there is no difficulty in understanding, Why a Man is addicted to Sin; Why he suffers Affliction; Why he is subject to Hunger, to Pain, to Diseases, to Miseries, and to Death; and yet he never urges it to explain those Questions, but examines them as a Philosopher. He says not one Word of the Grace of Jesus Christ, and seems to suppose, That Man could do Good of himself as well as Evil.

There is a Commentary upon the Gospel of St. *Luke*, which is attributed to *Titus* of *Bostra*; but this can be none of his Book, since he who is the Author of it, cites St. *Jerom*, St. *Isidore Pelusiota*, and St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, who had not written till after the Death of this *Titus* of *Bostra*, whom we now speak of. Yet this is a very good literal Commentary upon St. *Luke*, and seems to me to be very ancient. There was a Version of it publish'd by *Peltanus*, and printed by *Sartorius* at *Ingolstadt* in the Year 1579. Since that, *Fronto Ducæus* publish'd the Greek from a Manuscript out of the King's Library, and it was printed in Greek and Latin in the Supplement to the *Bibliotheca Patrum*: 'Tis said, That there is a Commentary of the same Author upon St. *Matthew*, and there is some probability for it, because in the Commentary on St. *Luke*, he never attempts to explain any thing in this Evangelist but what is not to be found in the Gospel of St. *Matthew*. In short, Father *Combefis* has publish'd in his *Auctuarium* to the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, a Sermon upon *Palm-Sunday*, which bears the Name of *Titus* of *Bostra*, but is not written by the true *Titus* of *Bostra*, nor by the Author of the Commentaries upon St. *Luke*, it having no Affinity with the Air and Stile of either of those two Writers.

DIDYMUS *of* Alexandria.

NOthing is more surprizing than what the Ancients have related of this Author. St. *Jerom* and *Ruffinus*, who were his Disciples, assure us, That having lost his Sight from the Age of five Years, at which time he was scarce able to read, he applyed his Mind so vigorously to Study, that he learn'd in Perfection, not only *Philosophy*, *Rhetorick* and *Musick*, but even *Geometry*; which one would think could not be learnt without the help of Sight. He particularly addicted himself to the Study of Divinity, and was chosen as the most Able Person to fill the Chair of the famous School of the Church of *Alexandria*. His Reputation drew to him a great number of Scholars, of whom the most famous were St. *Jerom*, *Ruffinus*, *Palladius* and *Isidore*. He had a wonderful Easiness of expressing himself, a pleasing way of declaiming, and a surprizing sharpness of Wit. He answer'd immediately to all the Questions that were made upon the Scriptures, he confuted the Arguments which the Hereticks propos'd to him against Religion, and show'd in an instant where the weakness of their Reasons lay. He has written many excellent Books. St. *Jerom* mentions these following in his Catalogue: Commentaries upon all the *Psalms*, Commentaries upon the Gospel of St. *Matthew* and St. *John*, Commentaries upon the Epistle to the *Galatians*, Eighteen Tomes of Commentaries upon *Isaiah*, Three Books of Commentaries upon *Hosea*, *which are address'd to me*, says St. *Jerom*, and Five Books upon *Zachary*, *which he wrote at my desire*, says the same Father; Commentaries upon *Job*, and an infinite number of other Discourses, which would require a particular Table. He wrote also a Treatise upon the *Dogmes*, or upon the Sects, Two Books against the *Arians*, and a Book of the Holy Spirit, *which I translated into Latin*, says the same St. *Jerom*. He also interpreted *Origen*'s *Principles*, and defended them against those that condemn'd them. He consider'd this Author as his Master, and espoused his Opinions. He was alive when St. *Jerom* wrote his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, *i. e.* in the Year *Didymus of Alexandria.*

Didymus of Alexandria.

Year 392, and was then 93 Years old and more; and 'tis thought that he dyed two Years after. His being addicted to the Opinions of *Origen*, was the cause of his Condemnation in the Fifth General Council, and in the Fifth Session of the *Lateran* Council by *Martin* the Fifth, though he died in the Communion of the Church, and all the Ancients, even St. *Jerom*, speak of him as one whose Doctrine was very Orthodox. We have among St. *Jerom*'s Works, a Translation which this Father made of *Didymus*'s Book concerning the Holy Spirit. He says in his Preface, "That being in *Babylon*, dwelling 'in this Province cloath'd with Purple (by which word, he means the City of *Rome*) he had a design to 'write a little Book of the Holy Spirit, and to Dedicate it to the Bishop of that City; but that immediately the Senate of Pharisees cry'd out against him, and the Faction of Ignorant Men conspir'd 'against his Person, which oblig'd him to return to *Jerusalem*, where he finish'd his Work at the desire of *Paula* and *Eustochium*; but that he could not Dedicate it to *Damasus*, who was dead when 'it was finish'd. He adds, That he put at the beginning of it the Name of the Author whom he 'translated, and thought it better to be only the Interpreter of another's Work, than to mix bad 'thoughts with that which is good in the Greek Authors, as some Latins have done". He has divided this Treatise of *Didymus* into three Books: Though it is rather a continued Discourse which ought not to be parted, or at least, ought not to be divided but into two Parts.

This Treatise is the most Demonstrative and Methodical of all those that the Ancients have written to prove the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. He begins with these Words. 'Though we ought to speak 'with Reverence and Exactness of every thing that concerns the Divinity, yet this ought chiefly to 'be done, when we speak of the Holy Spirit, since the Scripture tells us, That the Blasphemy which 'is spoken against him is unpardonable. Wherefore we must give diligent heed that we may understand what is said of him in the Holy Scripture, lest we fall into some Error, which may make us 'speak Blasphemies. And upon this account, it seems to be convenient for a faithful Christian, who 'is sensible of his own weakness, as I am, to keep silence in a Question which is above his Power, 'rather than venture to treat upon a Subject where he runs so great a hazard. But since there are 'some Men, who by a surprizing boldness exalt themselves against Heaven, and speak of the Holy 'Spirit such things as are no where to be found in Scripture, and which have never been propos'd 'by any Ecclesiastical Writers, I thought my self oblig'd to yield to the frequent Entreaties of my Brethren, and to prove my own Opinion by Testimonies of Scriptures, lest some of the Faithful that 'are Ignorant of this Doctrine, should be seduc'd by those that hold the contrary'. After he has in the following words observ'd, That the Holy Spirit is no where spoken of but in the Holy Scripture, and that the same Spirit inspir'd the Prophets and Apostles, he enters upon the Matter, and proves by many Arguments founded upon Passages of the Holy Scripture, That the Holy Spirit is not a Creature, but that he is of one and the same Nature with the Father and the Son. He shows that the Holy Spirit is not a Creature. 1. Because every Creature is either Corporeal or Spiritual. Now the Holy Spirit, says he, is not a Corporeal Creature, since it dwells in the Soul; neither is he a Spiritual Creature, because Spiritual Creatures receive into themselves Vertues, Knowledge and Holiness, whereas the Holy Spirit produces them in others, being himself Substantially Vertue, Light and Holiness. 2. Because every Creature is liable to Change and circumscrib'd within a place; but the Holy Spirit is immutable, and every where present, and therefore the Holy Spirit is not a Creature. 3. Because he who Sanctifies, and he who is Sanctified, are of different Natures; but the Holy Spirit Sanctifies all Creatures, and therefore he is not of their Nature. He adds, That 'tis never said that Men are fill'd with a Creature, as 'tis said that they are fill'd with the Holy Spirit. He shows, that the Holy Spirit is not devisible; but that it receives different Names according to the different Effects it produces, though it be always one and the same Spirit. In short, he shows, That the Apostle St. *Paul* put an Essential Difference between the Holy Spirit and the Angels, which sufficiently discovers that it is not a Creature. Afterwards he refutes those that say the Holy Spirit is of the number of those things which were created by the Divine Word. He explains a place in the Fourth Chapter of the Prophet *Amos*, where 'tis said, That *God created the Spirit, Creans Spiritum*, by showing that this place is literally to be understood of the Wind, and that it cannot be applied to the Holy Spirit, but in an Allegorical and Figurative sence.

After he has thus shown that the Holy Spirit is not a Creature, he proves, That he is of the same Nature with the Father and the Son: 1. Because they have but one and the same Operation, and by consequence must be one and the same Substance. 2. Because to lye to the Holy Spirit is to lye unto God, as appears by the words of St. *Peter* to *Ananias*. 3. Because the Wisdom and Teaching of the Holy Spirit is call'd the Wisdom and Teaching of God. 4. Because the Holy Spirit is call'd the Finger of the Father. 5. Because 'tis said of him, that he is Wisdom it self. 6. Because we are to believe in the Holy Spirit, as we do in the Father and the Son, and we are baptized in the Name of the Holy Spirit, as we are in the Name of the Father and the Son. 7. Because he is call'd Lord, as the Father and the Son are. 8. Because he is sent from the Father in the Name of the Son, as having the same Nature with the Son. 9. Because the Father, Son and Holy Spirit are never separated; every thing that agrees to one of the three Persons, agrees to the other two, and whatever is said of one, is said of the other two, and whatsoever one does, is done by the others, *&c.* And therefore they have all three the same Nature and the same Substance. He concludes with these words, 'Since there is no pardon for those 'that Blaspheme against the Trinity, we must be very cautious in speaking of this Mystery, lest we 'be mistaken in the least Expression: And every one who desires to read this Book, must purifie himself, that so by an enlightned Mind he may understand what is contain'd in it, and by a Heart full 'of Charity and Holiness, he may Pardon us, if we do not always answer the expectation of the 'Reader. He must only consider the Mind wherewith we have written, and not tie himself up to

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'our manner of Expression: For as the Testimony of our Conscience makes us boldly affirm, That 'our Doctrine is that of the Christian Religion; so our Sincerity makes us confess, That in the manner of Writing, we do not come near the politeness, fineness, and eloquence of others; because we 'have only attempted to give a religious Explication of what the Holy Scripture teaches us, without 'studying to polish and adorn our Discourse': But though he speaks thus of his Stile, and St. *Jerom* says also, That this Author is not a very able Penman, yet this Treatise is very well written for a Dogmatical Treatise. I speak not this of the Words or Terms, since we have not now the Original Greek, but of the turn of his Thoughts, the methodizing of his Arguments, and the manner of expressing himself about a Mystery so difficult to explain as this of the Trinity. He treats of the Subject in a very clear Method, without diverting from the Difficulties of it. He proposes his Arguments plainly and smoothly: His Reasons are close and convincing, one may observe a Vein of Logick which runs through all his Discourse without intermission. He quotes the passages of Scripture in their natural sence, and makes many very curious and profound Remarks. He uses the most proper and most fit Terms for Explication of the Mysteries. He does not too nicely distinguish, and yet he clears up all Difficulties. In a word, it were to be wish'd that all the Schoolmen had taken this Treatise for their Pattern, and had follow'd his Method in treating of the Mysteries of Religion. I forgot to observe that he speaks occasionally of the Incarnation, and that he says, Jesus Christ is God-man; and yet we must not affirm that there are two Persons in him, but believe, that he being God and Man both together, there is attributed to him what agrees to the Nature of God, and the Nature of Man. 'Twas good to observe this against the Error of the *Nestorians*.

Didymus of Alexandria.

We have in the *Bibliothecæ Patrum*, Commentaries in Latin, upon all the Canonical Epistles which go under the Name of *Didymus*. They seem to be Ancient, and they may possibly be a Translation from a Greek Commentary of this Author. He speaks of the Opinion of those who thought that Spirits were from all Eternity, and he neither Condemns nor Approves it. He maintains, That Predestination is nothing else but the Choice which God made of those that he foresaw would believe in Jesus Christ, and do good Actions. He rejects the *Millennium*, and affirms, That the Pleasures and Joys of Paradise are all Spiritual. He disapproves of servile Fear; He believes with *Origen*, That the Incarnation of Jesus Christ was profitable to Angels as well as Men, and that it purifies them from their Faults. He observes, That the Second Epistle of St. *Peter* is not in the Canon, and believes that it is corrupted. These Commentaries are very clear and intelligible, and contain Useful and Judicious Instructions and Reflections, which are not unworthy of the famous *Didymus*.

There is also a little Tract, or rather the Fragment of a Tract against the *Manichees*, translated from Greek by *Turrianus*, printed by *Possevin* in his *Apparatus*, and inserted into the *Bibliothecæ Patrum*, which goes under the Name of *Didymus*, which agrees well enough with the Treatise of the Holy Spirit written by this Author. There he refutes by Metaphysical Arguments, the Opinion of the *Manichees*, who admitted two Principles, the one Good and the other Evil. He explains the sence in which Men are call'd in Scripture *Children of Wrath*, by saying, They are so call'd, because they become the Object of the Wrath of God by the Sins which they voluntarily commit; as others are call'd Children of the Light, and Children of Wisdom, who are Purified by the Light of Truth. He says, That *Judas* is call'd a Son of Perdition, because he did those things that deserv'd Perdition. He is mightily perplex'd when he explains the Reason why the Flesh of Man is call'd *Sinful Flesh*. He says first of all, That it is so call'd, because it was produc'd by the use of Marriage, which commonly was not free from Sin before the coming of Jesus Christ, who sanctified it: That there is none but Jesus Christ and the First Man, whose Flesh could not be called *Sinful*; for Jesus Christ was Born of a Virgin, and *Adam* was made out of the Earth; That all Men being begotten by Men after the Sin of the First Man, are subject to Sin; and that if the Body of Jesus Christ had been form'd in the ordinary way of Generation, it had been liable to Sin, to which all the Posterity of *Adam* are subject. He adds, That the Use of Marriage, though it is permitted, is called Sin, in Comparison of Virginity; which is a much more excellent state. After this, he proves that the Devil was not Wicked by Substance, but by Will; He demonstrates, That God is not the Author of Evil, because he created a free Agent, which could incline it self to Good or Evil; That the Divine Conduct cannot be blam'd, and that those who commit Sin ought not to impute it to any but themselves, since it was in their own Power to do Good, and to shun that which is Evil. In a word, That Man is not naturally Wicked, but by his Will only; since he that has been Wicked and Impious, may change his condition by Repentance, and become Good and Vertuous.

PETER *of* Alexandria.

Peter of Alexandria.

ST. *Athanasius* dying in the Year 373, the Catholicks chose in his room *Peter*, whom St. *Athanasius* had design'd for his Successor. He had no sooner taken Possession of his Church, but he was forc'd away from it by the Governor of the Province nam'd *Palladius*, and necessitated to fly to *Rome*. Some time after *Euzoius* of *Antioch* brought with him one nam'd *Lucius*, whom he Ordain'd Bishop of *Alexandria*, and caus'd the Churches to be given to him. This Man being an Enemy to the Doctrine of his Predecessor, was hated by all the Christians of *Alexandria*, who would not afterwards come any more to the Assemblies of the Church: Whereupon *Lucius* was oblig'd to get a Guard of Pagan Souldiers, who committed by his Order infinite Outrages against the Catholicks. *Peter* of *Alexandria* wrote at this time a Letter against the Exorbitances that were done by the *Arians*, which

Peter of Alexandria.

Theodoret produces in the Fourth Book of his Hiſtory, *Chap.* 22. It charges them with cauſing a Multitude of Infidel Souldiers to enter into the great Church of St. *Theonas*, who vomited up Thouſands of Blaſphemies, violated Virgins, and put to Death many Chriſtians. He adds, That they had committed abominable Sacrilege, in making a young Man dance upon the Altar in Womens Apparel, and making him go up into the Pulpit, where he utter'd infamous and impious Words. Afterwards he charges the *Arians* with carrying away *Lucius* to place him in the Epiſcopal See, though he had neither been choſen by the Suffrages of the Clergy and the People, nor Ordain'd by a Lawful Synod as the Eccleſiaſtical Canons requir'd. Afterwards he gives an account of the manner in which he entred into the Church, being accompanied with *Euzoïus*, and the Chief Treaſurer of the City; how he would have forc'd the Prieſts and Deacons to approve *Arianiſm*, to pleaſe the Emperour *Valens*; with what boldneſs and conſtancy they anſwer'd him, and how they were Impriſon'd, Tormented, and ſent a Shipboard without Victuals. In ſhort, he relates the Cruelties committed againſt the People of *Alexandria*, againſt the Deacon ſent by Pope *Damaſus*, and againſt Eleven Biſhops of *Egypt* baniſh'd to *Diocæſarea*, together with a great number of Prieſts and Deacons. We have in *Facundus*, two Fragments of another Letter written by the ſame Father to thoſe that were baniſh'd. The Firſt, is in *Chap.* 2. of the Fourth Book, againſt *Timotheus* the Diſciple of *Apollinarius*, whom he accuſes of having Anathematiz'd St. *Baſil*, St. *Paulinus*, St. *Epiphanius*, and *Diodorus*, that he might communicate with *Vitalis* only. The Second Fragment is in *Chap.* 2. of *B.* XI. where he commends the Epiſtle of St. *Athanaſius* written to the *Antiochians*. We have not any other Fragment of the Letters of this Saint, though 'tis probable, that he wrote many more during the ſpace of Six Years that he ſtay'd at *Rome*. But when *Valens* being to march againſt the *Goths*, gave leave to the baniſh'd Biſhops to return, he came to *Alexandria* with a Letter of Recommendation from Pope *Damaſus*. The People receiv'd him and drove away *Lucius*. Sometime after, *Peter* indiſcreetly Ordain'd *Maximus* the Cynick Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, though he had approv'd by a Letter the Care which *Gregory Nazianzen* took of that Church. He dyed about the End of the Year 381. The Stile of the Letter produced by *Theodoret* is Simple and Natural, and alſo very Significant.

LUCIUS.

Lucius.

ST. *Jerom* places this *Lucius*, the Adverſary of *Peter* of *Alexandria*, among the Number of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, of whom we have already ſpoken. He ſays, That he govern'd the Church of *Alexandria* till the time of *Theodoſius*: But we have obſerv'd that he was driven away a little while before the Reign of this Emperour. He adds, That he wrote Letters concerning the Solemnity of *Eaſter*, and ſome Books upon different Subjects.

AQUILIUS SEVERUS.

Aquilius Severus.

AQUILIUS SEVERUS a Spaniard, of the Race of that *Severus* to whom *Lactantius* addreſs'd two Books of Letters, wrote a Volume in the form of an *Itinerary*, which contains all the Hiſtory of his Life in Proſe as well as Verſe. 'Tis entituled, *The Cataſtrophe, or the Experiment.* He dyed under the Reign of *Valentinian*, that is to ſay, about the Year 370. This is what St. *Jerom* has told us of this Author, and 'tis all that we know of him. This ſort of Books which contain the Lives of Authors are pleaſant when they are written of Great Men who had a ſhare in the Management of Affairs, or of ſuch Perſons whoſe Lives were full of extraordinary and ſurprizing Accidents; and they are uſeful when they are written of Perſons of great Virtue and Merit. But when no ſuch thing is to be found in them, they are commonly tedious and uſeleſs Books. 'Tis probable that this Life of *Aquilius* was fill'd with Extraordinary Occurrences, which was the reaſon why he wrote it, and why he gave it the Title of *The Cataſtrophe, or the Experiment.* Wherein he probably gives us cauſe to admire the Providence of God in the wonderful Changes that happened to himſelf. This is all that we can ſay by Conjecture, having no certain Knowledge of this Matter.

EUZOIUS.

Euzoius.

EUZOIUS was the Scholar of *Theſpeſius* the Rhetorician, together with St. *Gregory Nazianzen.* He Studied in his Youth at *Cæſarea* in *Palæſtine*, whereof he was afterward Biſhop. He repaired the Library of *Origen* and *Pamphilus*, cauſing the Books to be written out upon new Skins, becauſe the old ones began to rot. He was at laſt turn'd out of the Church in the time of *Theodoſius*. He wrote many Treatiſes, which were eaſie to be known in St. *Jerom*'s time. This is what this Father has told us of this Author. St. *Epiphanius* ſpeaks of him in *Hæreſ.* 73. and places him among thoſe Biſhops that were purely *Arian*: And yet he is different from the famous *Arian* Euzoius Biſhop of *Antioch.*

St. CYRIL *of* Jerusalem.

ST. *CYRIL* was ordain'd Priest of the Church of *Jerusalem*, by *Maximus*, Bishop of that City; but if we believe St. *Jerom*, he would not do the Office of a Deacon, as long as that Bishop liv'd. After his Death [a], he was plac'd in his room, by *Acacius* and the Bishops of his Party, which render'd his Faith suspected to the Catholicks [b]. But he was not long a Friend to *Acacius*; for the Differences which they had about the Prerogatives of their Sees, quickly broke them in pieces. The Council of *Nice* had given the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, the first place among all the Bishops of that Province, and yet left the Rites of the Church of *Cæsarea* entire, which was Metropolis to the Church of *Jerusalem*. This Honour gave occasion to the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, to assume to himself some Privileges, and so *Maximus* of *Jerusalem*, took upon him to Ordain Bishops in *Palæstine*, and to Assemble a Council of that Province. His Successor, St. *Cyril*, desiring to maintain himself in the Possession of those Privileges, was troubled by *Acacius* of *Cæsarea*, who would not endure that the Church of *Jerusalem* should assume to it self a right which legally pertain'd to his own Church. To revenge himself for this Encroachment, he call'd a Council in the Year 356, wherein he depos'd St. *Cyril*, under pretence that he had Sold the Ornaments of the Church, and the Sacred Vessels to relieve the Poor in time of Famine. He plac'd in his room, *Eutychius*, who probably was Bishop of *Eleutheropolis*. St. *Cyril* appealed from the Sentence of this Synod, to a more numerous Council; but he was forced to retire to *Tarsus*, where he continued some time with *Silvanus*, Bishop of that City, who received him very kindly, and gave him leave to Celebrate the Holy Mysteries, and to Preach in his Dioceses. At this time, there was a Synod held at *Melitina*, compos'd of Bishops of *Acacius*'s Party, where St. *Cyril* was present. He came afterwards to the Council of *Seleucia*, wherein he took part with *Basil* of *Ancyra*, *Eustathius*, *Sebastius*, and the other *Semi-Arian* Bishops, who treated him as a lawful Bishop, and gave him a Seat in the Council, in spite of all the Opposition that was made by *Acacius*: And *Acacius*, that he might the better Oppose his Adversary, threw himself upon the Party of *Eudoxus*, and by this means, got St. *Cyril* depos'd anew in the Council of *Constantinople*. 'Twas about this time, that *Heremius* was ordain'd Bishop of *Jerusalem*, because probably *Eutychius*, who was already Bishop of *Eleutheropolis*, would not leave his Church, to take the See of *Jerusalem*. After *Heremius*, there was one named *Heraclius*, and to him Succeeded one *Hilarius*. But at last, St. *Cyril* was restored to his See, under the Emperour *Theodosius*, after his Ordination had been approv'd by the Council of *Constantinople*, held in the Year 380 [c]. He died in the Year 386, and had *John* for his Successor.

St. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*.

St. *Jerom* assures us, That St. *Cyril* compos'd his Catechetical Discourses in his Youth: We have 18 of them extant, address'd to the Catechumens, whereof some are quoted by *Theodoret* [d], by St. *John Damascen*, by *Cyparissiota*; and there are 5 others, called *Mystagogick Lectures*, for the Instruction of those that are newly Baptized. *Cook*, *Rivet*, *Aubertin*, and other Calvinistical Criticks, do all that they can, to prove these Catechetical Discourses suppositious, because they contain many things that displease them [e], and destroy their Errors. But the Conjectures which they alledge to

[a] *After his Death.*] *Socrates*, B. II. *Ch.* 30. and *Sozomen*. B. IV *Ch.* 19. says, That *Acacius* of *Cæsarea*, and *Patrophilus* of *Scythopolis*, turned out *Maximus*, to place St. *Cyril* in his room: But St. *Jerom* who speaks of St. *Cyril*, after such a manner as sufficiently discovers, that he did not favour him, since he treats him as an *Arian*, tells us, That *Maximus* was dead, when he was Ordain'd. But he accuses St. *Cyril* of persecuting *Heraclius*, who was Ordain'd Bishop by the Catholicks in the room of *Maximus*, and of reducing him to the rank of Presbyters. St. *Epiphanius*, *Ruffinus*, and *Theodoret*, speak not a word of this *Heraclius*: But *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, place him as second of the Bishops whom the *Arians* set up in Opposition to St. *Cyril*. St. *Jerom* calls the first *Irenæus*, instead of *Eremius*.

[b] *His Faith suspected to the Catholicks.*] *Ruffinus* and St. *Jerom*, observe, That he oftentimes chang'd his Faith and his Communion. As to his Communion, 'tis true; for at first, he held Communion with *Acacius*, afterwards he separated from him; then he communicated with the Bishops of his Party, at the Synod of *Melitina*; after this he forsook them, to joyn with *Basil* of *Ancyra*, and the *Semi-Arians*; at last, he re-united himself to the Catholicks. But for all this, he did not change his Faith, for he always believed the Son to be like in Substance unto the Father, without condemning the Term *Consubstantial*. 'Twas *Acacius* who was so changeable in his Faith, for he sometimes signed the Doctrine, the Words being like in substance, and sometimes condemned this Doctrine, and approved the Error of the *Anomæans*; but *Meletius* re-united them all, and made them approve the Term *Consubstantial*. We must not believe St. *Jerom* about the Cause of St. *Cyril*, for he was addicted to *Paulinus* against *Meletius*, and against all those of his Party.

[c] *The Council of* Constantinople, *held in the Year* 380.] This appears by the Letter from the Council of *Constantinople*, produced by *Theodoret*, wherein the Bishops declare, That they had approved the Ordination of St. *Cyril*, because it was performed according to form by the Bishops of his Province.

[d] *By* Theodoret, *&c.*] This Father in his Second Dialogue, cites a long Passage taken out of the 4th. Catechetical Discourse of St. *Cyril*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, which is word for word found in the 4th. Catechetical Discourse to the Catechumens: St. *John Damascen*, relates also a Passage taken out of the 12th. in his *Orat.* 3. *de Imag.* Cyparissiota, *Dec.* 6. cites the 10th. Catechetical Discourse.

[e] *Many things that displease them.*] The real Presence, Transubstantiation, the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Ceremonies, Prayers for the Dead, the Exorcisms, Invocation of Saints, the Honour due to Relicks, the Celibacy of Priests, the Veneration of the Cross, *&c.* are Opinions which the Calvinists cannot endure, and they are mightily troubled to see them established by an Author of the 4th. Age of the Church.

St. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*.

overthrow their Authority, are too ſlight f, to call in queſtion the Truth; and the Intereſt which they have to oppoſe them, renders their Cenſure ſuſpected. Their endeavours are chiefly againſt the 5 Myſtagogical Catechiſms, which are not indeed cited by the Ancients, as the firſt Diſcourſes are. But the Agreement of the Stile g ſhows, that they are the ſame Authors; and the end of the 18th. Catechetical Diſcourſe h, demonſtrates it clearly: For there he promiſes to compoſe 5 other Inſtructions after *Eaſter*, whereof he tells you the Subjects, which are very near a-kin to the Subjects of thoſe which we ſtill have. In ſhort, he cites the firſt in the laſt; and ſince the laſt are promiſed in the firſt, and theſe again quoted in the laſt, Who can doubt but they are all the ſame Author's i? And ſince they cannot deny, but the firſt which have gone under the Name of St. *Cyril*, ever ſince *Theodoret's* time, are Genuine, they muſt by conſequence confeſs, that the 5 laſt belong to the ſame Author.

The Eighteen firſt Catechetical Inſtructions are addreſs'd to thoſe of the *Catechumens*, who are call'd the *Elect*, or the *Enlightned*; that is to ſay, thoſe that have paſs'd through all the other degrees of *Catechumens*, and are now inſtructed in order to receiving Baptiſm within a little time: For the Ancient Church did not give Baptiſm immediately to all thoſe who deſir'd it, but only to thoſe who had given ſigns of a ſincere Faith, and of the change of their Life, by a long Tryal, and by a courſe of Penance. So when an Infidel offer'd himſelf to be admitted among the number of Chriſtians, they begun with diſcovering to him in particular the blindneſs wherein he had hitherto been, but they did not permit him to enter into the Church to hear the Publick Exhortations. Afterwards when he was ſufficiently undeceiv'd of his old Errors, and deſir'd to be inſtructed in the Truth, he was permitted to enter into

f *The Conjectures which they alledge are too ſlight.*] They ſay, That there is a Greek Catalogue wherein they are attributed to *John* of *Jeruſalem*; but of what Authority is a Catalogue, the Antiquity whereof is not known? Can it be oppoſed to the Teſtimony of *Theodoret*, who cites thoſe Catechetical Inſtructions under the Name of St. *Cyril*, and to that of St. *Jerom*, who teſtifies, That this Father wrote one? *There is no probability*, ſays *Rivet*, *that the Care of Inſtructing the Catechumens ſhould be entruſted to a young Man.* Why not? If he was capable of it, as it appears St. *Cyril* was. If there was no probability of it, Why does St. *Jerom* aſſure us, that it was ſo? 'Tis ſaid, adds *Rivet*, *That they were ſpoken extempore, and St.* Jerom *ſays, that he wrote them.* A pleaſant objection indeed! as if it were not known that Authors do often ſet down thoſe Diſcourſes afterwards in writing, which they ſpoke without premeditation at firſt: The ſame *Rivet* is of Opinion, that thoſe places which concern Celibacy, Virginity, Relicts, the Croſs of Jeſus Chriſt, *&c.* are added in theſe Catechetical Diſcourſes; what proof has he for this, but only that thoſe things do not pleaſe him? He accuſes St. *Cyril* of Blaſphemy, becauſe he ſays, *If the Virgin* Mary *were ſo much honoured for carrying Jeſus Chriſt the ſpace of nine Months, we ought yet more to honour Chriſtians for keeping their Virginity for very many years.* This thought is not exact, 'tis a little too blunt; but ſuch things did often eſcape the Fathers in their Sermons, and it is capable of a good Sence. Another Objection of *Rivet's* is this: This Author ſays, That the Wood of the Croſs is *amongſt us to this Day.* Now theſe Words *to this Day* cannot agree, ſays he, to St. *Cyril*, who might be preſent at the finding of the Croſs. To which I anſwer, That the words, *to this Day*, reſpect the time which was already paſt, ſince the Paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt. To conclude, All theſe Catechetical Diſcourſes, have the Character of Antiquity; they are ſimple and natural, and explain the Doctrines of the Church after the ancient Way. The Author ſays at the beginning of his 6th. Catechetical Diſcourſe, That he wrote 70 Years after the beginning of the Hereſie of the *Manichees*: The Canon of the Sacred Books which he recites, is ancient; and the Creed which he makes uſe of, does not betray his Age: The manner in which he explains the Myſtery of the Trinity, ſhows, that he was a Catholick, but that he managed himſelf ſlily; for tho' he always confirms the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit, he does not always make uſe of the Word *Conſubſtantial.* The two Arguments of *Rivet*, againſt the Myſtagogical Diſcourſes, are as weak as the former. *The Ancients*, ſays he, *do not diſtinguiſh theſe two kinds of Diſcourſes.* But neither do they ſay, that there was but one: St. *Jerom*, who is the only Perſon that ſpeaks of them all, ſays only, That St. *Cyril* wrote Catechetical Diſcourſes, without telling how many: The other Authors ſpeaks of thoſe which they had occaſion to quote. 2. He ſays, *That the laſt are ſhort, whereas the firſt are very long.* But this is no Argument why they ſhould not be all the ſame Author's. The three firſt to the *Illuminated*, are ſhorter than the laſt, and are not much longer than the Myſtagogical Diſcourſes. The time, and Matter that he writes about, makes any Author longer or ſhorter; and after *Eaſter*, the Inſtructions ought not to be ſo long. *Aubertin* adds, That *Prævotius* ſays he ſupplied many Letters and corrected many places. And what follows from thence? Is there any one Book to which the firſt Publiſhers have not done the ſame thing? They have added ſometimes half a word, or a whole one, or ſometimes ſome words which they thought neceſſary. But they cannot be ſuppos'd to add whole Periods, Pages and Books; and indeed if ye compare the Edition of *Prævotius*, with that of *Morellus*, which preceeded it, made by a Manuſcript of Monſieur *De Meſmes*, and with the Latin Verſions made from other Manuſcripts, you may ſee that the Differences among them are of very ſmall Conſequence, and that they neither alter the Sence nor the Doctrine of this Father.

g *But the Agreement of the Stile*, &c.] There is the ſame Stile, the ſame Method, the ſame Air of Writing. The Stile both of the one and the other is familiar and unaffected: He explains the Myſteries by Paſſages of Scripture, and moralizes them after the ſame manner in them all.

h *The end of the* 18th. *Catechetical Diſcourſe.*] *After* Eaſter, ſays he, *with the help of God, you ſhall hear other Catechetical Lectures*; Firſt, *about what is done before Baptiſm.* This is the Subject of the Firſt Catechetical Diſcourſe. Secondly, *To explain how ye are purified from your Sins by the Baptiſm of Water.* That's the Subject of the Second. Thirdly, *How ye have received the Seal of the Holy Spirit.* That's the Subject of the Third. And Laſtly, *Concerning the Holy myſteries of the Altar.* That's the Subject of the Two laſt. But beſides; the Order which he promiſed to obſerve in ſpeaking of Holy Myſteries, is that which is obſerved in theſe two Catechetical Diſcourſes.

i *Who can doubt but they are all the ſame Author's.*] Since he cites the firſt Inſtructions in the laſt, and declares at the beginning of the firſt Catechetical Diſcourſe, That he delay'd to inſtruct them perfectly in Divine Myſteries, till they were baptiz'd; and toward the end of the ſame Diſcourſe, he ſays, That he had explained the Creed in the preceeding Diſcourſes.

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the Church, but only to hear the Sermons, without being present, at any of the Prayers: This sort of *Catechumens* were call'd *Hearers*, because they heard the Instructions which were given in the Church. The Third Rank of *Catechumens* was, that of those that were present at the Prayers, who were call'd the *Supplicants* or the *Prostrati*, because they were present at the Prayers of the Church till the Offertory, and they kneel'd and prostrated themselves on the Ground to receive the Blessing of the Bishop. In the mean time they were instructed in the Doctrine of the Church, and their Behaviour and Actions were carefully inspected, and when they found them dispos'd to receive Baptism, they were permitted to desire it, and to give in their Names, that they might be admitted to it. Those who did so, were call'd *Competentes*, that is, *Competitors*; and if their Petition was admitted, they were call'd *Elect*; and then they were prepar'd to receive Baptism by Instructions, by Exorcisms, and by many Ceremonies. These are all the Degrees that can be distinguish'd among the *Catechumens*: But commonly the Fathers without insisting on these Distinctions, call'd those *Catechumens*, who were either *Hearers*, or *Partakers only* of the Prayers; and they gave the Name of *Competitors*, to those who were in a Condition to receive Baptism. The last are they whom St. *Cyril* calls Φωτιζόμενοι, that is, *Enlightned*, because they were already instructed in the Doctrine of the Church, and had given in their Names at the beginning of *Lent*, to be baptized at *Easter*, according to Custom. 'Twas to ground them well in our Mysteries, and dispose them to receive Baptism with Purity, that St. *Cyril* compos'd those Instructions, as he himself testifies in his Preliminary Discourse, in which he treats of those Dispositions that they ought to bring with them to Baptism, and of the Necessity of hearing Instruction. He exhorts them to purifie themselves from their Sins, and to embrace a truly Christian Life, if they would have Baptism profitable unto them. He admonishes them not to approach this Sacrament, if their Souls were still polluted with heinous Sins, and they persever'd still in their wicked Designs and their sinful Customs. He tells them that they deceiv'd themselves, if they imagin'd that they should receive the Fruit and Effects of Baptism while they continued in this state. *If ye are still*, says he, *of the same wicked disposition of which ye have always been, in vain do ye think that ye shall receive the Grace of Baptism: Ye shall be wash'd with those Waters, but ye shall not receive the Holy Spirit. Therefore if any of you finds himself troubled with some secret Disease in his Mind, let him take a Remedy. Ye have yet time, the Church offers you a Penance of Four Days. Ye may during this time, retire to do Penance, and after that re-enter into the Rank where ye were,* To be baptiz'd at *Whitsuntide.* He adds, *That since they cannot receive Baptism but once only, (for none but Hereticks,* says he, *are Re-baptiz'd, because the Baptism which they have received out of the Church is no Baptism) they must take good heed that they do not receive it in vain.* After this, he explains the Disposition which they ought to have, that this Sacrament may be profitable to them. God hath said, *I require nothing of you but a Good Heart: Say not ye, How is it that my Sins shall be forgiven me? I declare it unto you, It is by Faith and a good Disposition. What is there more easily to be had? forsake then presently your infamous Company, give over your obscene Discourse, avoid Covetousness and the love of Riches, come and hear Instruction with diligence and delight, be careful to receive the Exorcisms, though ye have been already solemnly exorcis'd. Nothing is more wholsom than this Ceremony; for as the Gold is purified by Fire, so the Soul is purified by Exorcisms.* He exhorts them afterwards to hear Instruction with Attention. He makes them understand that there is a great difference between Catechizing and Sermons; for if it happens that any one does not apply his Mind to a Sermon, or neglects to hear it, 'tis easie to recover that loss, because he may hear to Morrow the same thing; but when all the Mysteries which are necessary to be known for receiving Baptism are explain'd in their Order, by Catechizing, if perhaps you neglect to hear any one of them, you cannot return to it again; and there is such an essential Connexion of all these Mysteries one with another, that if you do not understand any one of them, you are in danger of understanding nothing of all the rest. He exhorts them, to say nothing to Infidels nor Catechumens of what they shall hear, to behave themselves modestly when they come into the Church, before the Exorcisms are begun, and not to entertain themselves with Profane News; but to read there some useful Book, to Sing or to Pray, and to consider themselves always as in the presence of God, while they are there. He exhorts them to Pray always, that they may shun the snares of the Devil, and to watch continually over themselves, lest thay fall into Temptation. *These are*, says he in the Conclusion, *the best Exhortations and Instructions which we can give you, that you may not Build upon Chaff, Hay or Stubble, lest your Building be consum'd when it shall pass through the Fire. All that I can do, is to exhort you, 'tis your part to Labour, and God's to Perfect. Raise up your Minds, direct your Intentions, prepare your Hearts, it is for your Souls that you fight, and they are Eternal Treasures which you hope for.*

St. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem.*

The First Lecture is also an Exhortation to those that are to be baptized, to prepare themselves by a Holy Life and by Good Works, that so they may receive the Grace of Baptism. It is compos'd upon a Lesson taken out of the First Chapter of *Isaiah*, Verse 16. which begins with these Words, *Wash you, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings*, &c. He exhorts them wholly to put off the Old-man, sincerely to renounce all Sin, and to spend in the Exercises of Piety the 40 Days that are appointed to Prepare them for Baptism.

The Second is concerning Sin and Penance. He teaches them, That Sin is committed voluntarily by the bad use we make of our Free-Will; That the Devil was the first Sinner, that afterwards he made the first Man sin; That by the Sin of the first Man, all Men fell under Blindness and Death; That he who rais'd *Lazarus* rais'd our Souls, and deliver'd them from Sin by his Blood; That therefore we ought not to despair, whatsoever Sins we have committed, but to trust to the Mercy of God, and to have recourse to the Remedy of Repentance. He relates many Examples of God's Mercy towards the greatest Sinners: He alledges also the Example of the Angels, to whom he thinks God pardon'd

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St. Cyril of Jerusalem.

many Faults. He adds towards the end, the Example of St. *Peter*, and concludes with these words; *These are, my Brethren, the many Examples of Sinners whom God hath pardon'd, as soon as they repented. Do you also confess your Sins unto the Lord, and you shall obtain the Kingdom of Heaven, and enjoy the Heavenly Reward together with all the Saints in Jesus Christ, to whom be Glory for ever and ever.*

The Third Lecture is concerning the Necessity of Baptism, and of Penance which ought to precede it. *You must prepare your selves*, says he, *by Purity of Conscience; for you ought not to consider the External Baptism, but the Spiritual Grace which is given with the Water, that is Sanctified by the Invocation of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. The Water washes the Body, but the Spirit sanctifies the Soul, that we being purified, may become worthy to approach unto God. You cannot be perfect unless you be sanctified by the Water and the Spirit. So, if any one be baptiz'd without having the Holy Spirit, he receives not the Grace of Baptism, and likewise if any one receive not Baptism, though his Conversation were never so well order'd, he shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. This Discourse is bold, but it is not mine but Jesus Christ's, who has pronounc'd this Sentence, when he said, Except a Man be born again of Water and the Holy Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* He proves this Truth by the Example of *Cornelius*, then he shows the Necessity of Baptism by Water, and says, That none but Martyrs only can enjoy the Kingdom of Heaven without being baptized. [The Ancients generally believed that Martyrdom was that Baptism by Fire which *John Baptist* foretold, *Mat.* 3. 11. and that was the Cup which our Saviour foretold *Zebedee*'s Children that they should drink, and the Baptism wherewith they were to be baptized.] He teaches, That since Jesus Christ was baptized to sanctifie the Waters of Baptism, we must descend into the Water to be sanctified, and as the Holy Spirit did then visibly appear, so now he descends likewise, though after an invisible manner, upon those that are baptized, if they be well prepared for it. In short, he still exhorts those to whom he speaks, to prepare themselves in the remaining part of *Lent*, that so they may obtain by Baptism the Pardon of their Sins, and the Grace of the Holy Spirit.

St. *Cyril* begins in the Fourth Catechetical Discourse, with the Explication of the Articles of our Faith. He says in his *Exordium*, 'That the worship of God consists in two things, in the belief of 'those Doctrines that Religion teaches us, and in the practice of Good Works; That Faith is unprofitable without Good Works, and that Good Works will prevail nothing without Faith. He observes, 'That the Articles of Faith are opposed by Pagans, Jews and Hereticks; and therefore it is necessary 'to propose it, and explain it to those that enter into the Church'. He says, That before he explains them more largely, he will first give a Summary of them, and prays those that are already instructed, to hear with Patience his Catechetical Discourses. Afterwards he summarily explains the chief Doctrines of our Religion. He instructs them concerning the Divinity, 'That there is but one God 'only, the Creator of all things, who is every where present, who knows all things, who can do all things, 'who never changes, who will reward the Good and punish the Wicked, *&c.* He adds, That we must 'believe also in Jesus Christ our Lord, the only Son of God, God begotten of God, like in all things 'to him who begat him, who was from all Eternity, who sitteth now at his right hand and reigneth 'with him; That we must not believe, that the Son is of another Nature than the Father, nor confound the Persons of the Father and the Son; That he is the *Word*, and the Word of God, but a 'Word subsisting, which is nothing like to the word of Men; That this Word was truly and really 'united to the Humane Nature; That he assum'd real Flesh from the Virgin; That he was truly Man, 'subject to Humane Infirmities, and to Death it self; That he was crucified for our Sins; That he was 'buried in the Grave, and that he descended into Hell to deliver the just, who had been shut up 'there a long time with *Adam*; That he was truly risen from the Dead; That being ascended into 'Heaven, he was worshipp'd by all the World, and that he shall come again to judge the Quick and 'the Dead, and to establish an Eternal Kingdom. Concerning the Holy Spirit, he Teaches, That we 'ought to have the same Notions of him as of the Father and the Son: That he is One, Indivisible and 'Almighty; That he knows all things; That he descended in the form of a Dove upon Jesus Christ; 'That he spoke by the Prophets; That he Sanctifies the Soul in Baptism, and that he ought to be 'honoured as the Father and the Son, being one and the same Divinity. He exhorts his Auditors to 'hold fast this Creed, and gives them Notice, That he will prove it in the following Discourse by Testimonies of Scripture': *For*, says he, *we ought not to teach any thing concerning Divine Mysteries, but what we can confirm by the Testimonies of Scripture. Do not believe what I say, if I do not prove it by the Holy Scriptures.*

St. *Cyril*, after having inform'd those whom he instructs, what they ought to believe concerning the Divinity, acquaints them with the Knowledge of their own Natures, teaching them that they are compos'd of Body and Soul; That the Soul is immortal, because of Jesus Christ who has given it Immortality; That it is free, and has the power of doing Good and Evil; That it did not Sin before it came into the World; That the Souls of Men and Women are of the same Nature; That the Body is the Work of God; That it is not Wicked by Nature; That when it meets with a holy Soul, it is the Temple of the Holy Spirit, and that we ought to be very watchful lest we defile it by Uncleanness. He occasionally takes Notice, 'That Virginity is the more perfect State, but that we ought not to 'blame Marriage; That Married Persons may hope for Salvation, provided they use Marriage aright; 'That in Order to their living Holily in this state, they must abstain sometimes from the use of Marriage to give themselves unto Prayer, and that their Intention should not be to satisfie a brutal Passion, but to have Children. He adds, That we ought not to condemn even those that proceed 'to Second Marriages, and that this weakness should be pardon'd in those who stand in need of this 'Remedy to avoid Fornication'.

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As to what concerns Abstinence from Meat, St. *Cyril* says, 'That Christians do abstain during their 'Fasts from Flesh and Wine; but that they have no aversation to those things, as if they were in 'themselves Abominable; That they do not abstain but to Merit the more, by despising what is 'agreeable to our sense, that they may enjoy the heavenly Feast. He absolutely forbids the Eating of 'things Sacrificed to Idols, and things Strangled. As for Cloaths, he desires that they may be modest, and such as may serve not to adorn but to cover the Body, and defend it from the Injuries of the Weather. He speaks afterwards of the Resurrection, and brings Examples to show that it is not impossible. The Holy Scripture is the last thing of which he treats in this Lecture: He says, That the Old Testament is part of the Holy Scripture, and exhorts them not to read the Apocryphal Books: He informs them, That there are but 22 Canonical Books of the Old Testament, and observes, That they have been translated by the LXX. He believes that this Translation was made by Inspiration, and that the Seventy Interpreters being shut up in separate Cells, all their Versions were found to agree together. He recommends the Reading of the Canonical Books, and Meditation upon them; He reckons amongst this Number in the Old Testament the Book of *Ruth*, that of *Esther*, *Job* and *Baruch*; but he does not reckon those other Books which are not in the Hebrew Canon. The Canonical Books of the New Testament are according to him, The Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Seven Canonical Epistles, and the Fourteen Epistles of St. *Paul*, which in his time and in his Country were at the End of the New Testament, after the Canonical Epistles. He says nothing of the Revelation. He condemns Judicial Astrology, Necromancy, Publick Spectacles, Games, Usury, Covetousness, the other Superstitions of the Jews and Pagans, and the Assemblies of Hereticks.

St. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem.*

In the Fifth Lecture, after he has proved by many Examples the Necessity, and Vertue of Faith, he says, *That we must continue in that Faith which we have received from the Church, and which is fortified with the Testimony of Holy Scripture. But*, says he, *because Men cannot read the Scripture, some being hindred by their Ignorance, others by their Worldly Business; therefore all that we are oblig'd to believe is compriz'd in a few words. I pray you then to remember to fix it upon your Minds, and to be fully perswaded that this is the only true Faith. Afterwards at your Leisure ye may search for the Proofs of it in the Holy Scripture. But at present do you acquiesce in the Doctrine which you have learn'd by Tradition, engrave it upon your Hearts, that you may persevere in it with Piety: for if you remain in doubt and uncertainty, 'tis to be fear'd, that the Enemy will work your Perdition, and that Hereticks will overthrow that Doctrine which I have taught you.*

The Sixth is concerning the Monarchy, or the Unity of God, against Pagans and Hereticks. He describes the Errors both of the one and the other, and more particularly enlarges upon the Heresie of the *Manichees*, and gives an account of its Original, Progress and Impiety. He produces a Fragment of the Dispute of *Archelaus* against the Heretick *Manes*. He observes, That Men cannot comprehend the Nature and Essence of God.

In the Seventh, he explains how the Name of Father agrees to God. He observes that he has only one Son by Nature, who is Jesus Christ, and that Men are his Children by Adoption. He takes occasion from hence to exhort his Hearers to live worthy of the Title of the Sons of God, and to honour him, though of his good Pleasure he chose them to be his Children. At the same time he admonishes them to have a Reverence for their Fathers and Mothers.

In the Eighth he shows, That God is Almighty because he can do all things, and all things depend on his Power.

The Ninth is upon these words, *the Creator of all things visible and invisible.* There he shows what cause we have to admire the Greatness and Beauty of God's Works.

The Tenth is upon these Words, *in Jesus Christ our only Lord.* He says, That in order to the Pious Adoration of the Father, we must adore the Son also. He explains all the Names that are given him. He maintains, That 'twas the Son who appear'd to *Adam* and *Moses*. He makes Moral Remarks upon the Name of *Jesus*, and that of *Christ*. He produces many Proofs concerning Jesus Christ, and places in this number the Wood of the Cross, *which*, says he, *is seen to this day amongst us, and with those who having taken of it here, have fill'd the whole World almost with it.*

The Eleventh is concerning the Divinity of the Word, and his Eternal Generation. There he refutes the Error of the *Arians*, and proves that the Word is of the same Nature with the Father; That he was from all Eternity, and that he made all things: There he calls St. *Peter* the Prince or the Chief of the Apostles, and the Sovereign Preacher of the Church.

The Twelfth is concerning the Incarnation, where he shews by many Testimonies of Scripture; That Jesus Christ was made Man for the Salvation of Mankind. He quotes some of the Prophecies that foretold the Incarnation of Jesus Christ; and shews, That the time of the Messias's coming, the place where he was Born, his Condition, and the manner of his coming into the World, were foretold; he praises Virginity, and observes, That those who perform'd the Sacerdotal Office, observ'd Celibacy.

In the Thirteenth, he relates the Prophecies which concern the Death and Passion of Jesus Christ. He recommends to the Faithful, the Signing themselves with the Sign of the Cross on their Forehead, in Eating and Drinking, at their going out and coming in, at their lying down, *&c.* He calls this Sign, the Terror of Devils, and the Mark of the Faithful. He says, That it drives away Devils; That it cures Diseases; That it defeats Inchantments, and that at one Day it will appear in the Heavens when Jesus Christ shall come to judge the World.

He proves in the Fourteenth, the Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus Christ, where he commends the Piety of those Emperours, who built the Church of the Resurrection at *Jerusalem*, where he was, and adorned it with Gold and Silver.

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St. Cyril of Jeruſalem.

The Fifteenth is concerning the Second coming of Jeſus Chriſt, of the End of the World, and of Anti-Chriſt, who will come, ſays he, after the Deſtruction of the *Roman* Empire. He ſays many more particulars of him, which he endeavours to prove by Prophecies, but the explications he gives of them are not very Solid. He obſerves, That the Schiſms which he then ſaw in the Church, made him fear that the Reign of Anti-chriſt was not far off. After this he Diſcourſes of the laſt Judgment and of the Eternal Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt. He refutes the Opinion of *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, who had ſaid, That the Son ſhould not Reign any more after the Day of Judgment. He makes very curious Remarks upon the particle *Until*, and ſhows, that it is not always excluſive, as when it is ſaid, *That Death Reigned from* Adam *until* Moſes, where the meaning is not, That it did not Reign after *Moſes*.

The Sixteenth Lecture, is concerning the Holy Spirit. He obſerves, That we ought to take good heed, leſt we ſay any thing through Ignorance or Error, which is contrary to the Belief we ought to have concerning the Holy Spirit, becauſe 'tis written, That the Blaſphemies which are ſpoken againſt him, are unpardonable. Therefore he declares, That he will ſay nothing of the Holy Spirit, but what is ſaid of him in the Holy Scripture, and that he will not enquire by an indecent Curioſity after that which is not written. *'Tis the Holy Spirit*, ſays he, *who dictated the Holy Scripture: he hath ſaid of himſelf what he would have us to know, and what we are capable of knowing about him.* He begins with giving an Account of the Errors of Hereticks concerning the Holy Spirit, and afterwards recites what is ſaid of him in the Holy Scripture; he deſcribes his Effects, and attributes to him all the good Thoughts and good Actions of the Faithful.

He continues the ſame Subject in his 17th. Lecture, where he produces the Teſtimonies of our Lord concerning the Holy Spirit. He has exactly Collected in theſe two Catechetical Lectures, all that is ſaid of the Holy Spirit in the Old and New Teſtament. He teaches, That the Holy Spirit is not a Breath form'd by the Mouth of the Father and the Son, but that he is a Perſon ſubſiſtent of the ſame Nature with the Father and the Son. He calls St. *Peter*, the Prince of the Apoſtles, and the Porter of Heaven. He obſerves, That the Determination of the Council of *Jeruſalem*, was a General or Oecumenical Law, which all the Earth had, and did ſtill obſerve.

The Laſt of thoſe Lectures which are addreſs'd to the *Enlightned*, is of the Reſurrection, of the Church, and of Eternal Life. 'In the beginning he ſhows, That the hope of the Reſurrection is the 'Foundation of all good Actions, becauſe the expectation of this reward, excites Men to labour for 'it. 'Twas this that made him ſay, that the Faith of the Reſurrection is a great encouragement, 'and a very neceſſary Doctrine.' He brings for proof of the Reſurrection, the Juſtice of God, which requires, that Sinners which are not puniſh'd in this World ſhould be puniſh'd in another, and that the Righteous who are miſerable here below, ſhould be recompenc'd in another Life. He ſays, That all Men have naturally ſome Knowledge of the Reſurrection, and that upon this Account, they have a horror of thoſe who rob the Dead. He brings many Illuſtrations of it taken from the changes in Nature. He does not forget the Example of the *Phœnix*, for which he cites St. *Clement* for his Authority. He obſerves, That the Generation of Man, is no leſs wonderful than the Reſurrection, and that God who could Create the Univerſe of nothing, can eaſily raiſe a dead Man. After he has employ'd theſe Reaſons againſt the Pagans, he alledges againſt the Samaritans the wonderful Effects of the Divine Power related in the Old Teſtament, and proves the Reſurrection of the Dead by many paſſages of the Prophets. [This ſeems to be a miſtake; the Sadducees were the only Sect of the Jews that denyed a Reſurrection.] In ſpeaking of the dead Man, rais'd at the Sepulchre of *Eliſha*, he ſays, *That by this Example we may know, that we ought not only to honour the Souls of the Saints, but alſo to ſhow Reverence to the Relicts of their Bodies, ſince they have ſuch Power and Virtue.* The Second Part of this Inſtruction, is concerning the Catholick Church. He ſays, 'It is ſo called, becauſe it is ſpread 'over all the Earth; Becauſe it univerſally receives all the Articles of Faith; Becauſe it generally 'cures all Sins; and Laſtly, Becauſe it poſſeſſes all Graces, and all Virtues. He ſays, it is called the 'Church, becauſe it is an Aſſembly of the Faithful; That the Hereticks have alſo their Aſſemblies or 'their Churches; That to diſcern the one from the other, when you go to any place, you muſt not 'ask barely where is the Church, or the Houſe of the Lord, becauſe the Hereticks give this Name to 'their Temples; but you muſt ask where is the Catholick Church, becauſe this is a Name proper to 'this Holy Mother of all faithful Chriſtians, which is the Spouſe of Jeſus Chriſt. 'In ſhort, The laſt part of this Lecture, is of Eternal Life. 'Tis very Remarkable that in the Creed which St. *Cyril* uſed there is found *Life Everlaſting*, becauſe as we have obſerved in the Firſt Volume of our *Bibliotheca*, almoſt all the ancient Creeds, end with *the Reſurrection of the Fleſh*. St. Cyril adds to it *Baptiſm*, whereof he had already ſpoken, *the Catholick Church and Life Everlaſting*: He ſays upon the laſt Article, That the Eternal Life of Chriſtians is the Poſſeſſion of the moſt Holy Trinity. He concludes this Lecture with a Promiſe to his Auditors, that he would explain after *Eaſter*, the Sacred Myſteries which they were to receive upon the Chriſtian Altar, and with an Exhortation to rejoyce, becauſe the time of their Redemption, Salvation, and Regeneration approach'd.

The Five other Lectures which are call'd *Myſtagogical*, are addreſs'd by St. *Cyril* to the ſame Perſons after they had received the Grace of Baptiſm. The firſt is about the Vow which is made in Baptiſm to renounce the Devil, his Works and all his Pomps. He declares to his Auditors, the Importance of performing this Vow. He ſays, That the Works of the Devil are Sins, and that his Pomps are Shows, Plays and Profane Feaſts. There is in this firſt Lecture a Paſſage expreſly for Tranſubſtantiation: *For*, ſays he, *as the Bread and Wine of the Euchariſt, which are nothing before the Invocation of the moſt Holy Trinity, but Bread and Wine, become after this Invocation, the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt. So thoſe Meats which ſerve for the Pomp of the Devil, though they be pure of their own Nature, become*

come impure by the Invocation of Devils. [All these Passages are necessarily to be understood, according to those Notions wherein the Christians of that Age had been usually Instructed.] St. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem.*

In the Second, he treats of the Ceremonies and Effects of Baptism: He says, That the Catechumens after they were unclothed, were anointed from the Feet unto the Head, with exorcised Oyl; That after this they were conducted to the Laver; That they were ask'd, if they believed in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; That after they had made Profession of this Faith, they were plunged three times into the Water, and that they retir'd out of it by degrees, at three times likewise. He teaches them, That the Baptism of Jesus Christ, does not only remit Sins as that of *John* the Baptist did, but also fills the Soul with the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, and makes us the Children of God by Adoption.

The Third is of Holy Chrism, wherewith the Faithful were anointed immediately after they came out of the Waters of Baptism. He declares to them, That we ought not to imagine this to be common Oyl. *For,* says he, *as the Bread of the Eucharist after the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, is no more common Bread, but the Body of Jesus Christ. So the Holy Chrism after Consecration, is no more common Oyl; but it is a Gift of the Holy Spirit, which has the Virtue to procure the presence of the Divinity. So while the Forehead and other parts of the Body are anointed with this visible Oyl, the Soul is sanctified by this Holy and quickning Spirit.* He observes afterwards, That they anointed the Forehead, the Ears, the Nostrils, and the Breast.

The Fourth Lecture is of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; and the Fifth, of the Celebration of the Eucharist. These two Catechetical Lectures, are so clear, and so strong, for establishing the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church about the Eucharist; That we cannot excuse our selves from setting them down almost entire. Take then as follows the Translation of them which has been Printed in the Office of the Holy Sacrament.

" The Doctrine of the blessed St. *Paul* alone, is sufficient to give certain proofs of the Truth of the " Divine Mysteries, and the Church having judged you worthy to partake of them, ye are by this " means so closely united to Jesus Christ, that ye are no more as one may say, but one and the same " Body and Blood with him. For this great Apostle says, in the place which we have already read, " That our Lord in the same Night wherein he was delivered up to his Enemies, having taken Bread " and given Thanks to God his Father, broke it and gave it to his Disciples, saying to them, *Take* " *and Eat, This is my Body.* Afterwards he took the Cup, and having given Thanks, he said unto " them, *Take and Drink, This is my Blood.* Seeing then, that he speaking of the Bread, declared, " That it was his Body, Who shall ever dare to call in question this Truth? And since that, he speak- " ing of the Wine, has assured us so positively, That it was his Blood, Who can ever doubt of it? And " who shall dare to say, 'Tis not true that it was his Blood?

" Jesus Christ being at a certain time in *Cana* of *Galilee,* changed there the Water into Wine by his " Will only; and shall we think, that it is not as worthy of Credit upon his own Word, that he " changed the Wine into his own Blood? If he being invited to a humane and earthly Marriage, " wrought there this Miracle, tho' no Person expected it from him there, ought not we much rather " to acknowledge, that he has given to the Children of the heavenly Spouse, his Body to Eat, and " his Blood to Drink, that his Body and Blood may be nourishment to their Souls? For under the " species of Bread, he has given us his Body, and under the species of Wine, he has given us his Blood, " that so being made partakers of this Body and Blood, ye may become one Body and one Blood " with him. For by this means we become, as one may say, *Christiferi,* that is to say, we carry Jesus " Christ in our Body when we receive into our Mouth, and into our Stomach, his Body and his Blood: " And thus according to St. *Peter,* we are made partakers of the Divine Nature.

" Jesus Christ speaking at another time to the Jews, says to them, Unless ye Eat my Flesh and " drink my Blood, ye shall have no Life in you. *But these gross and Carnal Men not understanding* " *the Words spiritually, were offended with them, and withdrew from him, because they imagined, that* " *he would make them eat humane Flesh by morsels.* [These Words do so fully explain St. *Cyril*'s Sence, that they need no Comment. If the Jews were offended because they did not *spiritually understand* those Words of Jesus Christ, when he talked to them in the *6th.* of St. *John*; how much more according to this Father's way of Reasoning, Would the Disciples have been offended, if they had understood Jesus Christ literally, when he Instituted the Sacrament of the Eucharist?] " There were in the " Old Dispensation Loaves of Bread which were offer'd before God, and because they pertain'd to " that Old Dispensation, they have ceas'd with it: But now in the New dispensation, there is Bread " from Heaven, and a Cup of Salvation, which Sanctifies Soul and Body. For as the Bread is the " Nourishment which is proper to the Body, so the Word is the Nourishment which is proper to the " Soul. Wherefore I conjure you, my Brethren, not to consider them any more as common Bread " and Wine, since they are the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ according to his Word. For tho' your " Sense inform you, that 'tis not so, yet Faith should perswade and assure you, that 'tis so. Judge " not therefore of this Truth by your Taste, but let Faith make you believe with an entire certainty, " that you have been made worthy to partake of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.

" Let your Soul rejoyce in the Lord, being perswaded of it as a thing most certain, that the Bread " which appears to our Eyes is not Bread, tho' our taste do judge it to be so, but that it is the Body " of Jesus Christ, and that the Wine which appears to our Eyes is not Wine, tho' our Sense of Taste " takes it for Wine, but that it is the Blood of Jesus Christ.

" Ye have seen that a Deacon gives Water to wash the Hands to the Priest that officiates, and to the " Priests that are about the Altar of God. Think you that this was done to cleanse the Body? No, " not at all; For we do not use to be in such a Condition, when we enter into the Church, as to stand

St. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem.*

" in need of such washing to make us clean; but this washing of the Hands signifies, that we should " be clean from all our Sins; for the Hands signifying Actions, to wash our Hands is nothing else but " to purifie our Works. Afterwards the Deacon having said with a loud voice, *Embrace and kiss* " *one another with a kiss of Peace*, we do all mutually Salute with a holy Kiss, because it is the Token " of the perfect reconciliation of our Hearts, and of forgetting all the injuries that have been received. " After this, the Priest that officiates, says with a loud voice, *Lift up your Hearts*, because in this tre- " mendous Moment chiefly, our Hearts should be raised up to God, and not depress'd towards the " things of this World. Therefore the Priest requires all those that are present at the Sacrifice, to " banish from their Minds at this time, all Thoughts of the World, and all the Cares of their Dome- " stick Affairs, that their Hearts may be in Heaven, in the presence of God who hath testified so great " Love to Mankind. At these words of the Priest, ye Answer, *We lift up our Hearts unto the* " *Lord*; and so ye profess to do what he has said. The Priest adds, *Let us give Thanks unto the Lord.* " And we ought indeed, to give thanks to him, that we, unworthy as we are of so rare and so excel- " lent a Gift, are honoured with the Participiation of it; that he of his Goodness has reconciled us " who were Enemies to himself, and that he designs to make us who have been so great Sinners, be- " come his Children by the Spirit of Adoption which he communicates to us. Ye answer at these words " of the Priest, *'Tis just and reasonable to give Thanks unto him:* For when we give Thanks to God, " we do a thing that is just, and which we are obliged to do; but when God bestows upon us so great " Blessings he does it not out of Justice, but out of pure Grace and Favour.

" Afterwards, we repeat the Sacred Hymn which the Seraphims sing in Heaven, in honour of the " Three Persons of the Trinity, that so by this most heavenly Song, we may communicate with the " sublime Host of Angels, and that being Sanctified more and more by these most Spiritual Hymns, " we may become the fitter to pray unto so Good and so Gracious a God, that he would send down the " Holy Spirit upon those things that we offer unto him, and that he would make the Bread be- " come the Body of Jesus Christ, and the Wine his Blood: For whatsoever receives the Impression of " the Holy Spirit, is sanctified and changed. [This shew's against those who urge St. *Cyril*'s Words for Transubstantiation, that he did not think the change of the Elements (whatever it is) depends solely upon the Priest's repeating the Words of Consecration.] " Now when this Spiritual Sacrifice is " ended, and this unbloody Worship which is given to God by means of the Expiatory Victim is con- " cluded, Then we pray to him for the universal Peace of all the Churches, for the Tranquility of the " whole World, for Kings, for their Armies and their Allies, for the Sick and Afflicted, and in a word, " for all those that need God's help. And we say unto God, Lord, we all pray unto thee, and offer " up this Sacrifice, that by commemorating those who are dead before us, *viz.* the Patriarchs, Prophets, " Apostles and Martyrs, you may receive our Prayers Graciously, for the merit of their Prayers: Then " we pray for the Holy Fathers and the Bishops that are dead, and in short, for all those that are de- " parted this Life in our Communion, believing that their Souls receive very great Relief, by the Pray- " ers that are offered for them in this holy and tremendous Sacrifice which is upon the Altar. This " I shall easily make you understand by an Example: For I know there are many who say, What " good can it do to a Soul which is departed out of this Life, whether with Sins or without them, to " remember it at this Sacrifice? But tell me, I pray you, If a King had sent into banishment some Per- " sons that had offended him, and their Friends and Relations should present him with a Crown of " great Price to appease his Anger, Don't you think, that upon their Account, the King would show " some Favour to the guilty Persons, and at least mitigate their Pains? So do we address our Prayers " to God for those that are dead, tho' they were Sinners, not by presenting to him a Crown, but by " offering up to him Jesus Christ himself, who was sacrificed for our Sins, that so he who is so Merciful " and Good, may become Gracious to them as well as to us. After this you say, *Our Father which art* " *in Heaven*, &c.

" When the Lord's Prayer is ended, the Priest says, *Holy things are for the Holy*; that is, The " things which are offered upon the Altar, being sanctified by the descent of the Holy Spirit, are for " you that are Holy, by the Infusion of the same Holy Spirit which has been given you; and thus it " is, that Holy things are for them that are Holy. Then ye answer, *Jesus Christ alone is Holy*; *He* " *only is the Lord and Master.* And 'tis not without reason, that ye speak after this manner, because " indeed, there is none truly Holy, but he only who is so of himself, and by his own Nature; " and as for you, how Holy soever you be, you are not so by your own proper Nature, but only " by the participation of Holiness, by the spiritual Exercises which you perform, and by the Prayers " which you address to his Supream Majesty. After this, you hear most heavenly and divine Musick, in- " viting you to partake of the Sacred Mysteries, by chanting forth these words; *Taste and see how* " *good the Lord is.* Think you now that you are requir'd to discern this by the Sense of Taste? No, " by no means; but by the Testimony of Faith which is certain, and leaves no doubt. For when you " take them, ye are not commanded to take the Bread and Wine, but to take the Body and Blood of " Jesus Christ, which *they represent.* [One that believes with the Church of *Rome*, cannot say that the Bread and Wine represent the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.] " Now when you approach to Com- " municate, you must not come there with your Hands expanded, nor your Fingers open, but sup- " porting your right Hand which is to contain so great a King, with your left; you receive the Body " of Jesus Christ, into the hollow of this Hand, saying *Amen.* Then after you have taken Care to " Sanctifie your Eyes by the touch of so Holy and Venerable a Body, you Communicate of it by " eating it. But take heed that nothing of it falls aside, considering the loss of the least crum, as if " you lost some of your Members. If any one should give you Ingots of Gold, What Care would " you take to watch them, that nothing of them should be lost? What Precaution then ought we

" to

St. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem.*

to use, to keep the least Crum of a thing that is infinitely more dear and precious than Gold and Diamonds, from falling down? After you have thus communicated of the Body of Jesus Christ, approach to the Cup of his Blood, not by stretching forth your hands, but by bowing your selves as it were to Adore him, and do him Homage, and then say, *Amen.* Then Sanctifie your selves by the Touch of the Blood of Jesus Christ which you receive, and while your Lips are wet, dry them with your hand, and carry it immediately to your Eyes, your Forehead, and your other Organs of sense, to consecrate them. In a word, while you wait for the last Prayer of the Priest, return thanks to God that he has made you worthy to partake of so great and so sublime Mysteries.

I shall not stay to make all the Reflections upon these Passages which have been already made by the most able Defenders of the Church, being perswaded that the Plainness of these words exceeds all that can be said, and that Men need only Eyes to convince them that St. *Cyril* taught the Real Presence, and to make them acknowledge, that the Ceremonies of the Mass are very ancient in the Church.

We have a Letter of St. *Cyril* to *Constantius*, upon the wonderful Apparition of a Luminous Cross, which was seen over the City of *Jerusalem*, mention'd by *Sozomen* in *Ch.* 4. of the 4th. Book of his History, where he also observes, That the Emperour was advertis'd of it by St. *Cyril.* In this Letter he gives great Commendations to the Emperour *Constantius*; he says, That the Cross of Jesus Christ was found in the time of the Emperour *Constantine*; he describes the Apparition of the Sign of the Cross, and concludes with glorifying the Consubstantial Trinity. *Rivet* rejects also this Letter as a Suppositious Writing, and gives no other Reason for his Opinion, but the great Praises which it gives to the Emperour *Constantius.* [*Nazianzen* commends *Constantius* in his Invectives against *Julian* in as high terms as 'tis possible, and yet they were never questioned.] But this is not a sufficient Proof, since we commonly speak so to Princes, and St. *Athanasius* and St. *Hilary* did not use to do otherwise, even after this Emperour had declar'd himself more openly against the Faith of the Church: For this Letter, if it is true, was written a little after St. *Cyril* was Bishop of *Jerusalem.*

We have also a Letter of the Presentation of Jesus Christ in the Temple, which goes under the Name of St. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, and nothing hinders us to attribute it to him. But we cannot say this of the Letter written in the Name of St. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* to St. *Augustine*, concerning the Miracles of St. *Jerom.* Though this Letter was not so ridiculously written as it is, the Title alone would show that it is a gross imposture, since St. *Cyril* was dead before St. *Jerom.*

The Stile of St. *Cyril*'s Catechetick Lectures, is Simple and Natural. 'Tis easie to perceive that they were written in hast, and without much Premeditation. Though they do not dive deeply into the Mysteries, yet they explain them very clearly, and they contain much Learning. One may see there upon every Subject a most exact and exquisite Collection of Passages of Scripture. He sets down the Opinions of the Hereticks and refutes them solidly. He makes very judicious remarks, and explains many Passages of Scripture. I say nothing particularly of his Doctrine, because it is sufficiently explain'd in the Extracts, which we have taken out of his Lectures.

Joannes Grodecius was the first who translated and publish'd the Catechetical Discourses of St. *Cyril*, from a Greek Manuscript of Cardinal *Hosius*, the Pope's Legat at the Council of *Trent.* They were printed in the Year 1564. at *Antwerp* and at *Paris*; In the Year 1560. at *Vienna*, and in 1584 at *Paris.* The Original Greek appear'd quickly after the Latin Version, for *Morellus* printed the 11 first Catechetical Discourses, and the Five last in the Year 1564, from a Manuscript out of Monsieur *de Mesmes*'s Library: They were also printed with a Latin Translation in the same Year at *Cologn* 1564. But at last *Prevotius* having found the Greek of all the Catechetical Discourses of St. *Cyril* in the Manuscripts of the *Vatican* Library, he printed them at *Paris* by *Morellus* in the Year 1609. This Volume is in *Quarto*, and the Version of *Grodecius* in one Page, answering to the Greek Text in the other. 'Twas this Edition which was follow'd by that of *Paris* in the Year 1631.

The Letter concerning the Sign of the Cross, was printed apart by *Morellus*, and since joyn'd to the Catechetical Discourses of St. *Cyril.* The Oration concerning the Presentation of Jesus Christ, was printed at *Cologne* by *Birchmannus* in the Year 1598. These Discourses are all in the *Bibliothecæ Patrum.*

St. EPHREM *the* Syrian, *Deacon of* Edessa.

St. *Ephrem* the *Syrian*, Deacon of *Edessa.*

ST. *EPHREM* was of *Nisibis* a City of *Syria*, or of some place thereabout. He was Born under the Reign of *Constantine*, he embrac'd a Monastick Life from his most tender Youth, and became in a little time the Governor and Superior of many Monks. Coming often to *Edessa* to visit the Church of that City, he was there ordain'd Deacon. He came also as far as *Cæsarea* of *Cappadocia*, where he was known and very well receiv'd by St. *Basil*, who had a most particular esteem for him. 'Tis said, That this Saint taught him Greek, and that he conferr'd upon him the Order of Priesthood; but this Report is not very certain, since the Ancients assure us, that he dyed a Deacon. *Sozomen* tells us, That when he was chosen Bishop of a City, he feign'd himself to be Mad, lest they should carry him away by force, and ordain him against his Will. I shall say nothing here of his Piety, his Charity, his Humility, the Austerity of his Life, nor of his other Christian and Religious Vertues, no more than of his remarkable Actions and his Miracles, because those things do not concern my Subject. I shall only apply my self to speak of his Writings, which were so famous according to the Testimony of St. *Jerom*, that they were publickly read in some Churches after the Reading of the Holy

St. *Ephrem* the *Syrian*, Deacon of *Edeſſa*.

Books, and which were ſo numerous that the whole World was full of them. He wrote them in *Syriack*, and they were tranſlated into Greek in his own time. *Sozomen* obſerves, That though he had never ſtudied, yet he had ſo many Beauties in his Stile, and ſo many Sublime Thoughts, that the Tracts of his Eloquence might be diſcern'd even in the Greek Tranſlation: and St. *Jerom* aſſures us, That having read the Verſion of his Treatiſe concerning the Holy Spirit, he perceived in the Tranſlation the Fineneſs of his Sublime Genius: St. *Gregory Nyſſen* who wrote a Panegyrick upon this Father, inſiſts chiefly upon his Doctrine and Writings. He praiſes the Purity of his Faith, and the Averſation he had to the Hereſies of *Sabellius*, *Arius* and *Apollinarius*. He ſays, That he refuted the *Anomæans* and the *Novatians*; and all his Writings are full of ſolid and convincing Proofs. He adds, That he had read and meditated more than any Perſon upon the Old and New Teſtament, and that he had wrote Expoſitions upon all the Holy Scripture, from the Beginning of *Geneſis* to the End of the New Teſtament; That he had alſo compos'd many lively and Pathetical Exhortations; That Tears and Sighs were very common and familiar with him, as may be ſeen in his Writings. *For*, ſays he, *he does not only ſigh, when he ſpeaks of Morality and the Precepts of Life, but even in his Panegyricks; all his Diſcourſes are mixt with bemoaning and compaſſionate Expreſſions, which are able to move even the hardeſt Hearts. For who that is Proud*, adds he, *would not become the humbleſt of Men, by reading his Diſcourſe of Humility? Who would not be inflam'd with a Divine Fire, by reading his Treatiſe of Charity? Who would not wiſh to be chaſt in Heart and Spirit by reading the Praiſes he has given to Virginity? Who would not be frighted by hearing the Diſcourſe he has made upon the Laſt Judgment, wherein he has repreſented it ſo lively, that nothing can be added to it but the ſame thing? God gave him ſo Profound a Wiſdom, that though he had a wonderful facility of Speaking, yet he could not furniſh Expreſſions for the multitude of Thoughts that came into his mind. We have ſeen*, as the ſame Father ſtill goes on, *one of his Sermons, where he calls* Apollinarius *a Madman*. He tells a very pleaſant Story of a trick that St. *Ephrem* put upon this Heretick. He ſays, That the Heretick had written two Books, wherein were all the Reaſons and Paſſages of Scripture, that he made uſe of to defend his Error, and which he had committed to the Cuſtody of a Woman; That St. *Ephrem* pretending that he was of the ſame Judgment with *Apollinarius*, had borrowed them of this Woman, and that before he reſtor'd them, he glued all the Leaves faſt to one another: That this Woman ſeeing the Books bound up after the ſame manner, perceiv'd nothing of what was done, but gave them as they were to *Apollinarius*, to make uſe of them in a publick Conference which he was to have with a Catholick, and that then the Heretick not being able to open them, was forc'd to withdraw with ſhame. The quickneſs of St. *Ephrem*'s Wit appeared alſo in the Syriack Verſes which he made in his own Language, in imitation of *Hammonius* the Son of *Bardeſanes*, who had compos'd many Hymns which the Syrians Sung with Delight. St. *Ephrem* perceiving that this Author had cunningly interſpers'd in thoſe Prayers, ſome Errors of his Father, and of the Greek Philoſophers, fearing leſt the Chriſtians of *Syria*, might fall inſenſibly into theſe falſe Opinions, he endeavour'd with all his might to comprehend the Metre of theſe Verſes, and wrote other Books agreable to the Doctrine of the Church, as Hymns and the Encomiaſticks of the Saints, which were ſo well receiv'd by the *Syrians*, that they Sung them to the ſame Tunes with thoſe of *Hammonius*. 'Tis ſaid, That he compos'd almoſt 100000 Verſes of this Nature. *Sozomen* ſays alſo, That he wrote the Life of St. *Julianus*. To conclude, *Photius* in Volume 197 of his *Bibliotheca*, obſerves that he had read 50 Sermons of this Father.

It appears by what we have already ſaid, That *Ephrem* wrote Commentaries upon all the Bible, Treatiſes of Controverſie againſt many Hereticks, a Book of the Holy Spirit, a great many Diſcourſes and Inſtructions to the People, and to his Monks, ſome Panegyricks, many Treatiſes of Morality, and a great number of Hymns to be Sung in the Church: That all his Writings were compoſed in Syriack, and that the greateſt part of them were tranſlated into Greek while he was living. We have none of his Commentaries upon Scripture, nor his Treatiſes of Controverſie; but we have a great number of Diſcourſes of Moral Precepts, and of Hymns which have been tranſlated into Greek, and publiſh'd by *Voſſius* towards the end of the laſt Age, under St. *Ephrem*'s Name. Some Criticks, to whom the Books concerning a Monaſtick Life are not agreeable, have pretended that all thoſe Books are Suppoſititious. Notwithſtanding 'tis very probable, that the greateſt part of them are truly St. *Ephrem*'s, becauſe all the Characters that the Ancients give of the Writings of St. *Ephrem*, agree to theſe; ſo that 'tis eaſie to know them. 1. The Treatiſes of St. *Ephrem* were full of Figures and Ornaments, but yet without Fineneſs and Art; now theſe are all fill'd with Exclamations, Interrogations, Compariſons, Antitheſes and other Figures, which are groſly enough employ'd and without choice. 2. He had much Vivacity and Fire, which theſe are all full of. 3. St. *Ephrem* related many Paſſages of Scripture, and theſe Writings are oftentimes nothing elſe but a Collection. 4. St. *Gregory Nyſſen* ſays, That they were mix'd with bemoaning Expreſſions, with Sighs and Tears; That he ſpoke continually of Weeping even in his Panegyricks: This is properly the Character of the greateſt part of the Diſcourſes publiſh'd by *Voſſius*. 5. The ſame Father ſays, That he wrote Diſcourſes of Humility, Charity, in Praiſe of Virginity, and of the laſt Judgment. There are Diſcourſes upon all theſe Subjects amongſt thoſe that were publiſh'd by *Voſſius*, and have the ſame Character which this Father obſerv'd in St. *Ephrem*'s Books; that is to ſay, that they are pathetical and moving. 6. He wrote many Hymns upon divers Subjects, and there are among the Books which go under his Name, many Pieces written in Verſe, and of a Poetical Stile. 7. His Teſtament which is related in this Edition, is the ſame with that which is quoted by St. *Gregory Nyſſen*, who produces two paſſages out of it, which are word for word in that which was publiſh'd by *Voſſius*. 8. We have among theſe Books, The Life of *Julianus* cited by *Sozomen*, *B.* III. of his Hiſtory, *Ch.* 14. In fine, The 49 Sermons of St. *Ephrem*, whereof *Photius* made an Extract, are found in theſe Works of St. *Ephrem*. The ſame *Photius* quotes a Diſcourſe

of

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of Humility divided into a 100 Chapters, which is in the second Tome, a Discourse upon the same Vertue, which is in the first Tome, and a Treatise of Vertues and Vices to the *Metebian* Monks, which is also in the first Volume, and which contains the same Matters in the same Order. These Reasons plainly shew, that the greatest part of the Books, which at present go under St. *Ephrem*'s Name, are the same with *Gregory Nyssen*, *Theodoret*, *Sozomen* and *Photius*, attributed to this Saint. Now what probability is there, that they should take the Works of another Author for those of St. *Ephrem*? St. *Gregory Nyssen*, could not be deceiv'd herein, who liv'd at the same time. What probability is there, that *Photius*, who was a very able Critick, and who distinguishes our St. *Ephrem* from the Patriarch of *Antioch*, who mentions the Works of the one and the other, in two different places of his *Bibliotheca*; What probability is there, I say, that he should quote a false *Ephrem* for a true one?

'Tis objected 1. That there is not found in his Works that Fire and Loftiness which are mention'd by St. *Jerom* and *Sozomen*, and that they seem to be rather Pious than Learned, according to the Judgment of Cardinal *Bellarmin*. I answer, That tho' there were not found in a Latin Version of the Works of any Author made from another Greek Version, all that Beauty and Loftiness which they had in their Original Language, we should not wonder at it: But those who object this, do not rightly apprehend the Sence of St. *Jerom* and *Sozomen*, and have neither a very nice Relish, nor a very right Judgment in this matter. For first of all, St. *Jerom* and *Sozomen*, tacitely confess, That the Translation of the Works of St. *Ephrem* made them lose some part of their Loftiness; but they only observe, That one might perceive some strokes of his Vivacity and Eloquence, even in the Translation it self. 2dly. St. *Jerom* says the same of the Book of the Holy Spirit, and not of the others. Now it may so happen, that this sublime Reasoning of St. *Ephrem*, appear'd more in his Dogmatical Books, than in his Discourses of Devotion, and in his Edifying Exhortations; such as all those are which are now extant. 3dly, 'Tis not true, that no Vein of Eloquence is to be discerned in them. The learned *Photius* did not think so. *On the contrary, we may admire*, says he, *in the Exhortations of this holy Man*, (which are a part of this Book which we now have) *the force wherewith he perswades, his agreeable manner of expressing things, and the Pathetical Phrases that he makes use of. It is no wonder, that his Stile and his Figures, resemble those Homilies which are made off hand, and without premeditation: Neither must we throw this fault upon the Author, but upon the Interpreter, because those that are learned in the Syriack Tongue, know that they excel in abundance of Words, and in Figures of Rhetorick; so that 'tis hard to say, whether it be from their Language, or from his own Invention, that the strength and elevation of his Discourse proceeds. Moreover, we ought not in reading to look only upon the meanness of the Words, but to consider what Advantage and Profit may be reaped from the things that he has written.* [Mr. *Du Pin*, seems to have forgot that he had named Cardinal *Bellarmin* just before.] This Reflection of *Photius*, who was a better Critick in this kind, than *Rivet* and the other Criticks of his way, informs us, that several strokes of the Elevation and Quickness of his Spirit, might be discerned in the Version of St. *Ephrem*'s Discourses, and that one might there perceive the Genius of the Syriack Tongue; and that whatever meanness there may be in his Stile, it ought to be attributed to the Interpreter, and not to the Author.

'Tis objected also, That those Treatises were written by an Author who understood Greek, since he cites St. *Irenæus*, *Ch.* 8. of the Treatise *of Vertue*, and the Life of St. *Anthony* written in Greek by St. *Athanasius*, in *Ch.* 10. of the Treatise upon these words, *Take heed to your selves:* Now St. *Ephrem* did not understand Greek, say they, and by consequence these Treatises are none of his.

'Tis easie to answer this objection. 1. 'Tis not certain that St. *Ephrem* did not understand Greek: on the contrary, 'tis probable that a Man who was often among People that spoke Greek did understand their Language, tho' he was not able enough to write in that Tongue. 2. That though he did not understand Greek, yet he might get the Books of St. *Irenæus*, translated into Syriack; and 'tis probable, that for the use of the Monks of his Country, he procur'd a Syriack Verson of the Life of St. *Anthony*, who was look'd upon as the Rule of all the Monks in the East.

3dly. They object to us the little Credit that ought to be given to those that have publish'd his Books: They say, We have them not, but as they come through the hands of the Modern Greeks, who are too much given to Cheat; and that the Latin Versions were made by *Ambrosius Camaldulensis*, and *Vossius Tungrensis*, who were Persons devoted to the Interests of the Court of *Rome*.

But why is it sufficient thus to alledge general and uncertain Reasons for rejecting any Books? If this be sufficient, What is there that we shall not doubt of? The Protestants will have Reason to reject all the Books of the Fathers, which have been publish'd by Catholicks, and Catholicks will have reason to reject all those that have been publish'd by the Protestants. Where shall we be then? This therefore is not the way: But we must suppose that both the one and the other have publish'd the Books which they found in the Manuscripts that fell into their hands; for there is no probability that one Man should be so impudent as to forge many Pieces, and pretend that he found them in Manuscripts; and tho' some Persons should be found capable of doing this, yet 'twere impossible, but their Imposture must be quickly discover'd. They must therefore have other Proofs, besides these general Accusations, to reject any Books as suppositious. But besides, when it is said that we have none of St. *Ephrem*'s Writings, but through the hands of the Modern Greeks, that's a mistake. They were translated while he was alive, as appears by what we have already said. And whereas *Ambrosius Camaldulensis* and *Vossius*, are accus'd of being Impostors, 'tis easie to justifie them by the ancient Greek Manuscripts which are to be found in Libraries.

Lastly, Some places of the Books of this Father are produc'd, which seem to be mean and unworthy of him. 'Tis said, that there is nothing more ridiculous, than what he introduces the damn'd speaking, *We salute you, O Saints, we salute you, O Apostles*, &c. They add, that there are contradictions

dictions in them, for in his Confeſſions, he accuſes himſelf of many Sins, and in his Teſtament he makes himſelf Innocent.

St. *Ephrem* the *Syrian*, Deacon of *Edeſſa*.

To anſwer this Objection in a word, I might ſay, That 'tis a very hard matter to avoid, but ſome weak Thoughts will be found in ſo great a Number of Books of Piety and Devotion. That if one would compare theſe Books with thoſe of our Age, which are of the ſame kind, they might ſee that the latter are infinitely more fill'd with falſe Thoughts, than thoſe of St. *Ephrem*. But the places which *Rivet* has choſe to oppoſe to us, are very weak Proofs. The wicked do not ſalute the Saints in the Treatiſe of Hell Torments; on the contrary, they bid them eternally adieu, after they had heard the Sentence of Condemnation: Neither is there any Contradiction between his Teſtament and his Confeſſions. He confeſſes both in the one and the other place with much humility, that he had ſpent his Life in Sin and Vanity. 'Tis true, that he ſays in his Teſtament, that he had not reproach'd any body, and that he had no quarrel with any of the Faithful; but then he ſays nothing contrary to this in his Confeſſions, and though he ſhould have ſaid it, yet he might ſpeak ſo in humility, as many pious Perſons do in this kind of Confeſſions, wherein they ſpeak oftentimes in the Perſon of another.

I ſhall now draw up a Catalogue, with an Account of the Subjects of St. *Ephrem*'s Works, which are divided into three Tomes.

The 1*ſt*. Diſcourſe of the firſt Tome, is of the Dignity of the Prieſthood, which he exalts as high as it can be exalted. Towards the latter End, he ſpeaks againſt thoſe who intrude into the Prieſtly Office, without being worthy of it, and without being call'd to it. He obſerves, that the Sacerdotal Dignity is conferr'd by impoſition of Hands.

The 2*d*. is an Anſwer to one of his Monks, who had ask'd him, who they were that might uſe that Liberty which St. *Paul* gives to Marry, rather than to Burn. He anſwers, That it concerns only thoſe who are not bound, and who live in the World, but not thoſe who have renounced the World, and embrac'd a Religious Life.

The 3*d*. is concerning the Softneſs of *Eli* the High-Prieſt, who would not chaſtiſe his Sons.

In the 4*th*. he exhorts Chriſtians to celebrate the Feſtivals, and to approach the Holy Myſteries with Purity.

The 5*th*. is concerning Charity towards our Neighbour.

The 6*th*. is concerning the uſefulneſs of Singing Pſalms. There he condemns idle Songs and Dancing.

The 7*th*. is of the Value and Neceſſity of Prayer.

The 8*th*. is of Love of the Poor, and of Alms.

The 9*th*. of Faſting.

The 10*th*. explains that Paſſage in the Goſpel, *There ſhall be two Men in the field, the one ſhall be taken, and the other left*. He is of Opinion, that the Juſt are thoſe who ſhall be taken, and the Wicked thoſe who ſhall be left. He ſeems to explain Hell Fire, Myſtically.

The 11*th*. is concerning the Miſeries of this Life.

The 12*th*. is of the inequality of Happineſs. He obſerves, that tho' all the Happy enjoy the ſame happineſs, yet there are different degrees of it. He aſſures his Auditory, *That there is no middle between Hell and the Kingdom of Heaven*. [Here then by our Author's own Confeſſion, is a poſitive Proof, that an Eminent Father of the Fourth Century, disbelieved a middle State, which not only deſtroys Purgatory, but alſo the Neceſſity of praying to Saints.]

The 13*th*. is alſo of Bleſſedneſs.

The 14*th*. of the Contempt we ought to have of the Riches and Pleaſures of this World.

The 15*th*. is againſt thoſe who every day do Penance, and always relapſe into the ſame Sins.

After theſe Diſcourſes follows a Treatiſe divided into many Chapters, concerning Vertues and Vices. In the Preface he ſhows great Humility in debaſing himſelf below thoſe that had pray'd him to Inſtruct them. Afterwards he diſcovers to them the good Effects of the Fear of God, of the Love of our Neighbour, of Meekneſs, Patience, Sincerity, Obedience, Hope and Continence; and the bad Effects of the contrary Vices.

After theſe Inſtructions, follow 91 Maxims of Piety, and 96 Advices concerning a Spiritual Life, directed to a young Monk.

The 16*th*. Diſcourſe is againſt thoſe who forſake a Monaſtical Life after they have once embrac'd it, to return into the World.

The 17*th*. is concerning perfect Self-denial, and concerning the Peace of Mind, which every one ſhould have in Solitude.

The 18*th*. is of the Sighing of a Soul under Temptation, and of the Tears of Repentance.

The 19*th*. is of the Fear of Death.

The 20*th*. is an humbling Diſcourſe, wherein he acknowledges himſelf guilty of many Faults, and prays his Brethren to implore the Divine Mercy for him.

The 21*ſt*. is an Exhortation to Chriſtian Vigilance.

The 22*d*. is an Exhortation to the Practice of good Works.

The 23*d*. is concerning the Grace of Jeſus Chriſt. He exhorts thoſe to whom he addreſſes himſelf, to follow the attractives of Divine Grace, if they would attain to perfection.

The 24*th*. is concerning Faith, or rather concerning Truſt in the Providence of God.

The 25*th*. is againſt thoſe who ſay, that Earthquakes are cauſed by the Concuſſions of the Earth, and not by the Providence of God. This diſcovers that the Author of thoſe Diſcourſes had not much Learning, ſince it may be truly ſaid, that Earthquakes proceed from natural Cauſes, tho' they are order'd by the Providence of God.

The

St. *Ephrem* the *Syrian*, Deacon of *Edessa*.

The 26*th.* is against the Superstitions of the Pagans. There he relates, that when the Plague was at *Constantinople*, a Physician nam'd *Domnus*, being desirous to preserve himself by the Superstitions of the Pagans, was seiz'd with the Plague and died, tho' he dwelt in a high place where there was very good Air; that one of his Companions nam'd *Macedonius*, seeing his lamentable Death, quitted the Pagan Religion, and became a Monk. After this, he brings many Passages of Scripture, to prove that the Plague, and those other Calamities wherewith Men are afflicted, are the Effects of God's Vengeance, and that we must make our Application to him, to preserve us from them. He observes, that God sends these Miseries upon Men, to bring them to the knowledge of themselves, and to Repentance.

The 27*th.* is against Pride and a good Opinion of one's self.

The 28*th.* is against those who having enter'd into Monasteries, are guilty of Vices, and particularly of Ambition, Laziness, and Disobedience. At the latter end, he exhorts his Brethren to discharge all the Offices of a Religious Life.

The 29*th.* is against Detraction.

The 30*th.* is upon those Subjects which Christians ought to lament.

The 31*st.* is against Plays and Shows. There he blames those who after they have been present at Divine Offices, go to Dancing, and Sing idle Songs. *To Day*, says he, *they are United to Jesus Christ, and to Morrow they Dishonour him, they Deny him; to Day they are Christians, and to Morrow Pagans; to Day they have Piety, and to Morrow they are Impious; to Day they are Faithful, and the Disciples of Jesus Christ, and to Morrow they are Apostates and the Enemies of God; to Day they hear the Word of Jesus Christ, and to Morrow they apply themselves to hear the Voices and Instruments of Musick, which sing or play profane Songs.*

The 32*d.* is against the Unchast.

The 33*d.* is of that Charity wherewith we should reprove our Brethren that are fallen into any Sin.

The 34*th.* is against Curiosity, and of shunning the occasions of Sin.

The 35*th.* is against Lewd Women.

The 36*th.* is of the means of avoiding the Sin of the Flesh.

The 37*th.* is of the Praise of Charity.

The 38*th.* is of the Preservation of this Vertue, and of the Unhappiness of those that lose it.

The 39*th.* is a Description of that unhappy State to which a Man is reduc'd by Concupiscence. He prays the Lord to give him Grace to preserve him from Shipwracks, amidst the Storms of this Life. He requests of him, That his Heart and his Mouth, may be a pure Temple and without Stain, by the Heavenly Grace; and that it may make his Tongue and Lips to move continually, in Singing forth the Praises of God. This Discourse is one of the Noblest and most Beautiful of them all.

The Four following Discourses are concerning Compunction, or the Remorse we ought to have for offending God. In the 1*st.* he says, That the Grace of God is always ready to enter into our Hearts, whenever they are dispos'd to receive it, or when our evil Thoughts do not put a Bar to it; That in the mean-time, it touches our Soul by the Sweetness of its Light, and makes it return to it self, and seek after the Light; That the Grace of God does never wholly forsake us, and that without Grace, we cannot Repent.

In the 2*d.* he shows, That we ought not to Despair, and that every one may obtain Pardon of his Sin, provided his Heart be pierced with a sincere Sorrow for his Offence against God, and that he change his course of Life.

In the 3*d.* he shows, That we ought to bewail this Life, and to rejoyce at Death.

The 4*th.* is also of the Sorrow we ought to have, and the Tears we ought to shed in this Life.

The 44*th.* and 45*th.* Discourses are about Penance.

The 46*th.* is about Repentance and Conversion.

The 47*th.* is of Penance and Patience.

The 48*th.* is of Patience under the Crosses, and Adversities of this Life.

The 49*th.* is of Constancy and Compunction.

In the 50*th.* he exhorts to Perseverance and Watchfulness, from the dread of the Last Judgment, and the Pains of Hell. He says, That we must always pray, even while we labour with our Hands, we must continually resist Temptation, read the Holy Scripture with Attention and Preparation, and live in Silence and Tranquility: He enlarges particularly, on the Praises of this last Exercise.

After these Discourses, follow several Sentences, call'd the *Beatitudes of St.* Ephrem, in which he recommends above all things, Christian Vigilance to his Brethren.

After these Beatitudes, follow Questions and Answers upon several Subjects, as about the Renunciation promis'd in Baptism; about the Last Judgment; about the different Punishments of the Damned.

This is follow'd with a Treatise of remembring Death, wherein he lays open the Vanity of Riches.

The Second discourse of Death, is attributed to St. *Basil*, and is of a different Stile from St. *Ephrem*'s Discourses.

The following Treatises are of the Resurrection of the Last Judgment, and the things which shall happen when Anti-Christ shall come; and of the Apparition of the Cross at the time of Christ's second Coming. This Relation is ended with Lamentations and Prayers, which are attributed to St. *Ephrem*.

The Second Tome contains the Life of St. *Ephrem*, written by *Simeon Metaphrastes*, choice Sentences drawn from the Books of St. *Ephrem*; a Discourse of St. *Ephrem* about his Conversion; a Spiritual Song concerning the praise of Learning and Wisdom; an Epistle to a Monk about Patience; four Exhortations to a young Monk concerning a Monastick Life; six Chapters of Vertues, necessary to a Monk; twelve Chapters upon these words, *Take heed to your selves*; fifty Exhortations to the young Monks,

wherein

St. *Ephrem* the *Syrian*, Deacon of *Edeſſa*.

wherein he exhorts them to Humility, Obedience, Watchfulneſs, to Labour, Devotion, Meekneſs, Patience, to Charity, Reading, Prayer, Temperance, and the Practice of the other Monaſtical Vertues.

The 49*th*. is of the Excellencies of a Monaſtick Life above the Secular. Then follow 100 Maxims, Apophthegms, or Examples of the means for acquiring and preſerving Humility, and the other Monaſtick Vertues; a diſcourſe againſt Covetous Monks; another of the Perfection of a Monk; a Treatiſe of Spiritual Arms, of the Spiritual Combate; an Inſtructive Exhortation about an Aſcetick Life; another Exhortation to Repentance from the ſecond coming of Jeſus Chriſt; nineteen Advertiſements of the Abbot *Ammon*, and the Apophthegms of the ancient Fathers, wherein he ſpeaks of St. *Benedict*.

The Third Tome is divided into three Parts. The I. contains a Treatiſe compos'd in imitation of the Book of *Proverbs*, which is a Collection of Sentences and Maxims for a Spiritual and Monaſtick Life, a Treatiſe of a Religious Life, a Treatiſe of Repentance [or Penance;] a Diſcourſe of the Compunction of the Heart; Another Diſcourſe wherein St. *Ephrem* accuſes himſelf of his Faults, and asks Forgiveneſs; A Diſcourſe of the Reſurrection, of Judgment, and the Pains of the Impious, with an humble Prayer to God. The II. Part contains Panegyricks upon Juſt and Holy Men, whom he propoſes as Examples and Paterns of Vertue: The 1ſt. is upon *Noah*, where he ſpeaks of Continence; The 2d. is upon *Abraham* and *Iſaac*, where he exhorts to Obedience; The 3d. upon *Lot*, and againſt falſe Confidence; The 4th. in Praiſe of the Patriarch *Joſeph*; The 5th. upon *Daniel*, againſt thoſe that ſay, *The times are Evil, we cannot ſave our ſelves*; The 6th. upon *Jonah* and the Repentance of the *Ninevites*; The 7th. upon *Elijah* and the Widow of *Sarepta*; The 9th. upon the Precious Stone that's mention'd in the Goſpel; The 10th. againſt thoſe that ſearch into the Greatneſs of the Divine Nature; The 11th. a Diſcourſe upon our Saviour's Transfiguration; The 12th. of the Paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt; The 13th. the Lamentation of the Virgin upon the Paſſion of her Son; The 14th. upon the Croſs of Jeſus Chriſt, where he ſpeaks of the manner of celebrating Feſtivals among Chriſtians, of the Vertues of the Croſs of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Uſefulneſs of the ſign of the Croſs; The 15th. is of the Praiſes of the Virgin, after which follows a Prayer to the Virgin; The 16th. on the Woman that was a Sinner; The 17th. is a Diſcourſe of St. *Chryſoſtom* about the ſame Woman and a Phariſee; The 18th. is a Panegyrick upon St. *Baſil*, which is publiſh'd in Greek by *Cotelerius*, in the laſt Volume of his *Monumenta Eccleſiæ Græcæ*; The 19th. is in Praiſe of the Forty Martyrs; The 20th. is upon all the Martyrs in the World who have ſuffer'd for Jeſus Chriſt; The 21ſt. is upon the ſame ſubject; The 22d. is upon *Abramius*; The 23d. is upon *Julianus* the Hermit; The 24th is upon the Holy Fathers that died in his own time; The 25th. is upon the ſame Subject: Two Hymns upon the ſame Subject; A Diſcourſe of the Happineſs of thoſe that died in Chriſt, and of the Vanity of this World, of the Uncertainty of Life, and the different kinds of Death. The *Laſt* Monument of St. *Ephrem* is his Teſtament cited by St. *Gregory Nyſſen*, which is properly an Exhortation of this Father, upon his Death-Bed, addreſs'd to his Monks; He deſires them to remember him in their Prayers; He forbids them to keep his Garments as Relicks; He deſires that they would Bury him after a plain manner, and without any Pomp; He conjures them to offer the Sacrifice of the Maſs for him, and enlarges alſo upon the Uſefulneſs of Prayers for the Dead, and upon the Vertue of Sacrifice to blot out Sins: Laſtly, he gives them many wholeſom Advices, and heaps Bleſſings upon his chief Diſciples that were preſent at his Death, which happen'd under the Reign of *Valens*, in the Year 378, on the Firſt Day of *February*.

The firſt that publiſh'd any of the Books of this Father was *Ambroſius Camaldulenſis*, who tranſlated ſome of them into Latin, which were printed at *Breſcia* in 1490. at *Strasburg* in 1509. and at *Cologne* in 1547. Afterwards *Gerard Voſſius*, or *Volkens* of *Borchloon* in *Germany*, ſearch'd out all the Works of this Father, and tranſlated and publiſh'd them in Three Tomes. The Firſt, is dedicated to *Sixtus* the 5th. in 1581; The Second dedicated to *Clement* the 8th. in 1593, and the laſt in 1598. Theſe three Tomes were printed in one Volume at *Cologne* in 1603, and at *Antwerp* in 1619. *Ecchellenſis* publiſh'd at *Rome* in 1645, a Song of the Virgin and the Wiſemen attributed to St. *Ephrem*, tranſlated from the Syriack. *Cotelerius* publiſh'd the Greek of the Panegyrick upon St. *Baſil*, made by St. *Ephrem*, in his laſt Volume of the Monuments of the Greek Church, printed at *Paris* in 1686. 'Twere to be wiſh'd that ſome body would publiſh the Greek Verſions of all the Books of St. *Ephrem*, which are to be found in Libraries; as alſo the Syriack Text of ſome of his Books.

DAMASUS, *Biſhop of* Rome.

Damaſus, Biſhop of *Rome*.

AFter the Death of Pope *Liberius*, which happen'd in the Year 369, the See of *Rome* being Vacant for ſome time, by reaſon of the Caballing of thoſe that pretended to fill it, *Damaſus* at laſt was choſen by the greater part of the Clergy and People, and Ordain'd by the Biſhops. But on the other ſide, *Urſinus* or rather *Urſicinus*, who was his Competitor for the Popedom, got himſelf Ordain'd by ſome other Biſhops in the Church of *Sicinius*. This Conteſt caus'd a great Diviſion in the City of *Rome*, and ſtirr'd up ſo great a Sedition there as could hardly be appeas'd. The two Parties came from Words to Blows, and a great many Chriſtians were kill'd in the Churches of *Rome* upon this Quarrel. The Governour of *Rome* call'd *Prætextatus*, being deſirous to allay the heat of this Contention, ſent *Urſicinus* into Baniſhment by the Emperor's Order: But his Baniſhment did not perfectly appeaſe the Quarrel; for the Partizan's of *Urſicinus* Aſſembled ſtill in the Churches of which they were poſſeſs'd, without ever communicating with *Damaſus*; and even when the Emperour had order'd that their Churches ſhould be taken from them, they ſtill kept up their Aſſemblies without the City,

City, so that it was necessary at last to drive them quite out of *Rome*. And yet all this did not hinder *Ursicinus* from having his secret Associates in *Italy* and at *Rome*. The Bishop of *Puteoli* call'd *Florentius*, and the Bishop of *Parma*, were most zealous for his Interests. They were condemn'd in a Council held at *Rome* in the Year 372, and afterwards banish'd by the Authority of the Emperour. However they found means to return into their own Country, and stirr'd up new troubles there. They got Pope *Damasus* to be accus'd by one *Isaac* a Jew. This Accusation was examin'd in a Council of Bishops held at *Rome* in the Year 378, which declar'd *Damasus* innocent of the Crime that was laid to his Charge. This Council wrote a Letter to the Emperour *Gratian*, praying him to take some Order for the Peace of the Church of *Rome*. The Emperour wrote to them, that *Ursicinus* was detain'd at *Cologne*, that he had given Order to banish *Isaac* into a Corner of *Spain*, and to force the Bishops of *Puteoli* and *Parma*, out of their Country. This did not hinder *Ursicinus* from returning into *Italy* in the Year 381, where he stirr'd up new Tumults, and endeavour'd to pre-engage the Emperour: But the Bishops of *Italy* being assembled in a Council at *Aquileia*, in the Year 381, wrote so smartly to him, that he banish'd *Ursicinus* for ever, and left *Damasus* in peaceable Possession of the See of *Rome*, in which he continued until the Year 384. St. *Jerom* places him among the Ecclesiastical Writers, because of the many short Tracts which he wrote in Heroick Verse, to which may be added some Letters of his writing: But there are many other Letters which go under his Name, that are suppositious. I shall first set down those of which there can be no doubt.

Damasus Bishop of *Rome*.

The Two Letters of *Damasus*, directed to St. *Jerom*, are amongst the Works of this Father. In the first, he exhorts this Saint to write to him; and to oblige him by fixing a Subject, he proposes to him some Difficulties about the Holy Scripture. He observes in this Letter, That he took no pleasure in reading the Books of *Lactantius*, because they were too long, and were not fill'd with the Doctrines of Religion. In the second Letter, he desires to tell him the meaning of *Hosanna to the Son of David*. But there is another Letter attributed to *Damasus*, and written to St. *Jerom*, with the Answer of this Father, that is not to be placed in the same rank; for the Stile of these Two Letters is very different from that of *Damasus* and St. *Jerom*, and they contain many Impertinencies and Follies in the Judgment of *Bellarmine* and *Baronius*. 'Tis said in the First, That St. *Jerom* was Ordained by *Alexander*; and 'tis certain, that *Paulinus* Ordained him. In the Second, 'tis suppos'd, That St. *Jerom* exhorted *Damasus* to Order the *Gloria Patri* to be sung at the End of all the Psalms, as was ordain'd by the Council of *Nice*, and as it was practis'd in the East: But if *Cassian* is to be believed, this was not practis'd in the East.

The 3*d*. Letter of *Damasus* is written in the Name of this Pope and other the Western Bishops, assembled at *Rome*, in the Year 370, concerning the Condemnation of *Auxentius*, to the Bishops of *Illyricum*. It is related by *Theodoret* also, in *Ch*. 22. *B*. II. of his *Hist*. and by *Sozomen*, *Ch*. 23. of *B*. VI. and it is in Latin in the Collection of *Holstenius*. These Bishops do here confirm the Faith of the *Nicene* Council, and declare, that *Auxentius* was condemn'd by the Bishops of *France*, because of his Heresie. They observe, That the Decision of the Council of *Ariminum* could not prejudice the Decrees of the Council of *Nice*, because neither the Bishop of *Rome*, whose Judgment was chiefly to be waited for, nor *Vincentius* of *Capua*, nor many others, had ever consented to it. They say at the End of this Letter, That those who taught another Doctrine, should quickly be turn'd out of their Bishopricks. They exhort the Bishops of *Illyricum* to Defend the Faith of the *Nicene* Council, with Boldness and Constancy.

The Letter of *Damasus* to *Paulinus*, about the Cause of *Vitalis*, is also Genuine, and has a respect to History, and to what St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, says in his Letter to *Cledonius*, that *Vitalis* the Disciple of *Apollinarius*, coming to *Rome*, surpriz'd *Damasus*, but that afterwards, this Pope had condemn'd him. The Letter of which we now speak, was written some time after *Vitalis* departed from *Rome*, about the Year 373. It acquaints *Paulinus*, "That he had written to him by this *Vitalis*, leaving him "to manage all things; That he had also sent him word of the same thing before, by the Priest *Pe*- "*tronius*; but that he was a little troubled when *Vitalis* was ready to depart; That to take from him "all kind of Scruple, lest too great Precaution should hinder those from being receiv'd into the Church, "who had a mind to return, he had sent to him a Confession of Faith, not so much for his own sake, "as for theirs who desired to be re-united to the Church of *Rome*, and embrace its Communion that "they might Sign it." Wherefore, adds he, if *Vitalis* will joyn himself to us, you must oblige him to Sign the *Nicene* Creed, and to profess that he believes, That Jesus Christ took a Body, a Soul, a Mind, and in a Word, a Nature in every thing like to ours, Sin only, and Concupiscence, excepted; and to Anathematize those that should say, that the Word was instead of a Soul in the Person of Jesus Christ, or should dare to affirm, That there were two Sons of God in Jesus Christ, and deny, that he was the same Son of God before and after his Incarnation. He says, That he could freely receive those that should Sign this Letter, provided they had before approv'd the Ecclesiastical Canons, and the Faith of the Council of *Nice*. He concludes with telling *Paulinus*, That he doubted not but he had Power to propose the same things to those that were willing to be restor'd, and that he had written to him only for this End; that his Consent and Example might render him more Bold and Free to do it.

'Twas probably at the same time, and perhaps in consequence of this Letter, that *Damasus* sent to *Paulinus*, the Anathematisms that are set down in Greek by *Theodoret*, *Ch*. 11. of the V*th*. *B*. of his History, and in Latin by *Holstenius*. They establish the Faith of the Church concerning the Mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation, by condemning the contrary Errors. There is one of them against the Translation of Bishops. *Vitalis* having refused to Sign the Declarations which *Damasus* would have him to Sign, this Pope assembled a Council at *Rome*, in the Year 375, where *Peter* of

Damaſus, Biſhop of Rome.

Alexandria was preſent, in which he condemned the Heretick *Apollinarius* and his Followers. The Opinion of *Valeſius* is not without Reaſon, who thinks that the Decrees which are in the Collection of *Holſtenius*, and which are to be found in the Second Volume of the Additions to *Labbee*'s Edition of the Councils, *P.* 893, 894, and 895. are Part of the Deciſions of this Council, and that they were really made againſt the Error of *Apollinarius*. Theſe Decrees are Sign'd by *Meletius* of *Antioch*, by *Euſebius* of *Samoſata*, by *Pelegius* of *Laodicea*, by *Diodorus* of *Tarſus*, by *Eulogius* of *Edeſſa*, by *Zeno* of *Tyre*, by *Bematius* of *Mallus*, and by 146 other Biſhops of the Eaſt, whoſe Names are ſaid, to be in the Authentical Manuſcript of the *Vatican*. Theſe Subſcriptions make it very probable, that theſe Decrees are a Part of this Tome of the Weſtern Biſhops, which was Sign'd in the Year 378, in a Council at *Antioch*, whereof mention is made in the fifth Canon of the Council of *Conſtantinople*, and in a Letter of the Council of *Conſtantinople*, produced by *Theodoret*. In ſhort, the Biſhops of the Eaſt having deſir'd *Damaſus* to condemn *Timothy* a Diſciple of *Apollinarius*, received this Anſwer, That he was condemned long ago by a Council at *Rome*, in the preſence of *Peter* of *Alexandria*. This Letter is recited by *Theodoret*, *Ch.* 10. of the *Vth. B.* of his Hiſtory. It was written about the Year 378. In the preamble of this Letter, he extols the Greatneſs of the See of *Rome*, and ſpeaks of its Preheminence above others.

Theſe are the only Genuine Letters of *Damaſus*, that are extant; all the reſt that go under his Name, are forg'd by *Iſidorus Mercator*. They have not the Stile of *Damaſus*, and contain many things which plainly diſcover their Forgery. The letter that goes under the Name of *Aurelius* Biſhop of *Carthage* to *Damaſus*, as well as the Anſwer of this Pope, bear the Names of the Conſuls, *Gratianus* the third time, *Equitius* the firſt. Now this Conſulſhip happen'd in the Year 374, and *Aurelius* was yet a Deacon when St. *Auſtin* return'd from *Milan* to *Catharge* in 385, and he was not Ordain'd Biſhop, till 389. 'Tis plain therefore that this Letter could not be written by *Aurelius*. The Letter of the Council of *Africk* to *Damaſus*, is taken out of thoſe of *Sergius* and *Martin*, and eſtabliſhes a Doctrine contrary to that which the *Africans* practiſed in the Caſe of Appeals. The Letter to *Stephen* who is call'd Archbiſhop of the Concil of *Mauritania*, is taken out of the Letters of *Innocentius*, St. *Leo*, *Anaſtaſius*, *Sergius*, *Martin* I. *&c.* 'Tis ſaid to have been written under the Conſulſhip of *Stilicho*, who was not Couſul till 16 Years after the Death of *Damaſus*. The Letter concerning the Suffragans, quotes the Canons according to the Verſion of *Dionyſius Exiguus*. There is alſo a Canon of the Council of *Chalcedon*, and ſome Paſſages of the Letters of *Siricius*, *innocentius*, *Zoſimus*, *Celeſtinus*, St. *Leo*, &c. The Letter to the Biſhops of *Italy*, is taken out of St. *Leo*, St. *Gregory*, *Martin* I. and *Adrian* I. the Falſhood of it is found out by the Note of the Conſulſhip. Laſtly, There are in *Ivo Carnutenſis* and *Gratian*, ſome Decrees attributed to *Damaſus*; but one cannot be aſſur'd of their Antiquity, upon the Credit of theſe Authors.

There are beſides, above 40 Epigrams, Inſcriptions or Epitaphs in Verſe, which go under the Name of *Damaſus*, and are produced by *Baronius* and *Gruter*, and Collected together by *Sarrazanius*, who has made long Commentaries upon theſe Pieces. 'Tis not very certain, that all theſe belong to *Damaſus*, but 'tis no great matter who is the Author of them, for they contain nothing Remarkable. I ſhall not here ſtay to prove that the Book of the Lives of the Popes, entituled the *Pontifical of* Damaſus, is none of his, becauſe 'tis certain by the Confeſſion of all the World, that it was compos'd long after the Death of this Pope.

The Works of *Damaſus* were Printed at *Rome*, in the Year 1639. by the Care of *Ubaldinus*, who Dedicated them to Pope *Urban*, VIII. And *Billaine*, Printed another Edition of his Works at *Paris*, according to that at *Rome*, in the Year 1672. [His Poems, as Dr. *Cave* aſſures us from *Olearius*'s *Abacus Patrologicus*, were Printed at *Leipſick*, by *Andreas Rivinus*, in 8vo. 1652.]

St. BASIL.

St. Baſil.

ST. *BASIL* was of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, and was born about the Year 328. His Father was call'd *Baſil*, and his Mother *Emmelia*; who were both Chriſtians. He was Educated in Chriſtian Piety, by his Grand-Mother *Macrina*; and his Father taught him the Rudiments of Learning. He began his Studies at *Cæſarea*, in *Palæſtine*, from whence he went to *Conſtantinople*, to hear the Famous Orator *Libanius*, and at laſt he went to *Athens* to perfect his Studies. There he found *Gregory Nazianzen*, which whom he contracted a moſt intimate Friendſhip. After he had been at *Athens* ſome time, he returned into his own Country, about the Year 355, and departed from thence ſoon after to take a Journey into *Egypt* and *Libya*, and viſit the famous Monaſteries in that Country. He found the Life of theſe Aſcetricks ſo perfect, that he reſolv'd to follow their Example; and when he return'd into his own Country, tho' his Biſhop *Dianius* Ordain'd him Reader, he retir'd into a ſolitary Place in the Province of *Pontus*, near the *Monaſtery* of St. *Macrinus*, where he led a Religious Life. His Brethren *Peter* and *Naucratius*, and many others of his Frinds, came to ſee him in this Place, and embrac'd the ſame way of living. He made Rules for them, and ſo became the firſt Founder of a Monaſtick Life in *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*.

Dianius, Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, was one of the Enemies to St. *Athanaſius*. He had approv'd the Creeds of *Antioch*, of *Sardica*, and *Ariminum*, made by the *Semi-Arians*. This oblig'd St. *Baſil* to ſeparate from his Communion. He was not reconcil'd to him, till this Biſhop declar'd on his Death-Bed, that he had always in his Heart believ'd the *Nicene* Creed, and 'twas through ſimplicity that he had Sign'd that of *Conſtantinople*.

After

After the Death of *Dianius*, *Eusebius* was chosen Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappodocia*. He conferred the Order of Priesthood on St. *Basil*, who retir'd soon after into his Solitude because he had some difference with his Bishop, who was Jealous of him. But he was reconcil'd to him Three Years after, and acquir'd so great a Reputation, that after the Death of *Eusebius*, he was chosen Bishop of *Cæsarea*, towards the End of the Year 369. He was no sooner promoted to this Dignity, but he was persecuted by the Emperour *Valens*, who sollicited him by *Modestus* the Prætorian Præfect to Communicate with *Eudoxus*, and to embrace the Doctrine of the *Arians*. But in vain did he use Threatnings, for St. *Basil* answer'd him with a surprizing firmness of Mind, and would never yield to the Will of the Emperour. This Constancy so much astonish'd the Emperour *Valens*, that when he came himself to *Cæsarea*, he durst not undertake any thing against St. *Basil*, but was present on the Day of *Epiphany* in the Year 371, at the Publick Prayers of the Church of *Cæsarea*, and offer'd Gifts which were received by the Hand of St. *Basil*. He return'd thither once afterward, and had a long Conference with St. *Basil* about the Doctrine of the Church. But some time after, this Emperour being push'd on by the *Arians*, resolv'd to turn him out of *Cæsarea*. 'Tis said, That at the same time when he dictated this Order, his Son fell Sick, and that his Sickness made him change his Resolution; That he sent also for St. *Basil* and at his Arival, the Emperour's Son was almost recover'd; but being afterwards baptized by the *Arians*, he relaps'd into his Sickness and Died. After his Death, *Valens* would yet have sent St. *Basil*, into Banishment, but was hindered, as is reported, because when he would have sign'd the Order the Pen broke three times. This Prodigy made the Emperour give over the Prosecution of this Design.

St. Basil.

But St. *Basil* did not only maintain the Faith with a wonderfull Constancy, but he also endeavour'd to procure Peace to the Church. The East and West were then divided about the Cause of *Meletius* and *Paulinus*, who were both at the same time Bishops of *Antioch*. *Paulinus* communicated with St. *Athanasius*, and was supported by the Western Bishops. *Meletius* was not of their Communion, but was a very good Catholick. He was lawfully ordain'd Bishop of *Antioch*, and was acknowledg'd as such by all the Eastern Bishops. There wanted nothing but his Reconciliation with St. *Athanasius*, to make him be acknowledg'd by all the Western Bishops also; for the Western Bishops blindly follow'd the Judgment of this Bishop. Wherefore St. *Basil* us'd all his Endeavours to reconcile him to St. *Athanasius* and *Damasus*. He also pray'd *Meletius* to yield to Peace. He oblig'd him to send the Deacon *Dorotheus* to St *Athanasius*, who went into the West as far as *Rome*, but he could not compass his Design of restoring Peace. He return'd thither also a second time with a Letter of St. *Basil*, and he could obtain nothing but a Deputation of some Priests, to comfort the Eastern Bishops, who were tormented with the Persecution of *Valens*. St. *Basil* seeing that the Western Bishops would not make Peace with *Meletius*, wrote many Letters to them, wherein he Complains of their Behaviour. But howsoever it came to pass, he could not compass this Peace between the East and the West, which was not concluded till Nine Months after his Death.

In the mean time, while St. *Basil* labour'd with so much zeal for the Peace of the whole Church, his own Province was broken in pieces by Dissentions, which occasion'd him much Trouble and Sorrow. The Emperour having divided *Cappadocia* into two Provinces, *Anthimus* Bishop of *Tyana*, the Metropolis of that Part, that was Newly erected into a Province, pretended that he ought to be the Metropolitan of that New Province, and that he ought to Ordain Bishops for the Cities that depended upon it; and that he ought not to depend upon the Metropolis of *Cæsarea*, no more than the Bishops of the Cities of that New Province. St. *Basil* did not contest this right with *Anthimus* in the least; but they were at difference concerning the Extent of this New Province. *Anthimus* extended the Limits of it further than he ought; and St. *Basil* oppos'd his Attempts. They differ'd chiefly about one little City call'd *Sasima*, which lay upon a great Road. *Anthimus* pretended that it depended upon his Jurisdiction; and St. *Basil* to keep it to himself, erected it into a Bishoprick, and gave it to his Friend St. *Gregory Nazianzen*. But *Anthimus* was already in Possession: which oblig'd St. *Gregory*, being a Lover of Peace, to withdraw from the place, in which he could take no Pleasure; and he was very Angry with his Friend for making use of him to mantain his own Quarrel.

St. *Basil* had also another Dispute with *Theodotus* Bishop of *Nicopolis*. *Meletius* and this Bishop were invited to come to a Synod which was to be held at *Phargama*, near *Nicopolis*. He wrote to *Eusebius* of *Samosata* to be there, and sent his Letter by *Eustathius* of *Sebastia*. The good Correspondence which St. *Basil* had then with this last, render'd him odious to *Theodotus*, and the other Bishops who desir'd no more to have him at their Synod. When St. *Basil* knew this Matter, he held a Conference with *Eustathius* of *Sebastia*: In which he found that he spoke like a Catholick, and he caus'd him to sign an Orthodox Confession of Faith. After he had us'd this Precaution, he came to find out *Meletius* and *Theodotus*, and told them what he had done. *Theodotus* told him, That *Eustathius* had since deny'd what he had then approv'd. St. *Basil* answer'd, That he could not believe him so inconstant; but notwithstanding to try him yet anew, he would offer him a very large Confession of Faith, which if he refused to Sign, he would then separate from his Communion. *Meletius* and *Theodotus*, approv'd of this Proposal, and the last invited St. *Basil* to come to *Nicopolis*; but when he was there, he would not permit him to be at the Prayers of the Church, nor Communicate with him at all. St. *Basil* seeing himself thus affronted without Reason retir'd from *Nicopolis*, and came to *Satala*, where he Ordain'd a Bishop at the desire of the Inhabitants. From thence he went to find out *Eustathius*, and made him Sign a Confession of Faith, to which he annex'd that of the *Nicene* Creed. St. *Gregory Nyssen* sided against his Brother St. *Basil*, as appears by the Letters 256, and 259, of this Saint; where he accuses him of troubling the Peace of the Church, and of laying Snares for him: Some time after, *Eustathius* of *Sebastia*, who, upon St. *Basil*'s account, was engag'd in a Quarrel with *Theodotus*, declar'd himself openly against St *Basil*, joyn'd the *Eudoxians*, oppos'd

St. Baſil. the Faith of the Council of *Nice*, and the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. St. *Baſil* underſtanding this, reconciles himſelf to *Theodotus*, and wrote many Letters againſt *Euſtathius*.

Theſe are the principal Circumſtances of St. *Baſil*'s Life, and the affairs which took up the greateſt part of his time while he was Biſhop. The other Circumſtances which are of leſs conſequence may be learn'd from his Letters. St. *Baſil* died upon the Firſt of *January*, in the Year 379.

The Letters of St. *Baſil* are the moſt learned and the moſt curious of all his Books, and perhaps of all Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity. They are written with an unimitable Purity, Majeſty and Eloquence, and contain an infinite number of things. There one may ſee all the Hiſtory of his time, deſcribed to the Life, the different Characters of Men's Tempers, the contrary Intereſts of each Party, and the Motives which acted both ſides, and the Intrigues which they made uſe of for carrying on of their Deſigns. The State of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches is there deſcribed, in lively and natural Colours. He handles an infinite number of Queſtions of Doctrine, of Diſcipline and of Morality; which he decides with much Learning and Prudence. There one may find many Letters of Conſolation or Exhortation, which are very Edifying and Pathetical, and even thoſe which are only Complemental are full of Wit, and of very ſolid and uſefull Thoughts. They are indeed at preſent in ſo great Confuſion, that 'tis not an eaſie thing to read them in order with Delight, and ſo ill tranſlated, that they are almoſt wholly diſguiſed, and can hardly be known by thoſe that underſtand the Beauty of the Original Language. I have begun a Tranſlation of them in Latin and French, which I may perhaps Publiſh ſome time or other with Notes. In the mean time, I ſhall now make ſome Extracts out of them, according to my uſual Method. But to make them more uſeful, I have rank'd the Letters according to the Order of Time. If they are ſet according to the Subject Matter, they may be divided into Hiſtorical and Doctrinal; Letters of Diſcipline, Apologetical Letters, Letters of Inſtruction or Morality, Letters of Conſolation, and Letters of Civility: But I thought it more proper to follow in the Body of our Book the Order of Time; which I have examined as exactly as I could. They ſhall be divided then into Two Claſſes: The Firſt, ſhall Comprehend the Letters that were written in his Solitude, before he was Biſhop: And the Second, which will contain far the greater Number, ſhall conſiſt of thoſe which were written after he was Biſhop, which I ſhall diſpoſe in their Order of Time from Year to Year, as near as I can.

The Firſt of the Letters written by St. *Baſil* in his Solitude, is the 19th. directed to St. *Gregory Nazianzen*; wherein he acquaints him with the Reſolution he had taken up to live retiredly, and deſcribes the place which he had choſen for his Retreat, very Pleaſantly, and very Elegantly. This Letter was written in the Beginning of the year 358.

St. *Gregory* having received this Letter, did not approve of the Habitation which his Friend had choſen, and from the Deſcription which he had given of it, he imagin'd that it was a very Melancholy and Frightful place. He ſignified alſo his Thoughts of it in his 7th. Letter to him, and rallies pleaſantly upon the Deſcription he had ſent of it. Wherefore St. *Baſil* having a mind to draw him to himſelf by ſome more powerful Motive, repreſents to him in his 2d. Letter, which is commonly put the 1ſt. the Manner of Life which he had embraced.

He complains at firſt, That he could not yet reap all the Profit from his Retirement which he could have wiſh'd; which Unhappineſs he attributes to the Habits that he had contracted while he liv'd in the World; from which he could not yet diſengage himſelf: And he deſires him to believe, that he deſcribes in his Letter the manner after which he ſhould live, and not that in which he did live at preſent. After this he repreſents the Miſeries of a Secular Life, and the Delights of Solitude. He ſhews how profitable this Retreat is, provided one's Mind be not too much faſtned to the World, after he is parted from it. He gives an account of the Exerciſes of ſo Happy a State; which conſiſt in Prayer, in labouring with our Hands, in Reading and Meditation upon the Holy Scripture; and gives Rules concerning the Diſcourſe, the Habits, the Eating and Behaviour of a Monk. This Letter was written in the Year 358.

There are alſo ſome other Letters of St. *Baſil* which are very near upon the ſame Subject, and were written probably about the ſame time. The four firſt, which are not rank'd in the other Claſſis, are of this Number.

The Firſt, is adreſs'd to one *Chilon*; who having renounc'd the World, had written to St. *Baſil*, to deſire ſome Advice of him, how he ſhould behave himſelf; which is done in this Letter. He exhorts him to perſevere in his Reſolution: He Counſels him not to Aſpire at firſt to the higheſt Perfection of a Religious Life, but to aſcend to it by degrees. He particularly recommends to him to abide in Solitude, without going out of it upon any pretence whatſoever, though it were even to be preſent at the Inſtructions of the Biſhops in the Publick Aſſemblies of the Church.

After this Letter, follows a ſhort, but very Inſtructive Exhortation to Young Monks; which contains in few words many Precepts of a Religious Life.

The Second Letter, is to a Monk who had abandon'd his Solitary ſtate, to return into the World, that he might put himſelf in a way of Trade. He deplores his Fall, and Exhorts him to acknowledge it, and to do Pennance for his fault.

The Third, is to a Monk of *Jeruſalem*, who had given a horrible Scandal by carrying away a Virgin conſecrated to Jeſus Chriſt. He ſets before his Eyes the Happineſs of that ſtate from which he was fallen, and the Miſery of that to which he was reduc'd by his Crime. He charges him very ſharply for his Enormity and covers him with Confuſion for his Infamous Action. Nevertheleſs, he concludes with Exhorting him from the Conſideration of Death and of Judgment, to beg Pardon of his Fault, to Turn and Repent,

The

The fourth of these Letters is addres'd to a Virgin, who being consecrated to God by a Vow of Virginity, had suffer'd her self to be corrupted by a Miserable Man. He represents to her the Enormity of her Crime. He endeavours to terrifie her by the Fear of Judgment and of Hell, and gives her hopes, that she shall obtain Mercy, if she will Change her Life and Repent.

The 411. Letter, ought to be joyn'd to this. It contains many Precepts of a Monastick Life; which, for the most part, are drawn out of the Scripture.

The 165. Letter to *Eustathius* the Philosopher, was written some time after St. *Basil*'s Retirement. He acquaints him, That since his return from *Athens*, he had search'd for him in all places, but could not meet with him; which Unhappiness he Attributes to the Providence of God, and not to Fortune.

The 166. to one nam'd *Julianus*, seems to have been written about the same time. He says, That 'tis in a Man's Power to lead a happy and quiet Life, by governing his Passions, and submitting his Mind to all Events that can happen. *Neither Loss of Goods*, says he, *nor Sickness of Body, nor any other troublesome Accidents of this Life can hurt a Vertuous Man, while he designs to walk in the Ways of God, and Meditates upon another Life, who submits to all the Troubles and Crosses of this World. For those who are wholly taken up with the Cares of this Life, are like those Carnivorous Birds who stoop down to the Earth with the Beasts, though they have Wings to fly in the Air.*

The 167. Letter to *Diodorus* a Priest of *Antioch*, was also written about the same time. In it he commends the Two Books which this Author had sent him. He says, That the Second was very acceptable to him, not only because of its Brevity, but because of the Many Thoughts, Arguments and Answers which it contain'd in a very good Method. He commends the plainness of its Stile, which is agreeable, says he, to the Profession of a Christian, who ought much rather to write for the Publick Good, than acquire Glory to himself. As to the First Book, which was compos'd by way of Dialogue he says, That though it was more adorn'd with Figures, and had greater Variety of Matter; yet he found it tedious to read, and difficult to understand. He takes notice, That the Calumnies of Hereticks, and the Defences of the Catholicks are very useless, and interrupt the Thread of his Discourse.

To this we may joyn the 168. Letter to *Eunomius*, wherein he rallies this Heretick, who boasted of understanding all things, by putting to him many difficult Questions about things Natural, to which 'twas impossible to Answer.

The 41. and 42. Letters to *Maximus* the Philosopher, who is, in all probability the same that got himself Ordain'd Archbishop of *Constantinople*, were also written by St. *Basil*, when he was in his Solitude.

The 1st. is concerning the Opinions of *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*. He accuses him of Writing some things in his Books, which seemed to be the Seeds of the Error of the *Anomæans*: yet he confesses that he did it not designedly; but that in disputing against the Heresy of *Sabellius*, he had too much inclin'd to the opposite Error, and in proving the Destinction of the Persons, he seem'd to admit a Difference of Nature between the Three Divine Persons. After this St. *Basil* explains his own Judgement concerning the Trinity. He does not condemn the Opinion of those who say That the Word is like to God the Father in Substance; nor even of those who say simply, That he is like to his Father, Provided they add, That he is in nothing unlike to him; because this Sence falls in with their Opinion who call him *Consubstantial*. He adds, That this last term is less capable of an ill sence. He condemns the Bishops of the Council of *Constantinople*, who contented themselves with declaring, That the Son was the Image of the Father, without adding, That he was in nothing unlike. At last, St. *Basil* invites *Maximus* to come and see him, and directly charges him with having too great an Affection for the City and the Grandeur of this World. This Letter was written after the Council of *Constantinople* in 360.

In the 2d. Letter to the same Philosopher, he commends him, and recommends to him the love of Vertue.

The 2d, 3d, and 33d. Letters addres'd to St. *Gregory*, who was gone to *Nazianzum*, were much about the same time.

In the 2d. he observes, That no words are capable of expressing our Thoughts of God, and Admonishes St. *Gregory* to use all his Eloquence in the Defence of the Truth.

In the 3d. Letter, he pleasantly rebukes St. *Gregory*, for writing none but Laconick Letters to him; that is to say, such as were short and concise.

'Tis plain, That the Letters of St. *Basil* to the Emperour *Julian*, if they are Genuine, were written by this Saint in his Retirement, since the Death of *Julian* happened before he came out of his Solitude. He had known this Prince at *Athens*, where they had Studied together under *Libanius*. After he was return'd to his own Country, he received a very obliging Letter from this Prince, who had not yet forsaken the Christian Religion. This Letter is the 206. But after he had renounc'd Christianity, he did no longer treat St. *Basil* after the same manner: but on the contrary, he wrote a Proud Letter to him, and commanded him to send him 1000*l.* of Gold for restoring of the Temples. This Letter is the 207th. among those of St. *Basil*, to which is subjoyn'd the Answer that *Julian* made when he had read the Book of *Apollinarius*, *I have read it, understood it, and condemn'd it.* But it appears, that those words were added to the rest of the Letter, to which they have no reference at all. The two following Letters contain the Answer of St. *Basil* of this Letter to *Julian*; yet they are not two Answers, nor two different Letters, but one and the same Answer, of which some have made two. *Cotelerius* hath publish'd a little while ago the whole entire and in one Letter only, from a Manuscript of the King's Library. It is in his Second Volume of the *Monuments of the Greek Church*. This Sentence

St. *Baſil.* tence which is put at the beginning of the Firſt, *You did not underſtand what you read, for if you had underſtood it, you would never have condemn'd it*, was added after the writing of this Letter, as that was which is at the end of *Julian*'s Letter. I doubt alſo, whether the Anſwer that is attributed to St. *Baſil*, be truly his; and I know not but it may be written by ſome other Perſon, who would make a trial how he could Anſwer *Julian*'s Letter to this Father: and indeed, the Stile of this Letter is not ſo Elegant as that of the Letters of St. *Baſil*. He writes to *Julian*, That he is horribly vex'd, when he thinks that he is cloathed with the Royal Purple, and that his infamous Head is adorn'd with a Crown. Is it credible that St. *Baſil* ſhould write to an Emperor with ſo little reſpect, and ſhould treat him as a ridiculous, ſenſeleſs and impertinent Perſon, as the Author of this Letter does? In ſhort, There is at the end of this Letter, an Inference drawn from an Opinion of *Julian*'s, which is extremely wide, and has ſcarce any ſence, and not according to the Genius of St. *Baſil*, who is nice and exact in his thoughts, and moderate in his Expreſſions.

As to the 205. Letter addreſs'd to the ſame Emperour, 'tis evident that it is Suppoſititious. The Title of it is, To Julian *the Apoſtate*. Would St. *Baſil* ever have directed a Letter to him with this Inſcription? 2. The Stile of this Letter is very different from that of St. *Baſil*. 3. this Letter is nothing but a Confeſſion of Faith. Now to what purpoſe ſhould St. *Baſil* ſend a Confeſſion of Faith to *Julian*? 4. He adds to this Confeſſion of Faith, the Invocation of Saints, and Worſhip of Images. Who ever heard that theſe Points were put into the Confeſſions of Faith of the Firſt Ages? 5. He ſays, That he Honours and Adores the Images of the Saints, becauſe it is an Apoſtolical Tradition. Would St. *Baſil* have ſpoken thus? and is it not plain that this Letter is the Work of ſome *Greek*, who liv'd after the Seventh Council?

The Six Letters publiſh'd by *Hæſchelius*, which are the 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, being written to different Perſons, were alſo compos'd by St. *Baſil* while he was in his Solitude. They contain nothing remarkable.

The 141 Letter of St. *Baſil* was written in the Year 363. after the Difference which he had with his own Biſhop. The Inhabitants of *Cæſarea* complain'd that he had retir'd after his Ordination, and recall'd him with very importunate Letters. St. *Baſil* wrote to them, to thank them for their Goodneſs to him, and to give them an account of the Cauſe of his Retiring. He admoniſhes them not to ſuffer themſelves to be ſurpriſed by the Artifices of Hereticks; and for a Preſervative againſt them, he explains the Faith of the Church concerning the Trinity, and anſwers ſome Objections which they alledg'd. He blames thoſe that ſaid only, the Son of God was like his Father without adding any thing for Explication.

The 4th. Letter to St. *Gregory*, is the laſt of thoſe which St. *Baſil* wrote in his Retirement before he was Biſhop. It is directed to St. *Gregory Nazianzen*; wherein he Exhorts him to be very careful to procure the Choice of a Biſhop, in the room of *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, lately Dead, who might be worthy to fill that Biſhoprick. St. *Gregory* had reſolved to come himſelf to *Cæſarea*; but for fear leſt the giving of his Suffrage in favour of St. *Baſil* ſhould render him ſuſpected, he contented himſelf with ſending Two Letters written in his Father's Name; whereof one was addreſs'd to the Church of *Cæſarea*, and the other to the Council Aſſembled in that City, wherein he recommended St. *Baſil* as moſt worthy to Succeed in the room of *Euſebius*. Some Authors attribute this Letter of St. *Baſil* which we have already mention'd to *Euſebius* of *Samoſata*: And indeed, it is not very probable, that St. *Baſil* ſhould ſo openly pray St. *Gregory* to do that which look'd ſo like ſolliciting that himſelf might be made Biſhop.

We ſhould joyn to this the Two Letters of St. *Baſil* to *Apollinarius*, which were publiſh'd by *Cotelerius*, if they were Genuine; but they are Forg'd by the *Apollinarians*, ſince St. *Baſil* himſelf teſtifies in the 59, 79, and 82 Letters, That he never wrote concerning the Faith to *Apollinarius*; and that the Letters which were publiſhed under his Name, were Suppoſititious: which plainly ſhows, That the Two Letters, which go under St. *Baſil*'s Name, and are addreſs'd to *Apollinarius*, which Treat of the Myſtery of the Holy Trinity, and which ſuppoſe that St. *Baſil* and *Apollinarius* held a great Correſpondence by Letters, are Forg'd, as well as thoſe of *Apollinarius* to St. *Baſil*, which contain Errors not only about the Incarnation, but alſo about the Trinity.

The Second Claſs of St. *Baſil*'s Letters, ought to be of thoſe which were written after he was Biſhop of *Cæſarea*; Theſe are far more numerous and more conſiderable. The Firſt, are thoſe which he wrote for the Reconciliation of *Meletius* with St. *Athanaſius* and the weſtern Biſhops.

To compaſs this deſign, he wrote about the End of the Year 369. the 56. Letter to *Meletius* to diſpoſe him to enter upon a Treaty about it. He did not openly acquaint him with his Deſign, leſt he ſhould be diſcovered; but he ſignified to him, that he deſired that he might ſee him to treat about an Affair of great Importance; but being detain'd by his Brethren, he ſent *Theophraſtus* to communicate it to him. The Secrecy which he obſerves in this Letter, plainly diſcovers that this was the Firſt which he wrote about this Negotiation.

'Tis probable, that about the ſame time, to conciliate the favour of St. *Athanaſius*, who had written to him immediately after his Promotion he wrote an Anſwer to him by Letter 47. wherein he gives him an Account of the ſhare that he had in the Perſecution which the Governour of *Libya* raiſed againſt this Holy Paſtor; and he acquaints him, That all the Faithful of his Church, look'd upon this Governor as an Excommunicate Perſon: That they would have no Correſpondence with him; becauſe 'tis fit, that the Powers who will uſe Violence, ſhould find themſelves unanimouſly condemn'd by all the Churches.

Meletius having ſignified to St. *Baſil*, that he would willingly hearken to an Accommodation; this Father wrote to St. *Athanaſius* at the Beginning of the Year 379, the 48. Letter; wherein he exhorts

horts him to procure the Peace and Union of the Eastern and Western Churches, and prays him to begin with receiving the Church of *Antioch*. He supports this Proposal in Three Letters, which in the common Edition are 49, 50, and 51. The 50th. was written at the desire of *Dorotheus* the Deacon, whom *Meletius* sent to Negotiate this Affair. In it, he gives great Commendation of *Meletius*, and says, That all the other Parties which are in the Church of *Antioch* ought to re-unite to him and to those who adhered to him, as to the principal Body of the Church of *Antioch*; whereof the rest are but separate Members. He assures him, That the West wish'd for his Re-union, as well as the East; as appeared by the Letters brought from the West by *Silvanus*. He conjures him afterwards to use his usual Prudence for procuring the Peace of all the Churches. In Letter 51. he exhorts St. *Athanasius* to write a Letter of Communion to all the Eastern Bishops; and prays him to send it, either by some Persons in his own Name, or even by the Deacon *Dorotheus*. He assures him That the Bishops are Orthodox, and that they desire to be Re-united to him; and he promises them, That he will not deliver his Letter, till he has received their Answers, and those Assurances that he shall desire. St. *Basil*

St *Athanasius* having received these Letters, would not write at all, but he sent one of his Priests call'd *Peter*, to dispose their Minds to Peace. This Priest was very well received by St *Basil*, and he perform'd his Message as well as he could. But this Affair being of too great Consequence to be so easily determined; St. *Basil* thought it necessary to write to Pope *Damasus*. Having taken up this Resolution, he sent the Deacon *Dorotheus* to *Meletius*, by whom he wrote the 57 Letter, wherein he tells him his Design which he had of sending this Deacon to *Rome*, and of desiring some Deputies out of *Italy*. He prays him, if he thought it convenient, to give him necessary Instructions, and to write a Letter in his own Name, and in the Name of all the Bishops of his Communion, and to direct it to the western Bishops. He writes at the end of this Letter, That the Affairs of the Church were in the same state; That the Civil Powers would not meddle with them, to restore those that were banish'd; That *Euvippus* an *Arian* Bishop was come, but that he had done nothing yet in Publick, though he had threatned to fetch the Bishops of his Party from *Tetrapolis* and *Cilicia*, to Condemn the Orthodox.

Meletius sent back *Dorotheus*, and thought it necessary for him to go into the West. 'Tis not certainly known, whether he wrote at that time to the Bishops of the West, but 'tis certain that St. *Basil* then address'd his 220 Letter to *Damasus*. It has no Superscription, but 'tis easy to see that 'twas address'd to the Bishop of *Rome*. He begins with showing the Advantage which that Bishop had to restore the ancient Union between the Eastern and Western Churches: After this, he describes the unhappy State to which the Persecution of the *Arians* had reduc'd the Churches of the East. He represents to *Damasus*, That he might give them Ease and Comfort, by writing and sending Deputies to them, to re-establish Peace and Union in the Church. He remonstrates to him, that what he desir'd, was not extraordinary, since it had been the practice of the Saints, and particularly of the Church of *Rome*. He observes to him, That St. *Dionysius* had formerly Comforted the Church of *Cæsarea* by his Letters and that he had sent some of his Brethren to deliver Christians from Captivity; That now there was more Reason to complain of the Misery of the Church, since not only the Captivity of the Body, but that of the Soul also was to be fear'd. St. *Basil*, gave this Letter to *Dorotheus*, to carry into the West, and he sent this Deacon to St. *Athanasius*, to conferr with him about the means of procuring Peace, that so after he had met with him, he might Embark from *Alexandria*, to go into *Italy*. He charg'd him also with a Letter for St. *Athanasius*, which is the 52. And tho' in it, he says, That he referr'd himself wholly to the Prudence of St. *Athanasius* as to the Management of this Affair, yet he says, That his Advice should be to write to the Bishop of *Rome*, and to pray him, since there was no probability of calling a Synod, that he would send by his own Authority, Deputies into the East. He observes, That he must chuse such Persons as were able to endure the Fatigues of Travelling, and who had much Meekness and Moderation to Correct the Eagerness and Passionate Heats of some of the Bishops of the East: And in fine, who could speak at a fit Season, and accommodate themselves to the Times. He would have them carry with them the Acts of the Council of *Ariminum*, and an Account of the Transactions in the West, that they may be null'd; That they should come by Sea, without letting any body know of it; That at first they should address themselves to those of his own Communion, before they were pre-engaged by the Associates of *Paulinus*, the Enemies of Peace: and, in short, That they should condemn the Heresy of *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*. This Letter is the 52. At the end, he conjures St. *Athanasius* to send forthwith the Deacon *Dorotheus* into the West; that so the Business might be done the next Year, which was 371. He advertises him also, That he must take care to recommend to the Deputies from the West, that they be very Cautious lest they encrease Divisions instead of allaying them, and that they preferr to all things the Good of Peace; and that they do not maintain a Schism in the Church of *Antioch*, out of Affection to some particular Persons.

The desire of Peace, and the Fear that St. *Basil* had of bringing Persecution upon the Church, oblig'd him to be very cautious in his Discourse. Wherefore, though he profess'd to Believe and to defend the Divinity of the Holy Spirit; yet he said nothing of it unless he was oblig'd. And therefore when he was in an Assembly of Bishops held in the Year 370. at the Feast of St. *Eupsichius*, in the City of *Cæsarea*, he discourſed largely of the Divinity of the Father and the Son, and said nothing almost of the Holy Spirit. Whereupon a Religious Person who was present at this Assembly, accus'd St. *Basil* of betraying the Truth by a Cowardice unworthy of a Bishop, and publish'd this Accusation at a Feast where he was present, some time after. St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, who was one of the Guests at this Feast, endeavoured in vain to defend his Friend; for all the Company blam'd him,

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him; and at last St. *Gregory* himself was offended with his Conduct, and wrote to him his Judgment about it in Letter 26. St. *Basil* having received this Letter by *Hellenius*, was a little offended with it, and answerd him in Letter 33, That he was surprized, that he should so lightly give credit to a Calumniator. He signifies a great Contempt of these kind of Accusations. He invites St. *Gregory* to come and see him, and says, That what was quickly to come to pass, would serve for his Justification before all the World; because it might be foreseen, that he must suffer for the defence of the Truth, and perhaps should be forc'd away from his Church and his Country. Which discovers that this Letter was written before the Persecution of *Valens*, in the Year 370.

This Emperour had a Design to divide the Province of *Cappadocia* into two. St. *Basil* thought that it was his Duty to defend the Rights of his People, and his Church. For this Reason, he wrote to a great Man of his Country called *Martinianus*, the 376 Letter, to pray him to go to Court and hinder this Division. This Letter was written in the Year 370, as well as the 362, which was plainly written upon the same Occasion. The 309 Letter wherein he declares, That he continued unshaken, though he had been attack'd by the most powerful at Court, referrs to the Solicitations which the Prefect *Modestus* had us'd to him this Year 370, by Order of the Emperour *Valens*. 'Tis probable, that the Letter 409, wherein he thanks an Eastern Bishop call'd *Innocentius*, for what he had written to him, is also of the same Year; for 'tis likely that this Bishop wrote to him a little after his Ordination, and that St. *Basil* took no long time to Answer him.

The Deacon *Dorotheus*, departed in the Year 371, but his Journey had not all the Success, that might have been hop'd for. However, the Western Bishops wrote a Letter to the Bishops of the East, which was sent to them by St. *Athanasius*, but the Contents are not known. It appears also by the Letters of St. *Basil*, That there came from the West a Deacon nam'd *Sabinus*, who carried the Letters of the Bishops of *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and *Gaul*.

The Eastern Bishops answer'd the Letter of those of the West, which they received by St. *Athanasius*, and that which was brought them by *Sabinus*: There Answers are the Letters 61, and 69. In Letter 61, after they have testified their Joy, that they had, when they understood that the Western Bishops, were all at present United in one and the same Doctrine, they desire of them help and relief in their Miseries, which they describe in a most lively and natural manner. Our miseries say they, "are known to you, though we should not write them, being publish'd over all the Earth. The Doctrine of our Fathers is despis'd; The Tradition of the Apostles is overthrown; The new Inventions "of some particular Persons prevail in the Churches; They treat Religion as Sophisters, not as Divines: The Wisdom of this World Domineers, and the Glory of the Cross is abhorr'd; The true "Pastors are driven away, and ravening Wolves are entred into their places, who tear the Flock of "Christ in pieces; The Churches are abandon'd; the Deserts are fill'd with desolate Christians; The "Old Men sigh when they compare the times past with the present, and the Young Men find themselves miserable, because they never saw the Good things of which they are now destitute. These "things ought to affect those who have any love for Jesus Christ and his Church: But what we have "said of them, is very far short of the Truth; wherefore, if you have any Charity for us, if you be "of the same Mind, if you have any Bowels of Pity, come speedily to our help; Arm your selves with "Zeal for Piety, and deliver us from this Raging Tempest". At the end of this Letter, they make a short Confession of their Faith; wherein they acknowledge that the Holy Spirit is ador'd together with the Father and the Son: And they conclude with the Approbation of what the Western Bishops had done in Conformity to the Canons.

The second Letter upon the same Subject, is written in the Name of *Meletius*, *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, St. *Basil*, and many other Eastern Bishops, to the Bishops of *Italy* and *Gaul*, that is the 69th. among those of St. *Basil*. There they give a Description of their Miseries yet more large, and more moving than the former, and conjure the Western Bishops to help them and bring them relief; and to send to them speedily a great number of Deputies, who may take their seats in a Synod, hoping by this means, that they may restore the Faith of the Council of *Nice*, destroy Heresy, and re-unite the Orthodox; who at present are divided in Communion, though they hold one and the same Doctrine. They compare the state of the Churches of the East, to that of *Jerusalem*, during the Siege of *Vespasian*; and they say, That as the *Jews* ruin'd themselves then by their Intestine Seditions, while the Enemies Army reduced them to the last Extremity; so their Churches were now brought to Desolation, not only by the War of the Hereticks, who openly attack'd them; but also by the Divisions of the Orthodox: that if they desire Assistance of the Bishops of the West, it was for this particular Reason, That Peace might be restor'd; and in this, they say, consisted the Relief of their Churches. They conclude their Letter with saying, That they commend and approve the Confession of Faith that was made by those of the West, and that they consented to all that they had lawfully and canonically determin'd in their Synodical Epistle. These two Letters were sent by *Sabinus*, who they say, is a Witness of all that they affirm.

St. *Basil* wrote particularly by the same *Sabinus* to *Valerianus* Bishop of *Illyricum*, or rather of *Aquileia*, the Letter 324; wherein he thanks him for the Charity he had testified in the Letter he had written, and Prays him to assist with his Prayers the Eastern Churches, that were afflicted with Heresy and Schism. These are all the Letters of St. *Basil* written in this Year 371, concerning the Union of the East and the West.

The Letters which he wrote in favour of *Eustathius* of *Sebastea*, against *Theodotus* of *Nicopolis*, are also of this Year 371; because he was at Difference with the former in the Year 372.

The First Letter written upon this Subject is the 26th. address'd to *Eusebius* of *Samosata*: He acquaints him, That *Meletius* and *Theodotus* of *Nicopolis*, invited him to be present towards the

Middle

Middle of *June*, at a Synod which was to be held at *Phargama*: he prays St. *Eusebius* to be present there: He sent him this Letter by *Eustathius* of *Sebastea*, and tells him, That he waited for an Answer. St. *Basil.*

Eusebius came not to this Synod, but *Eustathius* was present there, and St. *Basil*, before he did Communicate with him, would have assurance of his Doctrine; and having had two Conferences with him, he made him agree to the Doctrine of the Church. Being thus perswaded that he was Orthodox, he joyn'd his Prayers with those of this Bishop, to thank God, who had given them Grace to think and speak after the same manner. The Design of St. *Basil* was to have a Confession of Faith drawn up by *Theodotus*, or those of his Party, which *Eustathius* should Sign: But *Theodotus* without enquiring into the Conduct of St. *Basil*, refused to admit him to his Synod, because he had communicated with *Eustathius*. St. *Basil* being to go into *Armenia*, passed by a Country House of *Meletius* called *Getasa*, where *Theodotus* was present; and after a free Conference between them, it was agreed, That if St. *Basil* could make *Eustathius* sign a Confession of Faith, which plainly contain'd the Doctrine of the Church, he should then continue in his Communion; but on the contrary, he should separate from him, if he refus'd to sign that Confession. *Meletius* and his Priest *Diodorus*, having approved this Proposal, it was also agreed to by *Theodotus*, who invited St. *Basil* to go with him to *Nicopolis*: But when he was arrived there, he would not communicate with him contrary to his Word which he pass'd to him; which obliged St. *Basil* to withdraw, and to go to *Satala*, there to regulate some Affairs of *Armenia*, and Ordain some Bishops. He wrote from thence to Count *Terentius* the 187 Letter; wherein he gives him an account of those Transactions which had passed. Letter 78, is the Confession of Faith which St. *Basil* caused *Eustathius* of *Sebastea* to sign at this time. It contains the *Nicene* Creed, and rejects the Error of *Sabellius* and *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*. He speaks also of those Differences in Letter 364, to *Atarbius*.

He wrote also a little while after, the Letter 239. to *Eusebius* of *Samosata*; whom he acquaints with the disgraceful manner wherein he was treated by *Theodotus*. He says, That he had also a Conference with *Eustathius*, and that he found him very Catholick. He complains, That the Bishops of the second *Cappadocia*, lately advanced into a Province, refused to have any Correspondence with him. He rallies his Brother *Gregory*, and says, It were to be wished that he had a Bishoprick that would agree to his Mind; That he is so zealous and watchful, that he could Govern all the Churches of the World; That he was not only capable of Great Things, but that he gave weight to Small Matters, and made Affairs of no importance, pass for Matters of the greatest Consequence, by his manner of treating of them. He complains of a Bishop nam'd *Palmatius*, whom *Maximus* had made use of to persecute the Church. He invites *Eusebius* to come and see him, giving him notice that his Presence was necessary to regulate the Affairs of *Cappadocia*.

He invites him also by Letter 256, to be present at the Feast of St. *Eupsichius*, which was the 7th. of *September*, to Ordain Bishops and to give him Advice about the Cause which his Brother *Gregory Nyssen* had undertaken against him in the Assembly which was held at *Ancyra*.

Probably *Eusebius* of *Samosata* came not to this Synod of *Cæsarea*, but he sent thither a Bishop nam'd *Sabinus*, whose Presence comforted St. *Basil* under the Afflictions which he had met with at *Nicopolis*, as he acquaints *Eusebius* by Letter 253; where he excuses the too great Zeal which *Theodotus* had testified for the observation of the Canons. He says in this Letter, That he passionately wished to see and embrace *Eusebius*. The Letters 252, 255, 260, were almost at the same time.

The 254th. is to the same Person, and in the same Year; but it was written before that which we just now mentioned, and at the Beginning of the Year. He writes to him, That *Demophilus* was upon the Throne of *Constantinople*, and that he was a Hypocrite; and yet that he had re-united the two Parties; and that some Neighbouring Bishops were joyn'd with him. He deplores the miserable state of the Eastern Churches; and says, That God only knows when their Condition may be better.

We have already seen that St. *Basil* went this Year to *Satala*, to regulate the Affairs of this Church, and that he Ordained a Bishop there, at the desire of the Inhabitants. He recommends him to them in Letters 296, and 183; and in 185 he writes to the Church of the *Parnassians*, upon the Death of their Bishop; and in 186, he does with much Eloquence and Christian Charity comfort the Widow of the Prætor *Anatheus*, upon the Death of her Husband. This Letter may pass for a perfect Pattern of true Christian Consolation.

Athanasius Bishop of *Ancyra*, dying in the Year 372, it follows that the Letter 53 of St. *Basil* which is address'd to him, was at least in the Year 371. He complains in this Letter of the Conduct of this Bishop, who accused him of teaching Errors in his Writings, or subscribing to those of others. The Complaint of this Bishop, made St. *Basil* apprehend that some Heretick had prefix'd his Name to his Works. He declares, That he had written against the *Anomæans*, and against those that say, The Holy Spirit is a Creature.

The following Letter is written to the Father of this Bishop, praying him to admonish his Son charitably, not to defame his Colleague without reason.

'Tis credible that the Letter 381, address'd to the Suffragans, was also written in the same Year with the preceeding Letters, and probably soon after St. *Basil* was a Bishop. He complains in this Letter, That some neglected to observe the Canons, and to follow the Discipline of the Church in the Ordination of Ministers exactly: He observes, that formerly none were chosen, but those whose Probity was well known, and of whom the Priests and Deacons gave a good Testimony to the Suffragans; and that neither were these Ordained until the Bishops of the Dioceses were first advertised of it: He complains, That now the Suffragans did not write to the Bishops; and that they also permitted

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mitted the Prieſts and Deacons to chooſe whom they pleas'd, without enquiring into their Behaviour. *From whence it comes to paſs*, ſays he, *that there are many Miniſters, and but very few who are worthy of their Miniſtery.* To avoid this Abuſe, he Ordains, That there ſhould be preſently ſent to him a Liſt of all the Miniſters that are in the Villages containing the Names of thoſe which have been admitted, and an account of the Life which they lead; That they ſhould be reduc'd to the Condition of Lay-men, who ſhould be found incapable, and thoſe who had been admitted by Prieſts ſince the time of the firſt Prohibition; and that for the future, none ſhould be admitted but thoſe whoſe Life and Converſation had been well examin'd. In fine, he declares, That thoſe who ſhould be admitted into the Clergy, without his Approbation, ſhould be thruſt down to the ſtation of the Laity again.

The 392 to *Amphilochius*, was written before he was made Biſhop of *Iconium*, and by conſequence towards the End of 371, or the beginning of 372. 'Tis written in the Name of *Heraclides*, an ancient Friend of *Amphilochius*. It acquaints him with the Life which he leads under the Conduct of St. *Baſil*, and invites him to come and ſtay with them.

The 319 to *Innocentius* may be alſo about the ſame time. He refuſes to charge himſelf with the Care of the Eaſtern Churches, which this Biſhop would have him to do.

'Twas probably in the ſame Year that St. *Baſil* undertook to build a Church and a Hoſpital in *Cæſarea*. Some would have hindred the going on of this Work; whereupon he writes to *Elias* Governor of the Province in Letter 372; praying him for leave to proceed in his Buildings. The 373, was written to the ſame Perſon in favour of a Receiver, who had neglected to ſend an Account of his Receipts. In the 305, which is to ſome Receiver-General, St. *Baſil* determines, That an Oath ſhould not be exacted from the Collectors of Taxes; becauſe theſe kind of Oaths bring no great Profit to the Receivers, and accuſtom Men to make falſe Oaths. In the 304. he writes to the ſame Perſon, That the Monks ought to be exempted from paying of Tribute.

In the Beginning of the Year 372, St. *Baſil* having found out the Frauds of *Euſtathius* of *Sebaſtea*, ſeparated from him, and re-united himſelf to *Theodotus*. This Separation was begun by two Friends of *Euſtathius*, call'd *Baſil* and *Euphronius*, who were ſent to St. *Baſil*, as Spyes upon him. Theſe two Perſons having created ſome trouble to this Saint, he wrote about it to *Euſtathius*, and pray'd him to put a ſtop to the Diſorder which they caus'd in his Dioceſs. This Letter is the 307, which I believe was written to *Euſtathius* of *Sebaſtea*, though ſome think that it was addreſs'd to another *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Himeria*, to whom the preceeding Letter is addreſs'd. Some time after, *Euſtathius* being invited to a Council held by St. *Baſil*, not only refus'd to come thither himſelf, but hindred all thoſe of his Party from going, and declared himſelf in his Diſcourſes, and in his Letters, againſt St. *Baſil*. He had alſo the Inſolence to write him a Letter, wherein he declar'd, That he had withdrawn from his Communion, and publiſh'd a Writing or Manifeſto againſt him; wherein he accuſes him of the Error of *Apollinarius*. St. *Baſil* underſtanding theſe things, acknowledg'd, but too late, that he had too eaſily given Credit to one of the greateſt Cheats in the World. He began to commend the Prudence of *Theodotus* of *Nicopolis*; and to reconcile himſelf perfectly to him, he wrote the Letter 196, wherein he gives him a faithful account of all that we have ſaid, and teſtifies the regret he had for truſting to this Impoſtor. He obſerves, That he had publiſh'd a Confeſſion of Faith, which was perfectly agreeable to the Opinions of *Arius*, and accuſes him of re-ordaining Biſhops.

A Biſhop of *Cilicia* nam'd *Theophilus*, joyn'd himſelf with *Euſtathius*, againſt St. *Baſil*. 'Tis to him that Letter 310. is addreſs'd; wherein St. *Baſil* acquaints him, That though he had great Cauſe of Grief upon his account, yet he would not ceaſe always to remember him.

The Letter 81. to *Euſtathius* the Phyſician, was written upon the Separation of *Euſtathius* of *Sebaſtea*: for therein he teſtifies what Trouble he endur'd for the Separation of thoſe who had withdrawn from his Communion; but yet he was oblig'd rather to ſuffer their Diviſion from him, than do any thing againſt the Truth and againſt his own Conſcience; becauſe there was nothing more dear to him than the Faith, and Hope in Jeſus Chriſt.

In Letter 82. to *Petrophilus*, who had objected this Separation to him; He ſhows him, That his Enemies were the Cauſes of this Diviſion, and juſtifies himſelf from two Accuſations which *Euſtathius* had form'd againſt him; Whereof the Firſt was, That he had formerly written to *Apollinarius*: And the Second, That he had received *Diodorus* into his Communion. With reference to *Apollinarius*, he confeſſes, That he had formerly written one Letter only to him; but he ſays, That he did not then believe him to be in an Error; That he could not be reſponſible for his Faults; And That he had not read his Writings. As to *Diodorus*, he confeſſes that he received him into his Communion, as a good Catholick, being Educated by *Silvanus* of *Tarſus*, and who could be charg'd with nothing. He vindicates himſelf alſo from the Crimes that were imputed to him in a Writing addreſs'd to *Dazizus*; and at laſt, he accuſes *Euſtathius* of *Sebaſtea*, and deſcribes his Life in ſuch a manner as is very much to his diſadvantage. *Patrophilus* having received this Letter, ſent St. *Baſil* word that he would not ſeparate from him. St. *Baſil* thanks him in Letter 85, and admoniſhes him, That for keeping Peace, we muſt make choice of ſuch Perſons with whom we may be United; and that we are oblig'd to break with ſome Perſons with whom Peace cannot be had.

But St. *Baſil* did not only defend himſelf by Letters written to his Friends; but he wrote alſo a very ſmart Letter upon the ſame Subject to *Euſtathius*, which is the 79. There he gives an Account of his Conduct and his Doctrine, during the whole time of his Life: He ſhews him, That he could not be accus'd without Injuſtice, for having written almoſt Twenty Years ago to *Apollinarius*: He takes *Euſtathius* himſelf for a Witneſs of his Faith, and asks him, If he could accuſe him of promoting any Error in the Conference which he had with him. He accuſes him of being the Diſciple of

Arius

Arius and *Aetius*. At last, he observes, That the true Cause wherefore he had made this Separation, was not because of the Letter which St. *Basil* wrote to *Apollinarius*, as is pretended; but because his Communion might be prejudicial to those who would acquire Favour and Authority. St. *Basil.*

'Twas at the beginning of this Year, that St. *Basil* wrote to his Brother *Gregory Nyssen*, upon a Complaint that he had against him. He acquaints him in Letter 44, That he was surpriſed, that there were three Letters written to him, under the Name of his Uncle *Gregory*, which were none of his. He gives him to understand, That he would come and see him, and the Bishops his Friends, provided they would receive him Honourably. The 45 and 46, are to his Uncle *Gregory*, upon the same Difference.

The Letter 43, goes under the Name of St. *Basil*, and is addreſs'd to the same St. *Gregory Nyssen*, in the Editions of St. *Basil*: But 'tis in the Second Volume of St. *Gregory Nyssen*, under the Name of that Father, and is addreſs'd to their Brother *Peter*; and indeed, it has more of the Stile of St. *Gregory*, than of St. *Basil*. The Author of it explains with much Subtilty, the Difference between the words *Hypostasis*, and *Essence*: and shows, That *Essence* signifies that which is common to the Three Divine Persons; and *Hypostasis*, that which is peculiar to each Person.

The Letter 263, to *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, was written before Easter, in the Year 372. It contains excuses for not writing to him so often as he would. St. *Basil* fell sick about Easter, and was afflicted with a Fever, which tormented him till Winter, as appears by the Letters 257 and 258, written at the same time, to *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, and by 270, 271, to *Antiochus*.

This same Year the Persecution of the *Arians* was begun anew more fiercely than ever. St. *Basil* speaks of this persecution in his Letter 5. to *Eusebius*, wherein he acquaints him, That 'twas rais'd against the Catholicks of the Church of *Tarsus*, which was the Centre of Unity to *Isauria*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*; That the Church was ruin'd by desperate Persons, and that all things went on from bad to worse, while the Catholicks were amus'd, and did nothing but look on.

Eusebius answer'd him, That they must write again to the Bishops of the West, to desire of them some Relief. St. *Basil* wrote also about it to *Meletius*, without whose Advice, he would undertake nothing. This Letter is the 58, wherein he complains, that *Anthimus*, Bishop of *Tyana*, would have Ordain'd one *Faustus*, in the room of a Bishop whom St. *Basil* had Ordain'd in *Armenia*. He sent this Letter by *Sanctissimus*, whom he charg'd also with a Letter to *Theodotus*, wherein he complains of the Ordination of *Faustus*. This Letter is the 195. Afterwards, he gave to the same Person, three Letters: The First for the Priests of *Antioch*; the Second for the Monks of that City; and the Last for *Pelagius* of *Laodicea*. These Letters are the 199, 200, and 312. There is also a Letter upon the Ordination of *Faustus*, addreſs'd to *Poemenius*, Bishop of *Satala*, which is the 313.

A little while after, he wrote to *Meletius* the Letter 59, wherein having defended himself from the Accusation of *Eustathius*, who accus'd him of the Errors of *Apollinarius*; he says, That he had receiv'd Information, that it was resolv'd at Court, to deliver him up to the Fury of his Enemies; but that this Order was suspended for some time.

He earnestly prays *Meletius* to answer the Letter which he had written to him by *Sanctissimus*, and to send him a Letter for the Bishops of the West, Sign'd by those who were united with him in Communion and Judgment. He signifies that the Western Bishops must be advertis'd not to receive into their Communion indifferently, all those that come from the East.

The Letter 273, to the Priest *Antiochus*, who was Nephew to *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, which Father *Combefis* believes to be directed also to *Meletius*, is upon the same Subject. He prays him to Order, together with the Deacon *Dorotheus*, what must be done for a Re-union with the West. He Counsels him to dictate the Letter himself, that was to be sent thither. He says, That he had written some time ago to the Bishops of *Illyricum*, of *Gaul*, and *Italy*, by the Deacon *Sabinus*; but he adds, That it would be convenient to send one into the West, in the Name of a Synod of the East. As to what concerns *Athanasius*, he says, That he is very well inclin'd to Peace; but he can do nothing, unless Letters of Communion be sent to him: Moreover, That he does ardently desire the Re-union, and will do all that's possible for him to procure it. This Letter was written before Easter. He signifies, that he waited for his Answer.

'Twas at this Time, and upon this Occasion, that Letter 70 of St. *Basil*, was written, addreſs'd to the Western Bishops, wherein he prays them to inform their Emperour of the Miseries which the Orthodox suffer'd in the East, and to send them Deputies. This Letter was to be carried by a Priest nam'd *Dorotheus*.

While Matters were thus order'd in the East, St. *Basil*, who was now recovering, as appears by the Sixth Letter to *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, fell sick again in Winter, He speaks of this Sickness in his Seventh Letter, and excuses himself for not visiting St. *Eusebius* from the sharpness of the Winter, and the Death of his Mother. He deplores in his Letter, the unhappy State of the Church, and says, That some would have plac'd *Arians* at *Ancyra* and *Neocæsarea*, in the room of the Orthodox, but that at last they had left the Churches in tranquility.

In the mean time, *Evagrius*, a Priest of *Antioch* being return'd from the West, brought a Letter, which he would have obliged the Eastern Bishops to Sign; saying, That those which they had written before, were not approved in the West. St. *Basil* having received Advice of this, wrote to *Eusebius* of *Samosata* by his Eighth Letter. There he speaks against *Eustathius* of *Sebastea*, and enquires if he was to be present at the Ordination of a Bishop for the City of *Iconium*, which had formerly depended upon his Metropolis, but did not now since the Division of *Cappadocia*.

He wrote also at the same time to this *Evagrius*, who was come from the West, and who had written to him, that he was suspected, because of his Communion with *Meletius*. St. *Basil* answer'd

St. Basil. him by Letter 342, That he was very little troubled at what the World thought of him, but that he would labour hard for Peace; and Exhorts *Evagrius* to do the same. He signifies to him, That he was troubled to understand by *Dorotheus*, That he would not Communicate with *Meletius*'s Party. He declares to him, That as things now stand he could not send any body into the West.

He writes the same Account of the Journey to *Rome*, to that *Dorotheus*, whom he had charg'd with Letter 70. He could not forbear taking Notice, How angry he was with the Pope, and saying, That his Brother *Gregory*, was not a proper Person to be deputed into the West, because he was too simple to have any thing to do with a Proud Man, and one exalted in Dignity, who by consequence would hardly have patience to hear him speak the Truth. This Letter is the 150. The Priest went to *Rome*, however, as appears by Letter 321.

In the mean time, *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, who passionately desir'd the Peace of the Church, beleiving that St. *Basil* neglected to labour in it, wrote a Letter to him, wherein he complains of two Things: First, That he had not come to see him: Secondly, That he had abandon'd, as one may say, the Church to its Enemies, by his Sloathfulness and Negligence. St. *Basil* answer'd him, by Letter 262, That he could not come to see him, because of his Sickness, and that the thing which hindred his Good Success, was not the want of Care; but because the Bishops did not agree among themselves, about Matters of Consequence, and he alone could not regulate Affairs, since the Canons did not allow one Bishop alone, to make Regulations of this Nature.

The Letter 265, is almost upon the same Subject. He wrote to him, That he ardently desir'd Peace, but then it must be a real one. He advises him to take heed of those that seem to be Catholicks, and yet are not. He declares to him, That he would never Communicate with those who did not receive the *Nicene* Faith, or who believ'd that the Holy Spirit was a Creature, because he was not willing to approach the Altar, with a Heart full of Dissimulation and Hypocrisy, that for this Reason, he had withdrawn from the Communion of *Euvippus*; That they ought to be treated with all mildness, who had not receiv'd this Faith; That we should invite them to own it, and show great Charity and Moderation to them: but that we ought never to be Trimmers, nor remain Neuters in Matters of Faith.

About the End of this Year, The Church of *Antioch* being afflicted with a rough Persecution, he wrote Letter 60, to comfort it. He proposes the *Nicene* Creed, as the Rule of Faith. He says, That the Divinity of the Holy Spirit was not there expressly determin'd, because it was not then directly oppos'd but that we ought to condemn all those who admit a Creature in the Trinity.

The Letter 62, to the Church of *Neocæsarea*, is also of the same Nature; he Comforts it upon the Death of its Bishop. It was written before the foregoing Letter, and at the beginning of the Year. There are some other Letters of St. *Basil*, which probably were written the same Year 372, that have not so much reference to History.

We may place in this Number, the Letters 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, and 279, to the Governour *Modestus*, who began to be his Friend about this time. He prays him in this last, to preserve the Exemptions of Priests and Deacons.

We may place also in this time, the Letter 86, to *Bosphorus*, wherein St. *Basil* gives an Account of the Difference which he had with his Predecessor, *Dianius*, Bishop of *Cæsarea*. He says, That he had not anathematis'd him, but that he was extremely troubled, when he understood, that this Bishop had Sign'd the Creed of *Constantinople*; and that for this Cause, he separated from him, but that he returned to his Communion before he died, when he declar'd, That he had Signed this Creed by Surprize, and without knowing any evil by it.

There is another Letter, wherein he speaks of this Bishop *Bosphorus*. It is Letter 300, address'd to the Nuns. There he confutes those who accused him of not receiving the *Nicene* Creed. He approves it, and yet confesses, that there are Catholicks who do not allow of the Word *Consubstantial*, because they believe that it has an ill Sence. He says, That they ought to be pardon'd, because this Term did very much displease the Bishops, who condemned *Paulus Samosatenus*. He explains the good Sence of this Word, and the distinction of *Hypostases*. Lastly, He proves the Divinity and Equality of the Father and the Son.

St. *Peter* of *Alexandria*, having Succeeded St. *Athanasius*, in the Year 373, St. *Basil* did not fail to write to him immediately after his Promotion to the Bishoprick. This Letter is the 320. He Congratulates his Exaltation, and exhorts him to follow the Footsteps of St. *Athanasius*.

Soon after this, *Peter* was forced away, and the Church of *Alexandria* was persecuted most violently by the *Arians*. Immediately, St. *Basil* comforts them in a Letter, wherein he deplores their Misery. This Letter is the 71.

Amphilochius was Ordained Bishop of *Iconium* at the end of the Year 372, as appears by the Eighth Letter of St. *Basil*. 'Twas therefore towards the End of the last Year, or rather at the Beginning of this, that St. *Basil* congratulated him by Letter 393, and 'twas certainly in 373, that he invited him by Letter 344, to the Feast of St. *Eupsichius*, which was *September* the 5th.

The 395, to the same, is also of the same Year. He acquaints him, That he had finish'd the Book of the Holy Spirit.

The Letter 363, to *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, was written before Easter of the same Year, during the sharp Winter-Season. St. *Basil* acquaints him, That he was dangerously Sick.

Towards the End of this Year, St. *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, was banish'd into *Thrace*, and St. *Basil* wrote to him the Letters 9, and 251. to Comfort him in his banishment; and the Letter 269, to his Nephew *Antiochus*, who accompanied his Uncle. The Clergy of *Samosata*, being troubled by the *Arians*, and by the Division of some particular Persons, he Comforts them, and Exhorts them to Peace

Peace by Letter 280, and praises the Senate of that City, by Letter 294. He wrote also to *Otretius*, Bishop of *Melitine*, the Letter 316, where he speaks of the Banishment of *Eusebius*.

St. *Basil.*

It was towards the End of this Year, that St. *Basil* wrote to the Bishops of the Sea-Coasts, and of the Isles, the Letter 77, wherein he complains, that they had sent no body to him for Relief in their Miseries, and prays them to send their Deputies and Letters of Communion. 'Twas also about the same time, that he wrote the Letter 322, upon the same Subject to *Elpides*. We may place also in the same time, the Letter 87, which he wrote to a Heretical Woman call'd *Simplicia*, who concerned her self to make Remonstrances to him. He tells her with some warmth, That it doth not belong to her to judge: That he expected his judgment from God. He adds, That he should not want Witnesses to justify his Conduct, and that he would not make use of Slaves or Eunuchs, whose Testimony ought not to be taken. He gives a dreadful Character of the Eunuchs of his time.

We cannot find a Year wherein we can better place, than in this, the Letter 184 to *Palladius*, and to *Innocentius*, Priests and Monks. He informs them, That he is a lover of Peace. He prays God to restrain the Authors of Division, and recommends himself to their Prayers.

St. *Basil* being recovered of his Sickness, which had tormented him during the two Winters of the Years 373 and 374, went into *Pisidia* and *Isauria*, to regulate the Affairs of those Countries, as it appears by Letter 272. It was before this Journey that he wrote to *Amphilochius*, the Letter 396, wherein he acquaints him with his Disease, and prays him to delay their meeting for some Days; so it was also in the same Winter, that he wrote the first Canonical Letter to *Amphilochius*, which he could not send to him because of his Sickness; and St. *Amphilochius* having sent to him some more Questions, wherein he desired to be informed, St. *Basil* answered him by the Second, written in the beginning of the Year 374. The last of these Letters was probably written towards the end of this Year, after St. *Gregory* was retir'd from *Nazianzum*. We shall speak severally of these Letters.

The Affairs which he had in *Pisidia*, concerned the Churches of *Isaurus* or *Isauria*, which had been dismembred from their own Province, to be joyned to the Churches of *Pisidia* and *Lycaonia*. St. *Amphilochius*, who was Bishop of *Iconium*, the Metropolis of *Lycaonia*, had written about it to St. *Basil*, and prayed him to come thither. This Saint, before he went into that Country, acquainted him by Letter 406, That he did well to take Care of these Churches; but yet he did not approve of the Design which he had of sharing them amongst many Bishops, lest the Dignity of a Bishop should thereby become contemptible. He says, That it would be better to chuse one man worthy of a Bishoprick, who might take some Priests to his Assistance, than thus to divide a small Territory into many Bishopricks. He advises him to place Parish Priests in the Towns where there had formerly been Bishops, before any Bishop was Ordain'd, lest if there should be one Ordain'd before, he would not approve of this Regulation. In fine, he admonishes him to confine the Church of *Isauria* within its own Bounds. He adds, That the Affairs of the Church of *Nyssa* are in the same Condition, and that some of his Enemies were gone to Court. He subjoyns a Question of Doctrine about the Opinion of *Philo*, who affirms, That Manna had all sorts of Tastes. He says, That this Opinion was grounded only upon a Jewish Tradition. He advertises *Amphilochius*, that *Sympius* had sent him a Letter of Communion, and that he had answer'd him. This Letter is probably the 398, directed to *Amphilochius*, but it could not be address'd to him, since it appears by this Letter that he to whom St. *Basil* wrote, had been at difference with him, and was reconciled some time before, since he thanks him for his Reconciliation.

In all probability it was about this Affair of *Isauria*, and some others of the like Nature, that St. *Basil* went into *Pisidia* and *Isauria*; and in the beginning of the Year 374, from *Pisidia* he went to *Pontus*, a Canton whereof called *Dazimona*, was furiously troubled by *Eustathius* of *Sebastea*, who had perswaded many Bishops to separate from the Communion of St. *Basil*. This Saint thought to have found one of his Friends call'd *Hilary*, in that Country, but he was gone. He signifies in Letter 370, how much he was troubled, that he could not find him. He acquaints him also, That the *Anomœans* and *Semi-Arians* hated him, and loaded him with Calumnies, because of some Writings that were falsly attributed to him. In his return he went to see his ancient place of retirement, near *Neocæsarea*, were his Brother *Peter* dwelt. The Inhabitants of *Neocæsarea*, believing that he was come to concern himself about their Affairs, conceiv'd an Aversion to him, and accus'd him of many things. To refute their Calumnies and undeceive them, he wrote to them three Letters upon this Occasion.

The first, which is the 63, is address'd to the Clergy. He says, That they were to blame, to accuse him of Error, who themselves propagated those things which were asserted by none but *Sabellius* and *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*; That they could have but two Pretences for the Aversion they had testified against him; First, The changing of the way of singing of Psalms; and Secondly, The Affection which he had for those that profess'd a Monastick Life. As to the last Accusation, he says, That it was very much to his Advantage, that they had this Opinion of him, since there were Monks in *Egypt*, in *Palestine*, and in *Mesopotamia*; and Monasteries of Nuns in all Places. As to the singing of the Prayers of the Church, he maintains, That in that he follow'd the ancient Custom of the Church; That on the great Festivals the People came before Day into the Church; That after Prayer they stood up to sing in two Chorus's, which answered one another; That thus the Night was spent in singing and praying; That at break of Day all the Faithful rehears'd the Penitential Psalms. He maintains, That this Custom took place in *Egypt*, in *Libya*, in *Phœnicia*, in *Palestine*, in *Syria*. As to what they objected to him, That this was not in use in the time of St. *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, he answers them, That the Litanies or the Prayers which the Faithful used at *Neocæsarea*, were no more in use in his time, than this Custom. He adds that tho' he did not condemn them, yet he thought it more

convenient

St. Basil. convenient to ask God's Pardon of Sins, by using the Words of the Holy Scripture, than employing those of Men's devising. He maintains also, That it cannot be proved, that the singing of Psalms was not used in St. *Gregory*'s time. He blames them, because they themselves did not observe what this great Man did. He tells them, That he pray'd with his head uncovered; That he did not swear at all; That he did not reproach his Neighbour; That he did not bear Envy against him; That he was neither proud nor quarrelsome, *&c.* whereby he tacitly objects these Faults to those of *Neocæsarea*. Towards the latter end, he admonishes them to lay aside those Innovations that had crept in amongst them, to admit the three Hypostases in God, not to deny the Name of Jesus Christ, and not to misinterpret the Expressions of St. *Gregory*.

The 64 is directed to the most Learned of this Church of *Neocæsarea*. There he describes the Occasion and Cause which obliged him to come near *Neocæsarea*. He accuses them of *Sabellianism*, because they admitted but one Hypostasis. He answers what they had said in a Letter address'd to *Anthimus*, wherein they alledg'd a Passage of St. *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, who says, *That the Father and the Son were Two by Conception, but One in Substance*. He maintains, That this Father did not say this, as an Article of Faith; That this Expression escap'd him in the heat of Disputation, and that he never intended to explain his Doctrine about the Mystery of the Trinity exactly, in a Treatise which was made for the Instruction of an Infidel. At Last he asserts, that 'tis not sufficient to say, That there are Three Divine Persons, unless it be added, that each of them has a particular Subsistence by it self.

The Letter 75 is address'd to all the Faithful of *Neocæsarea*, whom he treats with more mildness. He complains of them, that having given Credit to the Calumnies which were publish'd against him, they had separated from his Communion. He represents to them, That he was Educated by his Grand-Mother *Macrina*, who had been amongst them, and had been Instructed in the Doctrine of St. *Gregory* of *Neocæsarea*, and that since that time, he had never Patroniz'd the *Arians*; That he had Letters from St. *Athanasius*, wherein he said, That those should be receiv'd into Communion, who returned from their Error. St. *Basil* adds, That he Communicated with all the Orthodox Churches, and so those that would not Communicate with him, were separated from the Church. In short, He does not refuse to be judged by a Synod. He would even submit himself to their Judgment, but upon Condition that they should not lightly believe, but examine the Accusations that were form'd against him, and his Defences. There is in this Letter a very fine Sentence against Calumny. The 20th. Letter to *Eustathius* the Physician, was also written by St. *Basil* about the same time, to vindicate himself against those that accused him of teaching, That there were Three Gods, because he admitted Three Hypostases. He justifies this Doctrine, and proves the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. This Letter in some Manuscripts is attributed to St. *Gregory Nyssen*, and 'tis found among his Works; but 'tis rather St. *Basil*'s, than St. *Gregory Nyssen*'s, for it agrees better to him; the Stile is more like his, and the Doctrine is different from that of St. *Gregory*; since the Author of this Letter maintains, That the Soul of *Samuel* did really come from the Invisible State to speak unto *Saul*; and St. *Gregory* expressly teaches the contrary in his Book of the *Witch of* Endor. In the 382, written to *Olympas*, he complains, that his Enemies had written against him, and had imputed to him the Error and the Writings of *Apollinarius*. He confesses, That this Man was a Heretick. A Bishop nam'd *Eulancius* had taken Part against him with those of *Neocæsarea*; but he came to himself at last, and wrote to St. *Basil*, whom he thanks by Letter 281. He defends himself also from the Calumnies of *Eustathius*, in Letter 346 to *Genethlius*.

St. *Basil* being returned to *Cæsarea*, received there Letters from the East, wherein they acquaint him, that *Paulinus*'s Party had received a Letter from the West, which confirmed to him the Bishoprick of *Antioch*. This Letter so raised the Spirits of those of that Party, that they would have forced every body else to Sign a Confession of Faith, that they might be re-united with them. They did also shake Count *Terentius*, who had formerly been of *Meletius*'s side, and would have oblig'd him to Consent to this Union. St. *Basil* being inform'd of this News, wrote immediately to him the Letter 349, to persuade him not to abandon *Meletius*. He says, That those of the West were ignorant of the State of the Eastern Churches, and that they knew not the Reasons which St. *Athanasius* had to Communicate with *Paulinus*. He declares, That he accuses no Man; That he desires nothing but Peace; That he congratulates those who had brought these Letters from *Rome*; but that he could not forsake *Meletius* and his Church, to joyn with a Party that had caus'd the Schism. Lastly, He refutes the Opinion of those of that Side, who admitted but One Hypostasis in the Trinity.

He sent an Account immediately to *Antiochus*, who was at *Samosata*, of all that had been done since the beginning of this Year, and a Relation of what he had learn'd from *Antioch*: This Letter is the 272. About the same time, the Priest *Dorotheus*, who was gone into the West, contrary to the counsel of St. *Basil*, return'd into the East, very much dissatisfied with the manner of Treatment that he had met with from *Damasus*; who reckon'd *Meletius* and *Eusebius* of *Samosata* among the *Arians*. *Peter* of *Alexandria* who was then at *Rome*, wrote about it to St. *Basil*, signifying to him, That he was troubled that he had received no News from the East, and that *Dorotheus* had not satisfied the Bishops of the West. St. *Basil* answer'd him by Letter 321, wherein having excused himself for not writing to him before, he complains of the Conduct of *Damasus*, excuses *Dorotheus*, and justifies *Meletius* and *Eusebius* of *Samosata*. Some time after St. *Basil* advises St. *Amphilochius* by Letter 403, to send a Man of Gravity and Judgment into *Lycia*, to inquire into the Inclinations of the Bishops of that Country; because he was assur'd, that they were for the most part Orthodox, and desired nothing more than a re-union with them. He names to him those whom he certainly knew to be Catholicks, to be first consulted. He thanks God that *Asia* was purg'd from the poison of Heresy,

and

and exhorts *Amphilochius* to take care of his Church. The Letters 402, and 403, to the same *Amphilochius*, are written in the same Year, before the 5th. of *September*.

St. *Basil.*

About the End of this Year, *Demosthenes*, Lieutenant to the Pretorian Prefect, renew'd the Persecution against the Churches of *Asia*. He caus'd a little Council to be assembled at *Ancyra*, wherein he procur'd *Hipsius* to be turn'd out, and *Ecdicius* the *Arian* to be Ordain'd in his room.

Demosthenes came afterwards to *Nyssa*, to force away from thence St. *Gregory*, whom he would have Arrested, under pretence that he wasted the Church's Money. St. *Basil* thought himself oblig'd on this occasion to write for his Brother to *Demosthenes* in the Name of all the Bishops of his Province. He gives him to understand, That if he would treat about the Money, the Treasurers were ready to give him an Account of it; but if he accused him of Ecclesiastical Matters, that he himself would examine it, and that he should not send his Brother to be judg'd out of his own Country. He wrote also the Letter 358. to *Abyrcius*, wherein he prays him to assist his Brother. This happen'd about *Christmas* in the Year 374; for St. *Amphilochius* having sent Presents to St. *Basil* at the time of this Festival, St. *Basil* thanks him by Letter 404, and tells him, That his Brother was forced to fly.

Demosthenes was not satisfied with forcing away St. *Gregory Nyssen* upon the Accusation of a profligate Person, but called a Synod of the Bishops of *Galatia* and *Pontus* at *Nyssa*; wherein he got a Bishop ordain'd in the room of St. *Gregory*. From thence the same Bishops went to *Sebastea*, to place one of their own Party at *Nicopolis* in the room of *Theodotus*, who was dead. They chose one *Fronto*, but the *Nicopolitans* would not receive him. This happened in the beginning of the Year 375; and St. *Basil* wrote an Account of it to *Eusebius* of *Samosata* by the Letters 264, and 10. In this last Letter he complains of the Pride of the Bishops of the West, and says, That their Faith was suspected by him, since they acted as they had done formerly, with reference to *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*. In the Letter 405 to St. *Amphilochius*, he describes and deplores the Misery of the Churches, and says, That *Asclepius* was kill'd because he would not communicate with Hereticks. And he does the same in the Letter 348. to *Elpidius*. He speaks also of the Unhappy State of the Church in Letter 266. In Letter 297 written to those of *Chalcis*, he exhorts them to continue firm and constant in the time of Persecution; He tells them, That it was violent in the East, and that it threatned *Cappadocia*. The Letters 298, and 299, to those of *Berœa*, are upon the same subject, as well as 303; wherein he comforts the Monks that suffer'd for the Faith. He says, That their Sufferings shall not be less recompenced than those of the Ancient Martyrs. We must joyn to these the 326, and 327, address'd to *Barsus* Bishop of *Edessa*; who was Banished, and the 306 to *Eustathius* of *Himmeria*.

He wrote at the same time the 72 against *Eustathius* of *Sebastea*, address'd to the *Edessenians*. There he describes the lightness and changes of this Heretick; and there he speaks of a pretended Council held at *Ancyra* at the end of the Year 374.

The 73 is written against the same Person and at the same time; for there he observes, That it was now Three Years since he was accus'd by *Eustathius*. He says, That he was unjustly blam'd upon the Account of the Errors of a Person [*Apollinarius*] to whom he never wrote but once, and that it was now Twenty Years since he did it; That those who accus'd him, did it to please the Powers, to whom they are, and always have been devoted; That the true Reason why *Eustathius* and those of his Party were offended with him, was not because he refus'd to receive their Suffragans, as they pretended but because they would please *Euzoius*; That they were joyn'd to the *Eudoxians*, and called the Orthodox *Homo-ousians*, though they had formerly made Profession of this Faith, and had also presented it to the Synod of *Tyana*. Lastly, That they had destroy'd the Churches which they had invaded. He concludes this Letter with a Profession of Faith, which rejects the Errors of *Arius* and *Sabellius*.

The Letters 190, 191, 192, are written to the People and Clergy of *Nicopolis*, to comfort and exhort them in the Persecution which they suffer'd during this Year 375, after the Death of their Bishop. In the last he declares to them, That they ought not to acknowledge him for their Bishop, whom the *Arians* had Ordain'd among them, though he calls himself Catholick, which he cannot be, being Ordain'd by the Hands of profane Persons, for the Destruction of the Faith: That this was his Opinion, which, if they would hold Communion with him, they should follow; "Which he had writ-"ten to them, says he, not that he distrusted them, but to remove the doubt of some, and that if any "Person should get himself Ordain'd Priest by this Bishop, he should have no hope to continue for "the future in this Dignity.

Poemius, Bishop of *Satala*, went after this to visit the Church of *Nicopolis*, about the end of this Year, or the beginning of the next, and confirm'd them in the Resolution of taking a Bishop, and Counsell'd them to chuse *Euphronius*, Bishop of *Colonia*. St. *Basil* approved of this Choice by Letter 193, and admonish'd them not to irritate those of *Colonia*, who were mightily troubled for the loss of their Bishop. These he comforted by the Letters 290, 291, wherein, after having praised the Zeal and Affection they had for their Bishop, he shows them, that this Translation was necessary for the good of the Church, and exhorts them not to Contest the Matter with the Church of *Nicopolis*, since that Church was their Metropolis, and what respected it concern'd them also. In the Letter 164 he exhorts the *Nicopolitans*, continually to adhere and submit to the Bishop which had been lately sent them.

While the Eastern Churches were tost with these Tempests, those of the West being at last mov'd with some Compassion for them, sent Priests to Comfort them, and to Testify, that they did Sympathize with them in their Sorrows. St. *Epiphanius*, Bishop of *Cyprus*, who perhaps had seen the 77th. Letter of St. *Basil*, did the same. St. *Basil* thanks the former by Letter 74, which is written in the

Name

St. Basil. Name of all the Eastern Bishops, and he continues still to desire their Assistance, not so much against the *Arians*, as against those who under Sheep's cloathing were Ravenous Wolves, and rent the Flock of Christ in pieces without Punishment. He accuses Three Persons in particular. *Eustathius* of *Sebastea* is the First; and to render him Odious, he describes all his Life, and says, That he was instructed by *Arius*, and was one of his most wicked Disciples at *Alexandria*; That being returned to *Cæsarea*, and seeing himself condemn'd by his Bishop *Hermogenes*, he had Sign'd an Orthodox Confession of Faith, and afterwards was Ordain'd Priest; but then after the Death of *Hermogenes*, he went to *Constantinople*, where he again made Profession of *Arianism* under *Eusebius*; That being driven out of this City, he returned into his own Country, where he was forc'd to retire; That soon after he was made Bishop purely by Chance, and then he presently condemn'd the *Nicene* Creed in the Council of *Ancyra*; That the Party whom he joyn'd with at *Seleucia*, was known to all Men; That at *Constantinople* he Consented to the Creed of the Hereticks; That at last being gone into the West, he carried from *Liberius* Communicatory Letters to the Synod of *Tyana*, by means whereof he was restor'd; That it was not known what *Liberius* had obliged him to Sign; but presently after he became the Patron of the Hereticks, who opposed the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, and persecuted the Orthodox. The Second whom St. *Basil* accus'd to the Western Bishops, was *Apollinarius*, whom he spared more than he had done *Eustathius*; yet he says, That he had very much troubled the Churches, because he had so great a Facility of Writing, that he had fill'd the World with his Books; That in so great a Number of Writings, some Errors could not but creep in; That what he had written of Theology, was not founded upon Scripture, but upon humane Reasoning; That he had written Fabulous Things of the Resurrection; That he had so perplex'd the Doctrine of the Incarnation, that few of his Acquaintance have retained the Form of ancient Doctrine; but on the contrary, almost all of them have busied themselves with useless and contentious Questions. Lastly, *Paulinus* was very much esteem'd by those of the West; yet St. *Basil* spares him not, for he is the Third Person whom he accuses in this Letter. He leaves it to the Bishops of the West to judge, whether his Ordination was lawful or no: But he adds, That that which vexed the most part of the Eastern Bishops against him, was his following the Error of *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, whereby he maintain'd, That the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, were but One Hypostasis. He desires Assistance of those of the West against those who followed these Three Men, and prays them to send Letters, wherein they might declare, That those who are of their Party ought not to be received into Communion, untill they have renounc'd their Errors. He concludes with saying, That it were to be wish'd, that the Eastern and Western Bishops could Assemble together to Consult about those things: But since the present juncture of Affairs would not permit them to do it, and a Business of this Nature would not admit any longer delay, they were content to send some of their Brethren to their Western Brethren, to inform them of that which could not be put into a Letter, and to invite them to assist the Churches of Jesus Christ. Father *Combefis* says, That it is observed in some Manuscripts, that this Letter was never sent; but we ought not to give much Credit to those kind of Observations made by Transcribers.

The Letter 325 to St. *Epiphanius*, is also written to thank him, that he had sent some Priests to Visit and Comfort the Churches of the East: He signifies to him, That he deserv'd so much the more acknowledgment, because it was a rare thing to find Bishops at that time, who had Compassion on their Brethren. And because St. *Epiphanius* had written to him, That he was troubled for the Difference which was risen in a certain Country which he calls *Eleona*, St. *Basil* answers in this Letter, That he had Reason to wish that this Breach were healed; but that he would not have such People made use of, who were fit for nothing but to embroil Matters, because they were not acted by the Love of God. ('Tis probable that he speaks of *Paulinus*'s Party.) He adds, That there had been already sent into that Country, *Palladius*, a Priest of *Cæsarea*, and *Innocentius*, a Priest of *Rome*, to satisfy the Demands of those of this Country, and determine their Differences, which were probably about the Incarnation; That they had been told, that nothing must be added to the *Nicene* Creed, but the Doxology of the Holy Spirit; That he would add nothing about the Incarnation, because those Questions transcended the Capacity of his Understanding. He sets it down for a Maxim, That when once Men depart from the Simplicity of Faith, by reasoning about it, then there is no end of the Dispute, and all the Questions which they handle, serve for no other use, but to trouble the Minds of the humble. Afterwards he exhorts St. *Epiphanius* to joyn with *Meletius*, and assures him, That St. *Athanasius* intended to do it, and that their Union was retarded only by the Malicious Counsel of some particular Persons. He confesses, That he did not Communicate with those that were after *Meletius*, that's to say, with *Paulinus*, and those of his Party, not because he thought them unworthy of his Communion, but because they condemned *Meletius*, in whom there was nothing to be reprehended. He praises St. *Epiphanius*, because he acknowledged Three Hypostases. He exhorts him to cause his Brethren of *Antioch* to confess the same thing, if they had not already acknowledged it. He prays him to procure the Peace of that Church, by re-uniting the Two Parties. Last of all, He speaks to him about the Errors of a Sect of Hereticks, call'd *Maguseans*, concerning which St. *Epiphanius* had desired of him some Account.

The Letter 55 to St. *Ambrose*, was at the same time, and probably was sent by the Deputies, who carried Letter 74 into the West. He writes to him, That he had known of a long time his Judgment Learning and Vertue; That he bless'd God for drawing from the Court, a Man Illustrious for his Wisdom, his Dignity and Eloquence, to charge him with the Government of Christ's Flock. He exhorts him wholly to extinguish the remainders of *Arianism*, if there was any in his Dioceses, and prays him to continue the Friendship which they had begun. These Letters are written at the Beginning of the Year 376. 'Twas in this Year also, that he wrote the Letter 293 to *Eulogius*, and to the other

other Bishops of *Egypt* that were banish'd into *Palæstine*: 'Tis against *Apollinarius* and *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, whom he charges with the same Errors which he had spoken of in Letter 74.

The Letter 295 to the Monks, might also be at the same time, as well as the Letters 337,338,339, to *Ascolius* of *Thessalonica*.

The Letter 182 written also in the Name of the Churches of the East to the Western Bishops, was in the Year 377, or 378. For the Eastern Bishops who describe there in a most Elegant manner, the Persecution which they suffered, observe that it had lasted 13 Years: But it could not begin before the end of the Year 364. or till 365. They implore in this Letter the Assistance of the Bishops of the West, which they declare they had in vain expected and desired for a long time.

We referr to those two last years of the Life of St. *Basil*, some Letters of Doctrine and Discipline, the time whereof is not certainly known, but which seem to be written towards the end of his Life. We may place in this Number the 65 to those of *Josopolis*, which is written against those who affirmed, That Jesus Christ brought a Body from Heaven, reviving hereby the Error of *Valentinus*, and who attributed to the Divinity of Jesus Christ the Properties of the humane Nature. He refutes their Errors, and proves that Jesus Christ had real Flesh. He speaks also of Redemption by Jesus Christ, and of the Fall of Man by the Sin of *Adam*.

The 195 to *Diodorus* then Bishop of *Tarsus*, was written before the Second Letter to *Amphilochius* wherein it is cited at Canon 63. There a question of Importance is handled, *viz.* Whether it be lawful for a Man to marry his Wife's Sister after her Death? A Man of St. *Basil*'s Dioceſs had done it, and alledg'd for his Justification a Letter of *Diodorus* who defended his Action. St. *Basil* answers it in this Letter, and opposes to *Diodorus* the Custom of the Church which did not at all permit it. He answers a Passage of *Leviticus*, Ch. 18. which seems to allow those Marriages. He answers, I say, First, That tho' that were so, yet there are many things forbidden in the Gospel, which the Law permitted; and Secondly, That the Levitical Law does not indeed forbid, but neither does it positively allow these kind of Marriages. He adds, That if it is not lawful to a Son to marry his Mother-in-Law, nor for a Father to espouse his Daughter-in-Law, neither ought it to be allowed to a Man to marry his Sister-in-Law, no more than to a Woman, to marry the Brother or the next-akin to her Husband: because Man and Wife are so closely united by Marriage, that the Kindred of one become the Kindred of the other. He would not have them object that Passage of Genesis, *Encrease and Multiply*, because it does not respect the New Testament. He observes, That second Marriages are a Remedy against Fornication, and not an inlet to immoderate Lust.

The following Letter to *Parergorius* is upon a like Subject. He admonishes this Priest who was 70 Years old, to put away a Maid that lived with him, as was Ordain'd by the Canon of the Council of *Nice*. He protests, That tho' he should write to him an Hundred Letters, he should always continue Suspended from his Ministry, till he had put her away; and that if notwithstanding this, he would still intrude upon the Exercise of his Office, without amending this Fault, he should be Excommunicated, and so should those also that receiv'd him.

We may joyn to these Two Letters, the 76th Epistle of St. *Basil*, to the Bishops under his Jurisdiction, wherein he reproves a thing which was practised by some of them, who under pretence of Piety, received the Money which was offered them by those whom they Ordain'd. He condemns this Practice as Simoniacal, and threatens to depose those that should do it for the future. He observes, That those Bishops excused themselves from Simony, because they received not this Money before Ordination, but only after it. *But*, says he, *to receive Money before or after, is always to receive it, and under what Pretence soever they do it, they always make a gain of Spiritual Gifts: Now to do this in the Church of God, wherein we believe, that we have the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; to do this there, there, I say, is a shameful Traffick.* These are the very Words of St. *Basil*; I add nothing to them.

The 203, and 204, are address'd to those of *Tarsus*. In them he Ordains, That the *Macedonians* in order to their Reception into the Church, should make profession of the *Nicene* Faith; and he anathematizes all those that believ'd the Holy Spirit to be a mere Creature.

The 244 is against a certain Bishop who neglected to Punish a Rape. He enjoyns him to cause search to be made after the Maid; to restore her to her Parents; to declare him Excommunicated, who had Ravish'd her; to throw him out of the Church, him and his Family, for the space of three Years; not to suffer him to be present at the publick Prayers, and in case he should sculk in some little Village, with the Woman he had ravish'd, and the Inhabitants would not deliver them, or would defend them, that then they also should be interdicted Divine Offices. In the 345, he speaks of a crafty Man, who being Summoned before the Ecclesiastical Tribunal, defended himself with so much Eloquence, that he made himself pass for an Innocent Man. In the 245 he speaks of the manner of Excommunication in his time; he says, That the Sinner ought first to be rebuked privately. Secondly, in the presence of two Witnesses; and Lastly, ought to be accus'd to the Church; and if he did not then obey, he ought to be Excommunicated. He says, That his Soul was set upon it to separate this Impostor, him and all his Family out of the Church.

The Letter 289 address'd to *Cæsarea*, a Lady, is about frequent Communion. He begins it with declaring, that it is good and profitable to communicate every Day. He says, That in his own Church there was a Communion four times a Week, on *Sunday*, *Wednesday*, *Friday* and *Saturday*, and also on other Days, when the Anniversary of some Martyr is Celebrated; That in former times the Faithful themselves Communicated in their Houses, and that this Custom cannot be blamed. That it is still in use, in *Egypt*, and at *Alexandria*, where the Faithful carry the Communion to their Houses; That all the Hermits do the same thing; That we must believe, that the Priest having offer'd the

S. *Baſil.* Sacrifice, and diſtributed the Euchariſt to thoſe that are preſent, tho' they take it one after another in parcels, yet 'tis always the ſame. For, ſays he, in the Church it ſelf, the Prieſt gives one part of it into the Hands of the Faithful, and they put it into their Mouth; and is not this the ſame thing, as for them to receive all at once many parts of it from the Hand of the Prieſt?

It was in one of the laſt Years of his Life, that he invited the Biſhops of *Pontus*, by Letter 291, to come to his Synod which he held at the Feaſt of St. *Eupſichius*. There is alſo a Letter, which is the 337, wherein he blames one of his Suffragans, becauſe he did not come to this Synod, and orders him to come thither for the future. In Letter 302 he commends a Lady call'd *Theodora*, whom he calls a Nun: wherein he obſerves, That 'tis an eaſie thing to embrace that kind of Life which is conformable to the Goſpel, but 'tis not ſo eaſie to obſerve it even in the ſmalleſt things, to do nothing but to pleaſe God, to preſerve her Modeſty always in all her Converſation and Behaviour, to eat no more but what is preciſely neceſſary, and to keep nothing that is ſuperfluous; That 'tis not ſufficient to attain a perfect Humility, not to be lifted up when we are admired or commended, or when we have ſome excellency either of Mind or Body; but in order to Perfection, we muſt preſerve an inviolable Purity, we muſt pray continually and fervently; in ſhort, we muſt have Charity for our Brethren, a contrite Heart and an Humble Spirit; we muſt manage our Auſterities with Diſcretion, and always have the thoughts of a future Judgment preſent before our Eyes.

The 317 to a Biſhop named *Optimus*, contains an Explication of that Paſſage of *Geneſis*, *Whoſoever ſhall kill* Cain, *&c.* where he firſt gives the natural Sence of it, affirming, that this Paſſage means only, That whoſoever ſhould kill *Cain*, ſhould deliver him from the Vengeance of God which was ſeven times more ſevere than Death. He enlarges afterwards upon the Myſtical Sence, and upon the Signification of the number Seven, which he takes to denote Remiſſion of Sins. He finds out ſeven Sins in the Actions of *Cain*, and Seven Puniſhments of his Sins. He refutes thoſe that think that *Lamech* kill'd *Cain*, and ſays, That when 'tis ſaid in Geneſis, *Whoſoever ſhall kill* Lamech, *&c.* the meaning is, that *Lamech* was more guilty than *Cain*, becauſe that he having before him the Example of God's Vengeance againſt a Murderer, was not thereby deterr'd from this Crime. He adds another Myſtical Explication, that for the Expiation of *Lamech*'s Crime, there was not only a neceſſity of the Deluge which happened in the Seventh Generation after *Cain*, but alſo the Death of Jeſus Chriſt which happened Seventy Seven Generations after *Lamech*. At laſt he explains that Paſſage of the Goſpel, wherein *Simeon* tells the Virgin when he ſaw the Infant Jeſus, *That a Sword ſhould pierce through her Heart*; where by a Sword he underſtands the anxiety and trouble of Mind, that the Virgin was to endure during the Paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt. As theſe Explications will not be reliſh'd by all the World, ſo St. *Baſil* gave them only for the Satisfaction of that good Biſhop who had conſulted him.

In the 323 to *Nectarius*, St. *Baſil* admoniſhes him to hinder all Canvaſſing at the Election of the Biſhops.

In the 325th he Congratulates the Biſhop *Sophronius*, becauſe he continued in the ſimplicity of the Faith of his Anceſtors. He ſays, That to maintain this Simplicity we muſt revive the Credit of the Primitive Chriſtians; but now there were few Perſons that were free from Curioſity, and would confine themſelves to that Simplicity of Faith, which teaches us to believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

In the 340, he reproves a Suffragan Biſhop, call'd *Timotheus*, for concerning himſelf about Civil Affairs, after he had embraced a Monaſtick Life. The 343, and 344, are addreſs'd to a Monk call'd *Urbicius*; in the Second he refutes the Error of thoſe who affirm that the Divinity of Jeſus Chriſt was changed into his Fleſh.

The 383 to a Superiour, treats of the manner how he ſhould admit a Perſon who would make Profeſſion of a Monaſtick Life: He orders him to receive him according to the Rules of the Holy Fathers, after he had taught him to underſtand the Obligations, the Duties and the Troubles of a Monaſtick Life.

In Letter 387 he prefers the Creed of the Council of *Nice* to all the Creeds that had been made ſince that Council. He ſays, That it did not expreſly determine the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, becauſe no Body had then expreſly oppoſed it; and then he proves that the Holy Spirit is not a Creature.

In the 388 he informs *Calliſthenes*, That he was not obliged to keep the Oath which he had made in heat of Paſſion to puniſh his Servants.

In the 391 to *Amphilochius*, he anſwers many Queſtions which this Biſhop had put to him. Firſt He explains that Paſſage of the Goſpel, *No Man knoweth of the Day of Judgment, but the Father only*; and ſays, That the Sence of this place is, that the Father knows it of himſelf, becauſe he is the Fountain and firſt Principle of this Knowledge, whereas the Son of God receives this Knowledge from his Father, in which Sence it is alſo ſaid, *That there is none Good but God only*. He explains in what Sence the Scepter was always in the Tribe of *Judah*, tho' it be ſaid, that *Jechonias* was the laſt of the Princes of *David*'s Family. He refutes the Opinion of the *Encratites*, who affirmed, that it was unlawful to Eat of ſome kind of Meats. He ſays, That the Tripple Immerſion obſerved in Baptiſm is a Figure of the Three Days that Jeſus Chriſt was in the Sepulchre. He diſtinguiſhes *Eſſence* from *Subſiſtence*; He gives to the Three Hypoſtaſes of the Divine Perſons, the Names of Paternity, Filiation and Sanctification; He condemns thoſe that admit but one Hypoſtaſis, as being not far off from the Hereſie of the *Sabellians*. At laſt he ſays, That Corporeal and Temporal Goods, are not good in themſelves, tho' they ought to be preferred to the Evils that are oppoſite to them: But he averrs that God ſends theſe Good Things according as he thinks fit for the Good of Men: That there is ſuch a Juſt Man to whom theſe Evils are neceſſary, that he may be juſt; and there is another juſt Man to whom God

gives

gives these temporal Good Things for a Recompence; and there is such a Wicked Man to whom God denies them, because they would harden him; but there are other bad Men to whom he gives them in order to their Conversion. St. *Basil.*

In the 399 to the same Person, he says, That the Spirit of a Man is good of it self; but it can apply it self to Good or Evil, and to that which is indifferent; That 'tis given to it to know the Truth; That God is this Truth which it ought to know; And, that he is to be known as far as an infinite Being can be known by a finite Mind. This Letter is against the Error of *Aëtius*, who believed, that the Essence of God might be perfectly known.

In the following Letter he proposes also one of the Sophisms of this Heretick, who thus objected to the Catholicks: Do you know whom you adore? If you say that you know him, What then is his Substance? If you know him not, How then do you adore him? St. *Basil* answers, That the Attributes and Operations of God may be known, but we cannot comprehend his Essence nor his Nature: That by Faith we believe his Existence, which also may be known by his Power and its Effects, and yet both Faith and Reason teach us that he is Incomprehensible.

In the 401 he solves also another Sophism of *Aëtius*, who ask'd whether Knowledge were before Faith, or Faith before Knowledge. He answers, That Knowledge is the Principle of Faith, because the Existence of God is known by the Creatures; and Faith follows this imperfect Knowledge, as Adoration follows Faith. He proves also, that the Works of God and the Effects of his Power may be known, but that we cannot perfectly know his Essence. He explains many significations of the Word *Know*. In the 408 Letter, he speaks of the Relicks of the Martyrs, as well as in 241.

In the 410. he says, That we ought to be content with the Faith, which we made Profession of at our Baptism, and to confine our selves to the Words that are taken out of the Holy Scripture for expressing it; That we should shun all new Expressions, because our Salvation does not depend upon the Words, but the Orthodox Faith.

The 412. is against a Deacon nam'd *Glycerius*, who had got into Orders, to serve the Cure of a Church in *Venesa*, together with a Priest. This Deacon after he was Ordain'd had neglected his Ministry and had gathered together a multitude of Virgins, to whom he had made himself Patriarch: For St. *Basil* makes use of this very Term, and says, That he had taken upon him the Habit: St. *Basil* adds, That he did not this for Piety, nor Devotion, but to get Money; That thus he had disturb'd the Church to which he belonged, and despised the Parish-Priest that govern'd it: That being reproved for this Disorder by the Parish-Priest and the Bishop, he had fled with a Company of Virgins and Young Men, himself being at the head of them; That this happened when there was an Assembly of Bishops in the place, and that he had abused the Parents who demanded their Daughters back again. St. *Basil* prays him to whom he sent this Letter, who had written to him in favour of this Deacon, to perswade him to return, to send back the Virgins, or at least not to detain those by force who desired to return. He promises also pardon to *Glycerius*, if he returned with a Letter from him to whom he wrote, and a Resolution to behave himself more Modestly; if not, he declares him Suspended from his Function.

In the following Letter he still presses this Friend to procure the Return of *Glycerius*, and the Young Women whom he had carried away with him, and bids tell them, That they needed fear nothing. At last, in the last Letter superscribed to this *Glycerius*, he exhorts him to return, and promises to Pardon his Fault upon their Account that had begg'd it for him; and chiefly for the sake of his Parish-Priest, who had interceded for him. He declares, That he should loose the Dignity of a Deacon, if he absented himself any longer.

The 417 is written to a Judge, upon a Robbery that was committed in his Church. Some Garments of the Poor were taken away, and the Robbers were discover'd by those that look'd after the Fabrick of the Church; whereupon St. *Basil* condemned them to make Restitution. Nevertheless, they were accus'd before this Judge; and St. *Basil* wrote to him, That he had judg'd them, and that the Cognizance and Punishment of any thing that happened in Churches, belong'd to Bishops.

The 418 and 419, are written to a Receiver of the Taxes, to pray him to relieve the Poor.

These are all the Letters of St. *Basil*, which concern Religion; The others are Letters of Civility, of Recommendation, or Consolation, which have no respect to the Affairs of the Church; of which I shall here give you a Catalogue.

The Letters of Civility, of Complement and Congratulation, *&c.* are the 83, the 142, and those that follow to the 164; the 169, and so on to the 181; the 122, and so on to the 244; the 248, 268, 282, 283, 285, 286, 287, 288, and 312; the 328, &c. to 335; the 341, 350, 351, 354, 355, 356, 359, 363, 369, 378, 384, 386, 389, 390, 407, 425, and 426, and the Three Letters of *Libanius* and St. *Basil*, publish'd by *Cotelerius*.

Those of Recommendation or Request, are the 11, 84, 215, &c. to 220, 221, 232, 236, 237, 247, 248, 267, 333, 352, 353, 357, 360, 365, 366, 367, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 380, 381, 415, 416, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 427, 428; and the Two publish'd by *Cotelerius*.

The Letters of Consolation are 186, 188, 189, 201, 202, 347, 362. I say nothing of the Letter to the Emperour *Theodosius*, publish'd by *Cotelerius*; because 'tis evidently Suppositious. All these Letters are written very pleasantly, and they may be compared for their Style and Wit, to those of the most able Writers of Letters.

We have reserv'd the Letters of St. *Basil* to *Amphilochius*, to be particularly treated of, because they contain Decisions upon principal Points of Discipline, which are not to be considered as the particular Opinions of St. *Basil*, but as the Laws of the Church in his time: And therefore they are not written in the form of particular Letters, but after the manner of Synodical Decisions, which are call'd Canons.

S. *Basil.* The 1st. of these Canons is concerning the Validity or Invalidity of the Baptism of Hereticks St. *Amphilochius* had ask'd him particularly, whether it was necessary to rebaptize those who had been baptized by the *Novatians*, or the *Montanists*? He answers him; That as to the first of those Hereticks, he should follow the custom of the Churches where he lived; because there were different Opinions upon that Subject. As to the Baptism of the *Montanists*, he believed that it could not be accounted Valid, and he wonders that the great St. *Denys* of *Alexandria*, who was so well skill'd in the Canons, could be ignorant of this Truth. To explain his Answer, he distinguishes three sorts of Persons that were divided from the Church; The Hereticks who differed in matters of Faith, the Schismaticks who separated upon Points of Discipline, and some of the disobedient Christians who withdrew from the Church. He maintains, That the Ancients were perswaded that the Baptism of Hereticks was absolutely void. He adds, That the *Pepuzians* were Hereticks, and therefore their Baptism could not be valid. As for Schismaticks, he observes, That St. *Cyprian* and *Firmilian* subjected them to the same Law with Hereticks, because being separated from the Church, they had not the Holy Spirit, and so could not give it. He seems also to like this Opinion well enough: And yet he adds, That since the Bishops of *Asia* had thought it convenient to admit the Baptism of Schismaticks, he would not hinder it. But though the *Encratites* were Schismaticks, he declares, That their Baptism ought not to be approv'd, and that those ought to be rebaptized, to whom they had given Baptism, because they gave it with Precipitation, on purpose to hinder the receiving of it from the Church. Nevertheless he confesses, That if the contrary Custom were establish'd, it ought to be follow'd; and that the Decisions of the Antients should be observ'd. In short, he recommends this upon the whole Matter, That none of those who return'd to the Church, should be permitted to approach the Holy Mysteries, till they had receiv'd the Unction. [That is, till they were Confirmed.]

In the 2d. Canon, St. *Basil* condemns to a Penance of 10 Years, a Woman that had procur'd an Abortion, and he judges her to be guilty of Murder, whether the Child had Life or no. He observes That the time of Absolution should be regulated by the fervour of the Penance, as well as by the length of it.

In the 3d. Canon he declares, That if a Deacon commits Adultery, after he has been received into the Order of Deacon, he ought to be turned out of his Ministry: but he would not have him put under Penance, nor separated from the Communion of the Layety, because we ought not to punish the same fault twice, and a Clergy-man is sufficiently punish'd by his Deposition, and so much more than a Lay-man who is deprived of Communion, because he can be readmitted afterwards into the Church; whereas a Clergy-man cannot be restor'd when once he is depos'd: But in conclusion, the most Effectual Remedy of all Sins, is to forsake Sin, and abstain from Pleasure.

The 4th. Canon is concerning those that are many times Married. He condemns 3d. Marriages as a kind of Fornication; and says. That the Custom of his Church, was to excommunicate those who Married the third time, for Five Years; That in other places, they were only put under Penance for two or three years. He enjoyns the same thing to Bigamists, for one or two Years; though he would have neither the one nor the other reduc'd to the lowest Penance; but that they should be the first Years in the Rank of Hearers; and that the last Years they should partake of the Prayers, though they were still excluded from the Participation of the Eucharist, till their Penance was finish'd, and they had given Signs of their Conversion.

In the 5th. he ordains, That Hereticks should be received who were converted at the point of Death, provided they gave Signs of their sincere Repentance.

The 6th. is against Concubinage.

The 7th. is against Murders, Poysoning, Adulteries, and against other more infamous Crimes. St. *Basil* says, That all who are guilty of these Crimes, are to be treated with the same Rigor. However he thinks that we ought to have Pity on those who have done Penance for Thirty Years, and that we should receive them without delay; especially if they still bewailed their Sins, and gave Signs of Conversion.

In the 8th. Canon St. *Basil* treats very largely of Murders, and distinguishes the different Kinds of them, as well those that are Voluntary, as those that are Involuntary. This Canon is more Curious than Useful.

The 9th. Canon is about Divorce. He lays it down as a Principle, That the Law of Jesus Christ is equal both to Men and Women, and that it does not allow of the Separation of a Man and his Wife, but in case of Fornication: But he says, That the present Custom is not altogether agreeable to the Law of Christ, because it does not allow Women to separate from their Husbands upon any account whatsoever; so that it seems to excuse from Adultery a Woman that should Espouse a Man whose Wife had divorc'd her self; but on the contrary, if it was a Husband that quitted his Wife to Espouse another, that Man should commit Adultery, both he that Married to this last Woman, and she that was Espoused to him.

In the 10th. St. *Basil* is against Ordaining those who had Sworn never to take Orders, though there be, says he, a Canon which seems to permit it; but he observes, that we must consider the Form of the Oath, the terms in which it was conceiv'd, the Disposition of the Person that made it, and all the lesser Circumstances, to see whether he is oblig'd by his Oath or no; and if no way can be found to dispense with it, then he ought not to be Ordain'd. After this, he explains a particular Question which had been propos'd to him by *Amphilochius*, as far as it can be discover'd by St. *Basil*'s Answer, it seems to have been this.

One

One *Cyriacus* a Priest of the Church of *Mindana*, whereof *Longinus* was Bishop, was obliged by Oath never to quit that Church; yet he was made Parish-Priest to a Village very near it, which was in another Dioceſs. *Longinus* seeing himself depriv'd of a Priest who did very much assist him, earnestly desired his Return, and said, That unless he returned to him, he should quit his Church. 'Tis also probable, that the Priest had some remorse of Conscience for having violated his Oath. *Amphilochius* demands of St. *Basil*, what was to be done in these Circumstances? And this Saint gave an Advice full of Wisdom, That they should joyn to the Dioceſs of *Mindana*, the Territory of *Mnistia*, where this Priest was made Minister by the Bishop *Severus*: And he says, That by this means, he still belonging to the Church of *Mindana*, might fulfill his Oath, and might assist the Bishop *Longinus*, who had demanded him back again. He blames the Conduct of the Bishop *Severus*, who had acted against the Canons, in removing a Priest from one of his Brethren, and had made him guilty of Perjury. St. *Basil.*

In the 11th. Canon, he ordains, That a Penance of 11 Years, should be impos'd upon him who commits Murder, though it was done without any Premeditated Design.

In the 12th. he declares, That the Canons wholly exclude all Bigamists from Ecclesiastical Functions.

In the 13th. he says, That the Fathers did not punish as Murders those that were committed in War, because they judg'd that those should be pardoned who were oblig'd to defend their Country, their Life and their Honour; But he adds, That 'twas advisable for such as had their hands defiled with Humane Blood, to continue Three Years out of the Communion of the Church.

The 14th. Imports, That if he who had been an Usurer, would distribute to the Poor all the Profit he had made by this shameful Trade, and keep himself from the Passion of Covetousness, he might be advanced to the Priest-hood.

The 15th. and 16th. are not Canons which concern Discipline; but an Explication of some Difficulties about the literal sence of some Passages of Scripture, which had been propos'd to him by *Amphilochius*.

The 2d. Letter begins with Canon 17th. It contains a Decision in favour of one nam'd *Bianon*, who was ordain'd Priest contrary to the Oath he had made. St. *Basil* says, That he had already made this Rule for the Priests of *Antioch*, that these kind of Persons should not publickly exercise their Priestly Function, but only in private. He adds, That he of whom he there speaks, might have a Dispensation from this Law; because he was not at *Antioch*, but *Iconium*.

In the 18th. St. *Basil* observes, That the Ancients did not treat the Virgins consecrated to God who abandon'd their Profession, more rigorously than Bigamists, and that they impos'd upon them only a Penance of one Year; but he adds, That the Church and the number of Virgins encreasing now every day, it was necessary to treat them as Adulterers. He gives this Advertisement, That he speaks of Virgins which have consecrated themselves to God, and renounced Marriage; That their Profession should commence from such an Age at which they were perfectly come to the use of their Reason; because no regard was to be had to such Promises as were made before that time; That we ought not to admit any into the number of Virgins consecrated to God, but those who were 16 or 17 Years old, and even then after they had been try'd a long time, and passionately desired to be received, and that we ought to reject those who were brought by their Parents before they had arriv'd at this adult Age, before they had a Judgment sufficiently ripe, and before they could give any assurance of their fix'd Resolution.

In the 19th. Canon, St. *Basil* observes, That Men make no Vow nor Profession of Virginity, as Virgins do; That those who enter into a Monastical state, seem tacitely to embrace Celebacy; but to oblige them to it, it was necessary that they should be ask'd, and that they should make Profession of it: And then if they should pass to a Voluptuous Life, they should be punish'd as Fornicators.

In the 20th. he says, That we ought not to punish the Women that Married after they had made Profession of Virginity while they were without the Church, being Infidels, or Hereticks, or Catechumens; because we ought not to search after the Sins committed before Baptism, since that Sacrament pardon'd them.

The 21st. is also about the difference which custom had put between the Faults of Husbands and Wives. He observes, That a Man who is unfaithful to his Wife is not look'd upon as a Fornicator, provided she with whom he committed the Sin was not Married; That the Husband cannot for this be parted from his Wife, though the Wife might be from her Husband, if she should commit the same Sin with a Man. He confesses, That 'tis difficult to give a Reason for this Proceeding; but he says, 'tis the Custom.

In the 22d. Canon, he obliges those who have forcibly carried Maids away, to restore them to those to whom they were Contracted, or to their Parents; and declares, That they must not be received into Communion before they have restor'd them. He condemns those who detain the Women whom they have secretly or by force corrupted, to the same Punishment with Fornicators, which is to endure Penance for four Years; That for the 1st. Year they shall be excluded from the Prayers, and obliged to stand at the Church-Gate; That for the 2d. they shall be in the rank of Hearers; That for the 3d. they shall be in the number of Penitents; That in the Last Year, they shall be present with the People at all the Divine Service, without being capable of partaking of the Oblation.

In the 23d. Canon concerning those that Married two Sisters, he refers *Amphilochius* to that which he had written in his Letter to *Diodorus*, of which we have already spoken.

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St. *Baſil.* The 24th. is againſt Widows, who being received into the Number of Deaconeſſes, Married afterwards. He would have them more ſeverely puniſh'd than Bigamiſts, if they be above 60 Years old; but he excuſes them if they be younger, becauſe it was the Biſhop's fault to receive them too young.

By the 25th. Canon it is provided, That he who ſhall marry a Woman after he hath abus'd her ſhall be put under Penance, but he ſhall have leave to keep her for his Wife.

In the 26th. he declares, That Fornication is never Marriage, and that it cannot lawfully be the Beginning of a Marriage; and therefore it would be better to part thoſe who have committed this Sin, than to Marry them together; but yet if they have a mind to Marry, they ſhould not be hindered leſt ſome greater Miſchief ſhould follow.

The 27th. is upon occaſion of a Prieſt, who through Ignorance was entangled in a Marriage within the Prohibited Degrees. St. *Baſil* thinks that he ought not wholly to be depriv'd of the Honour and Dignity of Prieſthood: But he forbids him to exerciſe his Function, and would have him be ſatisfied with that place of Honour which is left him, without being able to give the Bleſſing, to diſtribute the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, or to do any part of his Sacerdotal Function.

The 28th. Canon is againſt ſome Perſons that had made a Vow not to Eat Pork. St. *Baſil* ſays, That this Vow was ridiculous; and admoniſhes *Amphilochius*, to exhort thoſe who made it, not to make any more ſuch kind of Vows, and to allow themſelves to eat indifferently all kinds of Meat.

The 29th. is againſt thoſe great Lords, who take an Oath to prejudice thoſe that are ſubject to them. The ſubſtance of it is, That pains ſhould be taken to correct this Fault; and the means to do it, was to teach them, that they ought not to make ſuch kind of raſh Oaths, and that they ought to beware of executing the Evil they have Sworn to do.

The 30th. Canon is againſt Raviſhers. St. *Baſil* ſays, That there is no ancient Canon that concerns them; but that his Opinion is, That both they, and ſuch as are Complices in their Crime ought to ſuffer Penance for three Years time.

The 31ſt. declares, That a Woman can never Marry, though her Husband does not appear, as long as ſhe is not ſure of his Death, and that if ſhe does, ſhe commits Adultery. The 36th. ordains the ſame thing to Souldier's Wives, who Marry again, when they have no more News of their Husbands; yet he thinks them more excuſable, becauſe they have more Reaſon to believe that they are dead.

The 32d. ordains, That Clergy-men who Sin mortally, ſhould be degraded, but not turn'd out Communion.

The 33d. That a Woman who takes no care of the Fruit of her Womb, and who is brought to bed in the middle of the Street, ſhould be puniſh'd as one guilty of Murder.

The 34th. That Women guilty of Adultery, who voluntarily confeſs it, or are partly convicted of it, ſhould not be defam'd, leſt their Crime coming to publick Notice, ſhould be the cauſe of their Death; but that they ſhould be order'd to ſtay out of Communion, till the time of their Penance be over.

The 35th. is, That when a Husband is forſaken by his Wife, it ſhould be inquir'd whether there was any Fault in him; and if there was not, but ſhe only was in the Fault, then they ought not to deprive the Husband of the Communion of the Church, but only puniſh the Wife.

The 37th. is, That if a Man who had Eſpouſed another Man's Wife, Marries another Woman, after the former was taken away from him, he is guilty of Adultery againſt the Firſt, but not againſt the Second.

The 38th. is, That young Women who follow thoſe that have abus'd them, without the conſent of their Parents, are guilty of Fornification; And, that though it may ſeem, that their Fault is made up when the Parents afterwards conſent to it; yet they ought to be put under Penance for Three Years.

The 39th. That ſhe who ſtays with him, whom ſhe had committed Adultery with, is to be accounted guilty of the Crime as long as ſhe continues with him.

The 40th. That a Slave who Marries without the conſent of his Maſter, has committed Fornication; becauſe the Contracts and Promiſes of all thoſe who are under the Power of others, are void without their conſent.

The 41ſt. That the Marriage of a Widow that's free cannot be null'd.

The 42d. contains this general Maxim, That the Marriages of all thoſe who are under the Power of another without his conſent, are not Marriages, but Fornications; and therefore, that the Marriages of the Sons and Daughters of a Family, are void without the conſent of their Fathers, as that of Slaves is without the conſent of their Maſters.

The 43d. declares, That he who has given a Mortal Wound to another, is guilty of Manſlaughter, whether he firſt attack'd him, or did it in his own defence.

The 44th. That a Deaconeſs that hath committed Fornication with a Pagan, ought not to be Excommunicated, but only depriv'd of the Oblation for the ſpace of Seven Years; after which ſhe ſhall be receiv'd, if ſhe liv'd chaſtly during that time.

In the 45th. he obſerves, That the Name of a Chriſtian will ſtand him in no ſtead, who leads a Life unworthy of a Chriſtian.

In the 46th. he ſays, That a Woman that without her knowledge eſpouſed a Married Man, whom his former Wife was parted from, and afterwards ſeparated from him, may Marry again to another; but that it were better if ſhe continued as ſhe was.

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The 47th. Canon is about the Baptiſm of Hereticks. It ſeems in ſome Points to be contrary to the firſt; but when the matter is well examin'd, 'tis eaſie to reconcile them. He obſerves, That the *Encratites*, the *Saccophorians*, and the *Apotactites*, ought to be treated as *Novatians*. Now he ſeems to have ſaid the contrary in the firſt Canon, where he affirms, That it was abſolutely neceſſary to re-baptize the *Encratites*. This Difficulty made an Author of our Age believe That a Negative Particle muſt be added in the Canon, The Reaſon which St. *Baſil* alledges to prove this Propoſition, ſeems to confirm this Conjecture, for he adds, That there are Canons which have regulated what concerns the former, though differently, whereas there is none which ſpeaks of the latter. But after a full Examination of the words of this Canon, I find that 'tis not neceſſary to change any thing in it. Take the true Sence of it as follows: St. *Baſil* ſays, That the *Encratites*, *Apotactites*, and *Saccophorians*, ought to be treated after the ſame manner as the *Novatians*: That's to ſay, That with reſpect both to the one and the other, we muſt follow the Cuſtom of the Church where we live; and the Reaſon which he gives for it, is, becauſe there is no Rule and Determination about their Cauſe, ſince the Canons are found different about the former, and there is nothing order'd about the latter. He adds, That in his Countrey they were all re-baptized; but if this Rebaptization was forbidden in the Province whereof *Amphilochius* was Biſhop, as it was at *Rome*; and yet he found the Reaſons were convincing, which he had brought to prove that the *Encratites* muſt be rebaptized, then he ought to call a Council to make this Regulation. St. *Baſil.*

In the 48th. Canon he counſels Women divorced by their Husbands, not to marry again, ſince Jeſus Chriſt hath ſaid, That he who putteth away his Wife, except for Fornication, commiteth Adultery, when he eſpouſeth another, and is the cauſe of her committing Adultery by marrying again.

In the 50th. Canon he ſays, That the Laws do not forbid, nor puniſh Third Marriages, and yet the Church looks upon them as ſhameful Actions.

The Third Letter to *Amphilochius*, is alſo a continuation of Canons. St. *Baſil* ſpeaks in the Preamble of a Journey he had made a little before into *Pontus* about the Affairs of the Church. He thanks *Amphilochius* for the Letters he had written to him; he declares to him that he deſired to ſee him, and that he would do all that lay in his Power to come and meet him; but that perhaps he might be obliged to go ſoon to *Nazianzum*, becauſe of the departure of St. *Gregory* who was gone from it, tho' no Body knew the Reaſon of his going. He acquaints him, That he of whom he had ſpoken before (probably to make him Biſhop of ſome City depending upon the Metropolis of *Amphilochius*,) was fallen ſick; that there was no other Perſon that he could caſt his Eyes upon. He counſels him rather to put into that place, one whom the Inhabitants of the City deſired to have, tho' he had been but lately Baptiz'd. He repeats what he had ſaid in the 10th. Canon concerning thoſe that had taken an Oath that they would not be Biſhops.

The 51ſt. Canon ordains, That Clergy-men ſhould not be otherwiſe puniſh'd for their Crimes but by Depoſition, whether they were in Sacred Orders which are given by Impoſition of Hands, or in Inferior Orders.

The 52d. is againſt Women that Voluntarily ſuffer their Infants to periſh.

The 53d. ordains, that a Widow-Slave that procures her being taken away forcibly to be Married again, ſhould undergo no other Puniſhment but that of Bigamiſts.

In the 54th. he referrs us to what he had ſaid in the former Letter concerning Involuntary Man-ſlaughter; he adds, That it belong's to the Biſhop's Prudence to encreaſe or diminiſh the Penance according to Circumſtances.

In the 55th. he declares, That thoſe who ſet upon Robbers, ought to be depriv'd of Communion if they be Lay-Men, and depos'd if they be Clergy-men.

In the 56th. he impoſes 20 Years Penance upon Voluntary Murders; and in the 57th. 11 Years Penance upon thoſe that are Involuntary. In the 58th. he impoſes 15 Years Penance upon Adultery; In the 59th. 7 Years upon Fornicators. In the 60th. he condemns Virgins who break their Vow of Virginity, to the ſame Puniſhment with Adulterers. In the 61. he impoſes one Years Pennance upon him that ſhall accuſe himſelf of Robbery, and two Years upon him that is convicted of it. In the 62d. and 63d. he impoſes the ſame Penance as upon Adulterers, upon thoſe that commit infamous Crimes. In the 64th. he impoſes 11 Years Penance upon Perjury. In the 65th. he impoſes the ſame Penance upon Poyſoners. In the 66th. 11 Years Penance upon thoſe that dig up the dead. In the 67. the Penance of Murderers upon thoſe that commit Inceſt with their Siſters. In the 68th. the Puniſhment of Adulterers is decreed againſt thoſe that marry their Kinsfolk in prohibited Degrees. In the 69th. he ordains, That a Reader who ſhall have to do with a Virgin to whom he was contracted, ſhall be deprived of his Miniſterial Function, and become uncapable of riſing to a higher Order. He adds, That if he has committed this Sin with another Virgin than her to whom he was contracted, he ſhall be depos'd, and that the ſame ſhall be obſerv'd with reſpect to other Miniſters. The 70th. ordains, That Deacons and Prieſts who have polluted their Lips, if they confeſs their Crime, ſhall be Suſpended for ſome time from their Miniſterial Function. The 71ſt. That thoſe who ſhall be convicted of thoſe Crimes without their own Confeſſion, ſhall be puniſh'd as Malefactors. The 72d. That thoſe who meddle with Divination, ſhall be puniſh'd as Murderers. The 73d. That he who has renounced the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt ſhall not be received until the point of Death. In the 74th. St. *Baſil* tells him, That the time of Penance may be ſhorned to thoſe who fulfil their Penance with fervour and humility. In the 75th. he impoſes 12 Years Penance upon him that hath committed Inceſt with his Siſter by the ſame Father and Mother; and ſays in the 76th. That the ſame Law ſhould take place againſt thoſe who Marry their own Daughters-in-Law. The 77th. ordains 7 Years Penance againſt thoſe who Divorce their Wives, and Marry others. The 78th. decrees the ſame Puniſhment againſt thoſe who Marry

two

St. *Baſil.* two Siſters, tho' at different times. The 79th. condemns thoſe that Marry their Mothers-in-Law to the ſame Puniſhment with thoſe that Marry their Siſters. In the 80th. he ſays, That the Ancients ſpoke nothing of Polygamy, becauſe they look'd upon it as a brutiſh Sin, to which they thought that Men could not be ſubject; he believes it worſe than Fornication, and he impoſes upon thoſe that ſhall be Guilty of it a Penance of 4 years. In the 81ſt. he impoſes 8 Years Penance upon thoſe that being taken by the *Barbarians*, were forced by Torments to eat of Meats ſacrificed to Idols, and 11 Years upon thoſe that did it without any conſtraint. In the 82d. and 83d. he condemns the Perjur'd, and thoſe that meddle with Pagan Superſtitions, to 6 Years Penance. In the 84th. and 85th. he declares, That all thoſe Canons are to be underſtood of thoſe that are willing to do Penance and amend themſelves; but for thoſe that continue in their Crimes, we ought to have no Converſation with them, and never to receive them into the Church, leſt we be partakers of their Crimes. There is at the End of this Letter, a Fragment of another Letter of St. *Baſil*, written to the ſame Perſon againſt the *Encratites*.

For obſerving ſome Order in the other Writings of St. *Baſil*, we may divide them into three Claſſes. The Firſt ſhall comprehend thoſe that are upon the Scripture; The Second, Thoſe that concern Doctrine; and the Third, Thoſe that are about Morality.

Caſſiodorus aſſures us, That St. *Baſil* made Commentaries upon almoſt all the Books of the Holy Scripture; of which there remains now but a ſmall number. The Nine Homilies or Sermons upon the beginning of *Geneſis*, are the firſt of his Works. St. *Jerom*, *Photius* and *Suidas*, mention them. There are added to thoſe Nine Homilies, Two others about the Formation of Man, which at firſt were attributed to St. *Baſil*, and afterwards were aſcribed to his Brother St. *Gregory Nyſſen*. But they cannot belong to this laſt, who has treated of this Matter in a particular Work: But there is no convincing Reaſon, why they may not be attributed to St. *Baſil* upon the Credit of ancient Manuſcripts. 'Tis true that thoſe Authors we have juſt now cited, mention but Nine Homilies of St. *Baſil*'s upon the *Hexameron*; and that *Caſſiodorus* obſerves, That he did not explain what concerns the Creation of Man; but perhaps thoſe Authors had not ſeen theſe two Homilies, which St. *Baſil* compos'd long after the others. Beſides, let Men ſay what they pleaſe, theſe have the Stile of St. *Baſil*, and are like enough to the firſt, tho' they are not altogether ſo large. After theſe Homilies, there ought to follow the 30th. Homily about Paradiſe.

Cotelerius has publiſh'd in Greek in his Firſt Volume of the Monuments of the Greek Church, a Homily upon theſe Words in the 6th. Chapter of the *Proverbs*, *Suffer not your Selves to be overwhelm'd with ſleep*, which is not unworthy of St. *Baſil*, and has his Stile and Air.

The firſt of the 22 Homilies upon ſome Pſalms, which is a Preface to all the Pſalms, is wholly the ſame with the Latin Preface, that is prefixed to St. *Auſtin*'s Commentaries upon the Pſalms. Either therefore we muſt ſay, That St. *Auſtin*'s Preface was tranſlated into Greek, or rather that St. *Baſil*'s was tranſlated into Latin, and plac'd at the beginning of St. *Auſtin*'s Commentaries. Theſe Homilies are quoted in *Nicetas*'s *Catena*, and by ſome others; and there is no doubt but they are St. *Baſil*'s. Yet Father *Combefis* rejects the ſecond Homily upon Pſalm 28, which is an Abridgment and Repetition of the preceding, and which is wanting in many Manuſcripts. He paſſes alſo the ſame Judgment on that upon Pſalm 37; and he affirms, that the Stile of it is different from that of the others. In ſome Latin Editions of St. *Baſil*, there are publiſh'd under the Name of St. *Baſil*, Commentaries upon the Pſalms; but 'tis plain they are none of St. *Baſil*'s, becauſe they are Extracts out of St. *Chryſoſtom* and *Theodoret*.

The Commentary upon the firſt ſix Chapters of *Iſaiah*, ſeemed doubtful to *Eraſmus*, becauſe he thought that they were written in another Stile. *Tilmannus* who has tranſlated them into Latin, has undertaken to defend them againſt the Conjecture of *Eraſmus*, and he proves that they are this Father's by the Authority of four Modern Greek Authors, which are *Metaphraſtes*, *Antonius*, *Maximus*, and St. *John Damaſcene*. *Fronto Ducæus* adds to theſe Four, the Patriarch *Taraſius*, in his Epiſtle to Pope *Adrian*, and the Author of the Greek *Scholia* upon the Epiſtles of St. *Paul* attributed to *Oecumenius*. The Authority of theſe Modern Greeks would be of no great Moment, if this Work had evident Marks of Forgery, or if the Stile of it were altogether different from that of St. *Baſil*; but it muſt be confeſs'd, that tho' it is not ſo Elegant as the Work of the Creation, yet it is not much different from the Stile of St. *Baſil*, neither is it unworthy of this Father. *Rivet* has found in it a difference of Opinion, which might make it be rejected, if it were more conſiderable. He obſerves, That St. *Baſil* in his Letter 80 to *Euſtathius* the Phyſician, affirms that the Witch of *Endor* made the Soul of *Samuel* really to return, whereas the Author of this Commentary upon *Iſaiah*, on *Ch.* 8. affirms, That it was the Devil who aſſum'd the Shape of *Samuel*. Some have anſwer'd, That this Epiſtle to *Euſtathius*, was St. *Gregory Nyſſen*'s, but we have ſhewn, that 'tis rather St. *Baſil*'s. Therefore all that can be ſaid is this, That St. *Baſil* might change his Opinion about a thing of ſo ſmall conſequence as this is.

The Second Claſs of St. *Baſil*'s Works comprehends his Dogmatical Books. The firſt of theſe Diſcourſes are the Books againſt *Eunomius*. St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, St. *Jerom* and *Photius* all aſſure us, That he wrote againſt this Heretick, but they ſay nothing of the Number of the Books. We have at preſent five of them. The Three firſt are written in the ſame Stile and after the ſame Method, and there can be no doubt but they are St. *Baſil*'s. The two laſt are more Dry and Scholaſtical; but we ought not to wonder at that. In the Firſt he overthrows the principal Arguments of *Eunomius*; and in theſe Two laſt, he inſiſts upon the Refutation of the Subtilties and Sophiſtical Arguments of this Heretick upon many Paſſages of Holy Scripture, as he had promis'd to do in the Second Book. There is no Cauſe therefore to reject theſe Books as ſuppoſititious. They were quoted as Genuine by the Greeks and Latins in the Council of *Florence*.

The

St. Basil.

The Book of the Holy Spirit to *Amphilochius*, is that Treatise of all the Works of St. *Basil*, which most of all Displeases the Protestants; because it contains such things as do not favour them. *Erasmus* who took great Liberty to condemn every thing that did not please him, made no scruple to reject this in the Preface which he prefix'd to his Version: He was wearied with translating it, and the Stile appear'd to him perplex'd in several Places. These are the Reasons on which he grounds his Judgment about this Book to which he had added many things in the same Preface; That tho' 'tis true, that there are some things in it, which are not unworthy of St. *Basil*, and which sufficiently discover that they belong to him; yet there are other things in it which are none of his. The greatest part of Protestant Criticks, being dissatisfied with that necessity of Tradition which this Book evidently proves, have gladly received this Opinion of *Erasmus*, and have also added some other Conjectures of their own to his, to reject this Book entirely. Nevertheless, *Casaubon* being more impartial than the rest, has plainly declar'd in his Writings against *Baronius*, That he was not of *Erasmus*'s Opinion. And indeed 'tis certain that St. *Basil* did write a Treatise of the Holy Spirit; he says it himself in his Letters. St. *Gregory Nazianzen* speaks of it. St. *Jerom* and *Suidas* mention it. *Theodoret* quotes that Book which we have at this Day, in his first Dialogue, and in the Refutation of the Anathematisms of St. *Cyril*. After this Author, St. *John Damascene* in his third Discourse of Images, the II. *Nicene* Council *Act* 4. *Photius* in the *Nomo-canon*, *Burchardus* in the *Decretals*, *Euthymius Zygabenus* in his *Panoplia*, *Zonaras* and *Balsamon* in the *Nomo-canon*, *Anastasius* of *Nice* Quest. 84, and *Nicephorus* B. XII. Ch. 20. quote it also. Moreover the Reasons of *Erasmus* are very weak: For first he accuses the Author of this Work of raising his Stile too high, as if this were not ordinary with Authors, and particularly with Writers of Controversy. He reproves him for discovering his Ability in the Logick of *Aristotle* and *Porphyrie*. Could he do otherwise, having to do with Adversaries which made use of these Arms? Lastly, *Erasmus* affirms, That the Stile is different from St. *Basil*'s; but he pronounces this Sentence upon slight Grounds, and without a sufficient Examination of the Matter; for those who read this Work, find no such difference of Stile in it; but on the contrary they find a great agreement between it and his other Books. *Scultetus* pretends, that what this Author says of the Authority of Tradition, is contrary to the Doctrine of St. *Basil*; but it is a Groundless Allegation. Neither is it true, that he lays down in this Book other positions than those which he has explain'd in other places concerning the descent of Christ into Hell, and concerning Baptism. If *Scultetus* had well consider'd what he affirm'd with so much boldness, he would have chang'd his Opinion.

No body doubts but the two Books of Baptism are St. *Basil*'s, tho' they be not cited by the Ancients.

The Book of Virginity has the Stile of St. *Basil*, and what St. *Gregory Nazianzen* says of St. *Basil*'s Writings concerning Virginity, does perfectly agree to it. It is also cited by *Suidas*. Yet Mr. *Hermant* believes it suppositious, because it is address'd to *Letoius* Bishop of *Melitine*, since while St. *Basil* was living, that See was possess'd by *Otreius*, who lived after the Council of *Constantinople*, as appears by the Law which the Emperour *Theodosius* made after this Council. It may be said, that *Letoius* was his Predecessor; but there is more probability that he succeeded to him. Either therefore we must say, that the Dedication of this Book is corrupted, and then we must read *Otreius* for *Letoius*, or else that *Letoius* was not yet Bishop.

Among the 31 different Homilies of St. *Basil*, there are 11 of them which are Dogmatical: *viz.* The 9th. wherein he proves that God is not the Author of Sin; The 12th. upon the beginning of the Proverbs; The 15th. concerning Faith; The 16th. upon the Beginning of the Gospel of St. *John*; The 17th. upon Baptism; The 25th. of the Humane Birth of Jesus Christ; The 27th. against the *Sabellians*, the *Anomæans* and the *Arians*; The 29th. against those who accuse us of worshipping Three Gods; The 31st. of Free-will. All these Homilies have St. *Basil*'s Stile and no Body doubts but they are his.

But there is more Difficulty about St. *Basil*'s Books of Morality. St. *Jerom* and *Suidas* mention in general the Asceticks of this Father; but *Sozomen*, Ch. 15. of B. III. of his History, says, That they were written by *Eustathius* of *Sebastea*. On the contrary, *Photius*, Vol. 191 of his *Bibliotheca*, attributes to St. *Basil*, the great Rules, small Rules and their Prefaces.

The Ascetical Books attributed to St. *Basil*, are as follow. The First is a Discourse which may serve as a Preface and Introduction to all his Ascetical Discourses. The Second is a Treatise about the Monastical State, and the renouncing the things of this World. The Third is a Discourse of the Ascetical Life. The Fourth is a Treatise of faith. The Fifth is a Treatise of the Judgment of God, and a little Preface which in some Manuscripts, makes a part of the Book about Faith. We must also add Two other little Discourses publish'd by Father *Combefis*, in the Second Volume of St. *Basil*; Restor'd. These Tracts are as preliminaries to the great Ascetical Treatises, which are *his Morals*, the *Ascetical Book*, the *Great Rules* explained very largely, which are in number 55, the *Little Rules abridg'd*, which are continued unto number 313, some Canons concerning the Punishment of Monks and Nuns, and the Monastical Constitutions. To these Books we may joyn his Epistle to *Chilo*, and the following Letters, as well as 411, and some others which concern the Monastical State, of which we have spoken among the Letters of St. *Basil*. 'Tis not certain whether all these Books that we have mention'd be St. *Basil*'s; but 'tis agreed on all hands that the Constitutions, and the Ascetical Treatises are his: But many adhere to the Testimony of *Sozomen*, who attributes the Little Rules, and also the Great ones to *Eustathius* of *Sebastea*. Yet I see nothing which can confirm this Opinion, and it seems to me that they bear so great a Relation to the other Ascetical Works of St. *Basil*, that it may be affirm'd with much probability, that they all belong to the same Author. *Ruffinus* who has made an Abridgment of them attributes them to St. *Basil*: They are cited under his Name in the 5th. Council; and in short, *Photius* acknowledges all these Treatises for Genuine. Even in his time they made but one Body

St. Baſil. divided into two Parts: The Firſt contained the Diſcourſe of Judgment, and that of Faith which is a Continuation of it: The Second Part contain'd the Morals, the 55 Great Rules, the 313 Short Rules, and the Titles of theſe Rules. This ſhews that all theſe Books belong to the ſame Author, and that they compos'd but one Book, entitled *Aſceticks*, whereof the Firſt Part is not entire. As to the Three Diſcourſes which precede that which is entitled, *Of Judgment*, they are diſtinct Treatiſes which have no Relation to the other Aſcetical Books: The Treatiſe of Judgment ought to precede that of Faith, and both the one and the other are a Preface to the Aſceticks. The Book of a Monaſtick Life, and the Conſtitutions are diſtinct Works, as well as the Rules concerning the Puniſhment of Monks.

Of the Moral Homilies, the firſt is that about Faſting, cited by St. *Auſtin* in the Firſt Book againſt *Julian*, where he recites alſo ſome other Paſſages which this Heretick had taken out of a Treatiſe of St. *Baſil* againſt the *Manichees*, which we have not at preſent. The Second Homily of Faſting, which *Eraſmus* has condemned too ſlightly, is cited by St. *John Damaſcene* and by *Euthymius*. The Third Homily upon the ſame Subject publiſh'd by *Cotelerius*, is not unworthy of St. *Baſil*, tho' it be not ſo Elegant. The Fourth Homily is upon theſe Words, *Take heed to your ſelves*. The Fifth is concerning Thankſgiving, which ſome have believed not to be St. *Baſil's*. The ſixth is upon theſe Words, *I will pull down my Barns*. The Seventh to Rich Men. The Eighth upon Famine and Barrenneſs. The Tenth of Anger. The Eleventh of Envy. The Twelfth upon the beginning of the Proverbs. The Thirteenth contains an Exhortation to Baptiſm. The Fifteenth is upon Drunkenneſs. The One and Twentieth was recited to *Laciza*. The Two and Twentieth of Humility. The Three and Twentieth, that we ought not to ſet our Hearts upon the Things of this World. The Four and Twentieth preſcribes Rules to Young People about reading Profane Books: And the Eight and Twentieth is of Penance. To theſe we may add the Panegyricks, which are the Panegyrick of the Holy Martyr *Julita*, that of St. *Gordus*, and that of St. *Mamas*. There is alſo one upon *Barlaam* a Martyr of *Antioch*; but it has more of the Stile of St. *Chryſoſtom* than of St. *Baſil*; and 'tis more probable, that it was recited at *Antioch*, where the Memory of St. *Barlaam* was held in ſingular Veneration, than at *Cæſarea* of *Cappadocia*.

The 24 Moral Homilies collected by *Simeon Logotheta*, are Extracts out of ſeveral places of St. *Baſil*.

The Latin Diſcourſe of Conſolation, and the Advertiſement to his Spiritual Son, ſeem to me to have neither the Stile nor Genius of St. *Baſil*. The Treatiſe of the Praiſes of a Solitary Life, is taken out of the Treatiſe of St. *Peter Damian*, upon *Dominus vobiſcum*. I ſay nothing of the Grammar attributed to St. *Baſil*, which is an Abridgment of Grammar by a Modern Greek.

There remains now no more but the Liturgies attributed to this Father which are Three in Number. The Firſt is in Greek, and Printed by *Morellus*. The Second was tranſlated from the Syriack, and publiſh'd by *Maſius*. The Third was tranſlated from the Arabick by a *Maronite* of Mount *Libanus*. But tho' 'tis certain that St. *Baſil* compos'd a Liturgy, as St. *Proclus*, the Council in *Trullo*, and *Leontius*, aſſure us: Yet it cannot be poſitively affirmed, that any of thoſe which we have is the Liturgy of that Father, as he compos'd it: On the contrary, there is great probability, that it has not been preſerv'd in its Purity, and that many things have been added and changed in it, as uſually happens to thoſe kind of Works. It is obſerved alſo, That *Petrus Diaconus* cites a Famous Prayer taken out of the Liturgy of St. *Baſil*, which is not to be found in any of thoſe Liturgies, which now go under his Name.

The Homilies of St. *Baſil* upon the Six Days of Creation, are in *Photius*'s Judgment the moſt Excellent of all his Works. And indeed, he handles this Matter in a very grateful manner; they are fill'd with many Embelliſhments of Rhetorick, with agreeable Deſcriptions, ſublime Thoughts, curious and Learned Remarks, and ſolid Reflexions. He explains the Words of Holy Scripture literally, without having recourſe to Allegories; and yet he ſets of this Explication with ſo many Ornaments, that 'tis very delightful. He reſolves many Queſtions about the Nature and Difficulties of *Moſes*'s Relation: He intermixes from time to time ſome Moral Thoughts. It appears that he preach'd theſe Sermons to his People in the Afternoons.

The Homily of a Terreſtrial Paradiſe, is alſo a continuation of this Work; he deſcribes it moſt Eloquently, and underſtands it in a Spiritual Sence of a State of Righteouſneſs and Holineſs.

In the Homily upon the Words of the Proverbs, *Give no ſleep unto your Eyes*, publiſh'd by *Cotelerius*, St. *Baſil* exhorts to Watchfulneſs, and the Practice of Good Works.

His Homilies upon the Pſalms are written in the ſame Stile, but they are more fill'd with Morality. He departs ſometimes from the Literal Sence, and does not always apprehend the true Sence of the Prophet. Yet he does not make uſe of obſcure and forc'd Allegories; but all that he ſays is Intelligible, Natural, Uſeful, and Pleaſant. The Commentary upon *Iſaiah*, is not ſo lofty, nor ſo full of Morality, but 'tis very Intelligible and very Learned.

The Five Books againſt *Eunomius* are a moſt compleat Work of Controverſy; he recites the Arguments and Words of this Heretick, and refutes them very ſolidly and very clearly.

In the Two firſt Books, he refutes the principal Arguments which this Heretick uſed to prove that the Son was not like to his Father. He anſwers them very clearly, and diſcovers the Falſhood of this Heretick's Reaſonings.

In the Third he anſwers the Objections which he made againſt the Divinity of the Holy Spirit.

In the Fourth he proves that the Son of God is not a Creature, but is truly God.

And Laſtly, in the Fifth he proves the ſame thing of the Holy Spirit.

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He handles the most intricate Matters of Theology, in a manner very Learned and Profound, and yet without perplexing and entangling them with the Quirks, the Difficulties and Terms of the Schoolmen. St. *Basil.*

He proves also the Trinity of Divine Persons, and their Equality, in the 16th. Homily upon the Beginning of the Gospel of St. *John*, and in the Book against the *Sabellians.*

He particularly Establishes the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, in the Treatise of the Holy Spirit, address'd to *Amphilochius.* He compos'd it upon occasion of a Complaint that some Persons had made against him, that at the Conclusion of his Sermons he had said, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, with the Holy Ghost*, instead of saying as some do, *In the Holy Ghost. Amphilochius* had ask'd him the proper Signification of these Terms, and the Difference between the one and the other Expression. St. *Basil* commends him for this Exactness, and observes that 'tis very useful to search out the proper Sence of the Terms and Expressions which we use.

In the 2d. Chapter he makes this Observation, That those who will use different Terms in Glorifying the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, do it for no other End, but to conclude from thence the Dissimilitude and Inequality of the Three Persons of the Trinity.

In the 3d. Chapter he shews, That the difference of these Terms, *of whom, by whom, in whom*, have no place but in Philosophy, and we ought not to use them when we speak of the Three Divine Persons.

In the 4th. he shows, That this Particle, *of whom*, signifies in Scripture the Efficient Cause, since 'tis said that all things are of God.

In the 5th. he shows, That the Scripture says of the Father, *by whom*, and of the Son, *of whom*, and that it uses the same Expressions when it speaks of the Holy Ghost.

In the 6th. he answers those who affirm, That we cannot say, the Son of God is *with* his Father because he is *after* his Father. St. *Basil* maintains, that the Son of God is not at all inferiour to the Father, neither in respect of Time, nor in respect of the Place he holds, nor in respect of Honour and Glory, being Eternal as the Father, Infinite as the Father, and having a Glory and Majesty equal to that of the Father.

In the 7th. he proves, That this Expression, *with the Son*, is not New; That the Church has used it to denote the Majesty of his Divine Nature, as she has also used that other, *by the Son*, to signify the access which we have to God the Father by his Son, and therefore we ought to use the former Expression when we sing the Praises of God; and the latter when we thank him for the Favours he has done us.

He explains this Distinction in *Ch.* 8. and there he recites many Names of Jesus Christ.

In the 9th. he explains his Judgment concerning the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, which he received by Tradition, and which is agreeable to the Doctrine of the Holy Scripture. He proves that the Holy Spirit is a Spiritual Person, Eternal, Infinite, Unchangeable, *&c.* who strengthens us, and gives us Life by his Gifts.

In the 10th. and 11th. he refutes those that would not joyn the Holy Spirit to the Father and the Son. He proves the contrary by the Institution of Baptism, and accuses those that would not add the Holy Spirit to the Father and the Son; Of Violating the saving Sacrament of Baptism; Of Prevaricating in the Vow which they had made, and of Revolting from the Religion which they had once professed.

In Chapter 12. he answers the first Exception of his Adversaries, who said, That Baptism given in the Name of Jesus Christ was sufficient. St. *Basil* answers, First, That the Name of Jesus Christ denotes the whole Trinity, because it signifies the Anointed of the Lord. Now he says, that the Word *Anointed*, designs him that does Anoint, and him by whom he is anointed. Secondly, That Faith is inseparable from Baptism, because Faith is perfected by Baptism, and Baptism supposes Faith; That the Profession of Faith precedes Baptism, which is as it were the Seal of it. Lastly, He maintains that 'tis not sufficient to Baptize in the Name of Jesus Christ, but that we must invoke the Three Persons of the Godhead according to inviolable Tradition, and that we ought to add nothing to nor take any thing from this Invocation.

In the 13th. he refutes a Second Answer of his Adversaries, who say, That tho' the Holy Spirit were oftentimes in Scripture joyn'd to the Father and the Son, yet it would not follow from thence, that he was equal to them, since the Angels are there sometimes joyn'd with God. St. *Basil* answers, That there is a great Difference between the manner in which the Scripture speaks of Angels, and of the Holy Spirit, because it considers the former merely as Ministers, whereas it considers the Holy Spirit as the Fountain of Life, and joyns him with the Father, because of the Unity of Essence.

In the 14th. he resolves also a third Difficulty: It was objected to him, That tho' Men be baptiz'd in the Name of the Holy Spirit, yet it does not follow, that the Holy Spirit is equal to the Father and the Son, since 'tis also said in Scripture, That they were all baptiz'd into *Moses* in the Cloud. St. *Basil* answers, That this Expression of St. *Paul*, signifies only, that *Moses* and the Cloud were the Figure of the Baptism of Jesus Christ, but that the Truth is much more Excellent than the Type.

In the 15. he answers a fourth Sophism: We are baptiz'd in Water, said the Hereticks, and yet we do not honour the Water as the Father and the Son. St. *Basil* answers, That this Objection is ridiculous, and that those who make it are mad; That 'tis not the Water that Baptizes us but the Spirit; That the Water indeed is joyned with the Spirit, as the Sign of the Death and Burial of the Old Man, but that 'tis the Spirit who gives a New Life; That Baptism is administred by dipping three times

St. *Baſil.* into the Water, and by invoking the Trinity three times, to ſignify our dying to Sin, and the giving of Life; That the Baptiſm of Jeſus Chriſt is very different from that of St. *John*, which was only the Baptiſm of Water, whereas that of Jeſus Chriſt is the Baptiſm of the Holy Spirit and of Fire. Laſt of all, he ſays, That the Martyrs who ſuffer'd Death for Jeſus Chriſt, needed not the Baptiſm of Water in order to their receiving the Crown, being baptized in their own Blood he ſpeaks alſo in this place of the Fire of the Day of Judgment, which he calls the Baptiſm of Fire, that ſhall try all Mankind.

In the 17th. and 18th. he ſhews that the Holy Spirit is joyn'd to the Father, and to the Son, as a Perſon equal, and not as one inferiour. To prove this, he uſes the Rules of Logick, having to do with an Adverſary, againſt whom he muſt uſe theſe Arms.

In the 19th. he proves, That we ſhould celebrate the Glory and Praiſes of the Holy Spirit, as we do thoſe of the Father and of the Son, and that we ſhould give him the ſame Honours.

In the 20th. the refutes the Opinion of thoſe who ſay, That the Holy Spirit is neither a Lord nor a Servant, but that he is Free. He ſhows that this Opinion is very abſurd, for either he is a Creature or not; if not, then he is God or Lord, and if he is, he muſt be a Servant, for all Creatures have a Dependance upon God.

In the 21ſt. he ſhows by many Teſtimonies of Scripture, That the Holy Spirit is there called Lord.

In the 22d. he proves his Divinity by many paſſages of Scripture.

In the 23. he alledges the Miracles attributed to the Holy Spirit, to prove that he is God.

In the 24th. he ſhows, That we ſhould Glorify the Holy Spirit, as we do the Father and the Son.

In the 25th. he anſwers thoſe who object, That the Scripture never uſes this Expreſſion, *The Father, and the Son, with the Holy Spirit*; and he ſhews, that to ſay, *The Father, and the Son, with the Holy Spirit*, ſignifies nothing elſe but, *the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit*; That the erroneous way which they would have us uſe, is not to be found in the Holy Scripture; *Glory be to the Father by the only Son in the Holy Spirit*; That the Particle *in* has the ſame Sence in this place as the Particle *with*; That the Fathers made uſe of the Particle *with*, as being moſt proper to oppoſe the Errors of *Arius* and *Sabellius*, and that 'tis leſs capable of an ill Sence; That notwithſtanding he is not ty'd up to this Expreſſion, provided we be willing to render Glory to the Holy Spirit.

In the following Chapter, he goes on to explain with much ſubtlety the Difference between the Particles *in* and *with*.

In the 27th. he propoſes this Objection, *We ought to receive nothing but what is in the Holy Scripture*: But theſe Words are not to be found, *Glory to the Father, and to the Son, with the Holy Spirit*. In anſwer to which, he Firſt ſends his Adverſaries back to what he had ſaid in *Ch.* 25. Afterwards he adds, "That in the Church there are ſome Opinions and Practices founded upon the Teſtimonies of Scripture; but then there are alſo ſome which are founded only upon unwritten Tradition: That the Scripture and Tradition have an equal Authority for the eſtabliſhing of Piety and Truth, and that none who follow the Eccleſiaſtical Laws reſiſt them: That if we ſhould reject all Cuſtoms that are not founded on Scripture, we ſhall greatly prejudice Religion, and reduce it to a ſuperficial Belief of ſome particular Opinions. 'Tis eaſy, ſays he, to give Examples of this; and to begin with that which is moſt common. Where find we it written, that we muſt make the Sign of the Croſs upon thoſe who begin to Hope in Jeſus Chriſt? What Book of Scripture teaches us, that we muſt turn to the Eaſt to make our Prayers? What Saint has left us in his Writings, the Words of Invocation, when we Conſecrate the Bread of the Euchariſt and the Cup of Bleſſing? For we do not content our ſelves with pronouncing the Words ſet down by the Apoſtle St. *Paul*, and the Evangeliſts, but we add ſeveral Prayers, both before and after, which we conſider as having much Efficacy upon the Sacrament; and yet we have them not but by Tradition. We Conſecrate the Water of Baptiſm, the Oyl of Unction, and him alſo who is to be baptiz'd; Where is this written? Is not this a Secret Tradition? Is it not Cuſtom which has taught us that we muſt Anoint him who is to be baptiz'd? Where has the Scripture taught us, that we muſt uſe three Dippings in baptizing? We muſt ſay the ſame of the other Ceremonies of Baptiſm, as of Renouncing the Devil and his Angels. Who has oblig'd us to do theſe things? Whence have we Learn'd them? Have we them not from the Tradition of our Fathers? Who obſerved them, without divulging or publiſhing of them, being perſwaded that Silence kept up a Veneration for the Myſteries? What neceſſity was there of putting that in Writing which it was not lawful to reveal or to explain to thoſe who were not yet baptiz'd?" Afterwards he gives the Reaſon of ſome Uſages which he had mentioned. He obſerves alſo, That Chriſtians pray to God ſtanding from Eaſter to Whitſunday; That they kneel and afterwards riſe up. He gives Myſtical Reaſons for theſe Cuſtoms, which are ſo forc'd, that 'tis eaſy to perceive, there is no better Reaſon to be given than Cuſtom and Practice. Laſtly he concludes, That ſince there are ſo many things which we have by Tradition, we ought not to reprehend one ſimple Particle which the Ancients made uſe of.

This he proves in the 29th. Chapter, where he alledges the Authorities of St. *Irenæus*, St. *Clemens Romanus*, the Two *Dionyſii*, *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea*, *Origen*, *Africanus*, *Athenogenes*, *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, *Firmilian* and *Meletius*, beſides the Prayers of the Church, and the Conſent of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches. Towards the end of this Chapter he complains of the hardſhips which his Calumniators make him ſuffer. In the laſt, he deſcribes the miſerable State of the Church. He

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compares it to a Fleet of Ships toſt with a great Tempeſt, which is the cauſe of Shipwrack to many of them, and Points out the Troubles and Miſeries wherewith the Church was afflicted very admirably: This Chapter alone is ſufficient to ſhow that this Book is undoubtedly St. *Baſil*'s. S. *Baſil.*

He proves alſo the Divinity of the Holy Spirit in Homily 17th. upon Baptiſm, and he explains the Faith of the Church concerning the Trinity in Homily 15th. of Faith. He enlarges upon the Gifts of the Holy Spirit. He treats alſo of the ſame thing in Homily 29. againſt thoſe who accuſe us of worſhipping Three Gods.

In Homily 19. St. *Baſil* treats of that famous and difficult Queſtion, *Why do the Juſt ſuffer, and why is there any Evil, if God takes care of things here below?* St. *Baſil* anſwers, That all this is done by the Permiſſion of God; That Diſeaſes, Calamities, Pain and Death are not real Evils; That Sin which is the only Evil, comes not from God, but from our ſelves; That God expoſes men to Sufferings either to cure them, or to puniſh them, or to make them ſerve for an Example; Or laſtly, to make them good and deſerving: And moreover, That God is not the firſt Author of Diſeaſes, Pain and Death; becauſe he created Man free from them, and theſe things entred into the World only by his Sin. But why, may ſome object, did not God make him impeccable? He anſwers, becauſe in order to the honouring of God, and meriting from him, 'twas neceſſary that he ſhould obey him voluntarily and freely; That the Devil was the Cauſe of his own Perdition, by uſing his Liberty amiſs; That the Tree of Life and Death was placed in Paradiſe, to try the Obedience of Man; and that it was his own fault that he made an ill uſe of it. He obſerves that the Dæmons dwell in the Air, and are incorporeal.

The 31ſt. Diſcourſe which is of Free-Will, has ſome Connexion with the preceding. Therein he teaches, Firſt, That Men deceive themſelves, if they imagine that they can overcome Temptations, by the ſole Power of their own Liberty, without the aſſiſtance of God; That Free-Will can indeed chooſe for us Good and Evil; but God only can enable us to do Good; That we muſt therefore beg the Aſſiſtance of the Divine Power, which cannot be obtain'd without refraining from Worldly Pleaſures: That by the Sin of the Firſt Man, we are become like Beaſts; That we muſt labour to be of the Number of the Children of God, and to excite in us the Fire of the Holy Spirit, which Jeſus Chriſt came to bring down upon the Earth, and which deſcended on the Apoſtles at the day of Pentecoſt; That we muſt pray God that this Fire may deſcend upon us, that we walking always in the Light may never fall, and that we may be as the Lights of the World.

In Homily 25th. of the Nativity of the Word, he explains the Myſtery of the Incarnation. He ſays, That the Word was not chang'd by uniting it ſelf to the Humane Nature; That he was made Man to Redeem us; That he took a Body in the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*, by the Operation of the Holy Spirit; That his Body was made all at once; That *Mary* was a Virgin, though ſhe was Married to St. *Joſeph*. After this, he examines this Queſtion, Whether ſhe knew her Husband after ſhe brought forth Jeſus Chriſt into the World? He ſays, That this is not a Fundamental Article of our Faith; but that thoſe who have a love for Jeſus Chriſt, cannot endure to hear it ſaid, that the Mother of God loſt her Virginity, and became the Mother of a Man. He explains the Difficulties which may be raiſed againſt this Doctrine, from the Particle, *Until that*, and from the Character of *Firſt-Born*, which is given to Jeſus Chriſt. Afterwards he explains ſome Circumſtances of the Birth of Jeſus Chriſt. He believes that the Wiſe Men were *Perſians*; That the Star which they ſaw was not an ordinary Star, and that they knew it ſignified the Birth of Jeſus Chriſt, as well by the Prophecy of *Baalam*, as becauſe they ſaw the Power of the Devil very much diminiſh'd. Laſtly, He exhorts his Auditors to celebrate with Joy the Feaſt of the Nativity of Jeſus Chriſt.

In the Firſt Book of Baptiſm, he proves, Firſt, That we muſt not Baptize any but thoſe that are well-inſtructed and perſuaded of the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, and who have renounc'd the World, their Vices, their Paſſions, and if need be, their Life. Secondly, He ſhews, That in order to Salvation, 'tis not enough to be baptiz'd, but that we muſt alſo keep the Commandments and do good Works. He ſhows afterwards what difference there is between the Baptiſms of *Moſes*, of St. *John*, and of Jeſus Chriſt. He ſays, That the Baptiſm of *Moſes* ſeparated ſome Men from others, but did not pardon them; That the Baptiſm of St. *John* being received with a Penitent Heart, conferr'd Remiſſion of Sins; but the Baptiſm of Jeſus Chriſt is much more excellent and efficacious: That by this Baptiſm we die unto Sin and live unto Righteouſneſs; That we are Crucified and Buried with Jeſus Chriſt; That we are raiſed again together with him; That Sin hath no more Dominion over us; That we are filled with the Holy Spirit, and cloath'd with Jeſus Chriſt. At laſt, he adds, That after we are baptiz'd, we have need to be nouriſh'd with the Food of Eternal Life; that's to ſay, with the Euchariſt, which we ought to receive with moſt holy Diſpoſitions, leſt we ſhould eat and drink our own Damnation.

In the 2d. Book he propoſes many Queſtions. The Firſt is, Whether he that is baptiz'd be oblig'd to die unto the World and to live unto God? He anſwers, Yes, he is. The Second is, Whether he that performs the Office of a Prieſt, ought to be pure in Heart? He anſwers, That if *Moſes* removed from the Sacrifices of the Old Law, all thoſe that were impure, Purity is yet more neceſſary to him that touches the Body of Jeſus Chriſt.

The Third Queſtion is, Whether it be lawful for one to receive the Euchariſt when he is unclean? St. *Baſil* anſwers it after the ſame manner as he did the preceding.

In the 4th. he teaches, That we muſt obey the Commandments, though it ſeems to us, that there were ſome Actions of Jeſus Chriſt or the Saints contrary to them; and that we muſt never ſeek for Excuſes nor Pretences to diſpenſe with the Obſervation of the Law. He adds in the 5th. That all diſobedience to the Commands of God is puniſhable, and that it deſerves the Divine Vengeance.

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St. *Baſil.* In the 6th. he proves that a Man ſins not only by doing Evil; but alſo by omitting to do good when we are oblig'd to do it.

In the 7th. he adverti ſes us, That we muſt regulate the Inward Man, before we give unto God any external Worſhip.

In the 8th. That we muſt not only perform the things commanded; but alſo do them in the manner which is enjoyn'd, in the order and time preſcribed.

In the 9th. he ſhows, That we ought to ſhun the Society and Converſation of wicked Men.

In the 10th. he treats of Scandal. He defines it, That which Seduces us from the Truth and draws us into Error or Impiety; or, That which hinders us to obey the Commands of God as long as we live: So that every thing may be call'd Scandal which is contrary to the Will of God. He adds That 'tis alſo Scandal to do a thing, though it be lawful, when it is the cauſe of the loſs or fall of the Weak. He obſerves alſo, That there is ſometimes a Scandal taken without cauſe.

In the 11th. he ſhows, That 'tis never lawful to do thoſe things which are forbidden by the Law of God, nor to obey thoſe that command ſuch things, and that we muſt never uſe our Reaſon to exempt our ſelves from Obedience to the Law of God.

In the 12th. he ſhows, That we ought not only to take care of thoſe Perſons that are under our Conduct; but that our Charity alſo muſt extend to all other Chriſtians! and that a Biſhop ought in caſe of Neceſſity to help all the Churches.

In the laſt, he proves by Scripture, That we muſt endure all and ſuffer all, even Death it ſelf, rather than fail in our Duty, or diſobey the Law of God. This Treatiſe appears to be rather of Morality than Doctrine; but though he treats there of Moral Queſtions, yet he handles them Dogmatically, and founds his Deciſions upon all the Teſtimonies of Scripture which belongs to his Subject.

The Treatiſe of true Virginity contains many Precepts for preſerving Virginity. In it he extols very much the ſtate of Virgins, and diſcovers the Dangers to which they are expos'd. There are in this Treatiſe ſome Paſſages which may offend nice Ears; but 'tis to be conſider'd, that 'tis addreſs'd to a Biſhop, and not to the Virgins themſelves; ſetting that aſide, 'tis very Eloquent, and very well written.

In Homily 28. of Penance, he proves againſt the *Novatians*, That thoſe who have ſinned after Baptiſm, have ſtill the Remedy of Penance; but he admoniſhes them that they ought not to ſin in hopes of doing Penance; That commonly thoſe who ſin with this diſpoſition of Mind are deprived of Repentance; That in truth there is hope of Pardon when they have ſinned; but ſtill it is like a Wound that can be healed, which leaves ſome Scar for ever behind it.

We are now inſenſibly faln into the Homilies of Morality, out of which we ſhall make our Extracts before we come to the Aſcetical Treatiſes.

The Firſt is a Homily about Faſting. After he has in the Firſt Part admoniſh'd us, that we muſt Faſt with a pleaſant Countenance, then he Exhorts Chriſtians to Faſt, alledging many Authorities and Examples to that purpoſe. He ſhows the Neceſſity of Faſting, and anſwers the Excuſe that is moſt commonly alledg'd for diſpenſing with it, which is the want of Health or Sickneſs. "Do not "alledge to me, ſays he, your Indiſpoſition; Don't tell me that you cannot endure Faſting; 'Tis not "to me that ye alledge theſe Excuſes, 'tis to God, from whom nothing can be hid. But tell me, Can "you not Faſt, ſay you? Alas, Can you fill your ſelves with Victuals, can you charge your Stomachs "with all ſorts of Meats? Do not the Phyſicians preſcribe to thoſe that are Sick Abſtinence and Diet-"ing themſelves, rather than abundance of Food? How come you then to ſay, that you can Eat very "much, and that you cannot Diet your ſelves? At laſt, St. *Baſil* ſays, "That our Faſting ſhould be "accompanied with Abſtinence from Evil; That we muſt faſt from our Paſſions and Vices; and that "without this, bodily Faſting is unprofitable. Take heed, ſays, he, that you make not your Faſt to "conſiſt only in Abſtinence from Meats: True Faſting is to refrain from Vice. Tear in pieces all "your Unjuſt Obligations; Pardon your Neighbour; forgive him his Debts. Faſt nor to ſtir up Striſe "and Contention. You eat no Fleſh, but you devour your Brother; You drink no Wine, but you "cannot refrain from doing Injury to others; You wait till Night to take your Repaſt, but you ſpend "all the Day at the Tribunals of the Judges. Woe be to you who are Drunk without Wine: Anger "is a kind of Inebriation, which does no leſs trouble the Mind than real Drunkenneſs". He ſpeaks afterwards againſt thoſe who uſe Faſting, to prepare themſelves for larger Drinking and Eating, or who indulge themſelves as much as they can after they have Faſted, as if it were to redeem the time they have loſt. He gives a natural and frightful repreſentation of Drunkenneſs, ſufficient to beget a horror of it; he diſſwades from it alſo from the Conſideration of the Body of Jeſus Chriſt which they are to receive. He ſays, That Faſting and Abſtinence are Ornaments to Cities, ſecure the Tranquillity of Publick Aſſemblies, the Peace of Families, and the Preſervation of our Eſtates: He ſays, That to be perſwaded of this, they needed only compare the Night of this preſent day in which he Preached, with the Night of the next Day, (From whence it appears that this Day was a Publick Faſt.) At laſt he wiſhes, That in theſe Days wherein Chriſtians are called to the Practice of Faſting, they might learn to know the Efficacy of their Temperance to prepare them for that Great Day wherein God will reward their Vertue.

The Second Homily is alſo an Exhortation to Faſting. Therein he condemns thoſe who allow'd themſelves great Liberties in Eating and Drinking before their Faſting. He ſays that all Chriſtians of all Ages and Conditions are obliged to it. Laſtly, He ſpeaks of the principal Diſpoſition for profitable Faſting, which is to abſtain from Vice.

The Third Homily about Faſting publiſh'd by *Cotelerius*, is ſhorter than the two preceding; but it is written upon the ſame Principles, and upon the ſame Subject.

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In the Third Homily upon these words, *Take heed to your selves*, St. *Basil* recommends that Vigilance and Care which one ought to have over himself, that's to say, over his Soul, and his Behaviour. He says, That this Care is necessary for Sinners that they may amend their ways, and for the Innocent; lest they should fall: That the first have need to watch over themselves to cure themselves. "You "have committed, says he, a great Sin, you must then endure a long Penance, you must shed bitter tears "you must pass whole Nights in watching, you must Fast continually. Though you have committed but a slight Sin, yet you must watch over your selves to do Penance for it; for it often happens, "that those who have but a slight Sickness, become dangerously Sick when they neglect it". After this he shews, That this Watchfulness is necessary to fulfil the Duties of all States and Conditions. He reproves those that watch for the Faults of others, but never think of their own. He shews, That this Watchfulness is necessary to every Man in whatsoever state he is, and that it is a Remedy to all our Evils, and to all our Passions. "If you are ambitious, says he, if you are lifted up above measure, "either upon the account of your great Riches, or because of your Nobility; if you take Pleasure in "your Beauty, if you are inspir'd with a Passion for Glory, if you are Lovers of Pleasures, you have "nothing to do but to take heed to your selves, and you may know that you are Mortal, that you "are Dust, and shall return to dust. If Anger transports you to do brutal Actions, take heed to "your selves, and you shall presently be asham'd of that Condition to which Anger has reduc'd you. In "short, This Watchfulness which you should have over your selves, will make you know God. "You will find some Footsteps of him in your selves: Your Soul will make you know that he is Spi-"ritual; you will admire him who has made such an excellent Piece of Workmanship, and the more "you consider the Perfections of your Soul and Body, the more sublime Idea you will conceive of the "Greatness, the Power and these Wildom of God. St. *Basil.*

The 4th. Homily intituled, *of Thanksgiving*, is about the Joy which St. *Paul* prescribes to Christians in these words of his Epistle to the *Thessalonians: Rejoyce always, pray without ceasing, giving thanks to God for every thing.* He explains in what sence Christians ought always to be Joyful: He says, That in order to their having this Joy, they must be like St. *Paul*; that's to say, they must live in Jesus Christ, and their Joy must not depend upon changes of Fortune, but it must be solid, and depend upon their own Good Conscience, and their hope of Eternal Happiness, which renders those Happy who are most Miserable in the Eyes of the World. He shews, That the Joys of this World are Afflictions to those that are Good; and on the contrary, the Afflictions of this World are an occasion of Joy to them. He explains in what sence Jesus Christ wept, and why the Saints have Power to weep. At last he exhorts all Christians to be no more sad, for the loss of this World's Goods; but on the contrary to rejoyce in the hope of those Good things that are to come.

He continues the same Subject in the following Homily which was made upon the Festival of St. *Julita* the Martyr. This Saint had a Law-Suit with a Man, which she commenc'd for all her Estate. 'Twas promis'd her, that she should gain her Cause, if she would renounce Jesus Christ, but she was assur'd, that she should lose all if she should not agree to this Proposition. She answer'd with Courage: *You shall sooner take away my Goods, and deprive me of my Life, than ever make me speak one single Word against my God.* This Answer caus'd her to be condemned to the Fire wherein she expir'd; but her Body could not be burnt by the Flames. This is the History which St. *Basil* relates in this Sermon, upon which Occasion he pursues the preceeding Discourse and continues the Explication of the Words of St. *Paul*. He says, That the continual Prayer which God requires of us, does not consist in a vocal repeating of Prayers, but in the Design that one has to do Good. So according to him, if a Man would pray continually, he ought always to be united to God in his Actions, and in every thing to follow his Will. At last, he says, That we must thank God, and praise him for every thing, and that neither Losses, nor Diseases, nor Wrongs, nor Afflictions, nor the Death of our Relations, nor the other Miseries of this Life ought to hinder us from praising God, and giving him thanks continually; That in Adversity we ought to thank God, because 'tis good for us to be humbled; and we ought to praise him in Prosperity, saying to him in the Words of the Royal Prophet, *O my God, what shall I render unto thee for all the benefits that thou hast done unto me.* He recites many Motives of Consolation in Adversity, taken from the Mercies of God, the Hope of future Happiness, the Wisdom of God, the Submission that's due to his Will, and the Miseries of others. And Lastly, he assures us that nothing but Sin should make us weep, and that if Charity obliges us to Mourn with those that Mourn, that is only by a kind of Condescention which should not last long. At the End of this Homily, he reproves those who make themselves Drunk to drive away Sadness.

The three following Homilies are about Riches, and against Covetousness. The First is upon the Words of the Rich Man mention'd in the Gospel, who seeing the Superabundance of his Goods, said, *I will pull down my Barns, and I will build larger.* He begins with this Remark, That Men have Two great Temptations in this Life, Great Adversity, and Great Prosperity. That *Job* overcame the first, but the Rich Man in the Gospel was overcome by the last. After this he makes Reflections upon the Actions and the Punishment of this Rich Man, and says, they ought to teach us to be Bountiful towards the Poor, and to make good use of our Riches. He observes, That we are only Stewards of our Riches; That all that we have is for others; That we should imitate the Earth which brings forth her Fruit for others; That the Good which we do will turn to our Profit; That 'Tis more Glorious to give than to receive; That 'tis an accursed thing to with-hold Corn for a time of Dearth; That 'tis a piece of Inhumanity to despise the Poor; That Riches are unprofitable if they be not distributed; That the Thoughts of the Covetous are vain and senseless; and that they take a great deal of Pains to heap up Riches which they never enjoy. After this he answers the Objections of Covetous

Men.

St. Baſil. Men. One ſays, I will give to Morrow, to exempt himſelf from giving to Day. "Alas! What do "you know whether you ſhall be alive to Morrow in this place? Another ſays, I am Poor, I have "need enough my ſelf of all my Means. Yes, you are Poor, you are deſtitute, but 'tis of Charity, "of Benignity, of Faith, of Mercy. A Third ſays, Whom do I wrong, I detain nothing but what is "mine own; and here St. *Baſil* is angry with this wicked Maxim. And I, ſays he, demand of you, "Why do you ſay, that thoſe Riches are your own? From whom did you receive them, and from "whence did you bring them? Did not you come naked out of your Mother's-Womb, and ſhall not "you return naked to the Duſt? From whence then did this preſent Wealth come? If you ſay it "came by Chance, you are impious; if you confeſs that you received it from God, tell me why did it "fall to your Lot rather than another's? God is not unjuſt in the unequal Diviſion of Goods which "he makes amongſt Men. Why then are you Rich, and why is this Man Poor? 'Tis that you "who are Rich, may receive the Reward of diſpenſing your Goods faithfully, and that the Poor Man "may receive the Recompence of his Patience. And therefore when you appropriate to your ſelf "that Wealth which belongs to many particular Perſons, and of which you are only a Steward; "you are a Robber, you detain that which is none of your own. Yea, the Bread which you keep to "your ſelf, whereof you have more than ſerves for the uſe of your Family, belongs to the Poor, who "die for Famine; the Garments which you keep lock'd up in your Ward-robe, belong to the naked; "the Money which you hide, belongs to the ruin'd, &c. Theſe are fine Diſcourſes, you will tell me, "but Gold is yet a much finer thing. Thus does the Covetous Man talk, when he hears us preach. "For as it is ſometimes ſeen, that the unchaſt hearing us ſpeak contemptuouſly of the Paſſion of "Luſt, do thereby receive a New Fire which ſtirs them up more violently than before; ſo alſo the "Covetous hearing us Diſcourſe againſt Riches, conceive a greater Love and Paſſion for them. But "what think they of theſe terrible Words of Jeſus Chriſt, *Go, ye curſed into Eternal Fire; for I "was a-hungry, and you gave me no Meat, I was a thirſt, and you gave me no Drink*, &c. Not only "thoſe who take away another's Goods ſhall be then condemn'd, but alſo thoſe who do not diſtri-"bute of their Riches to the Poor.

The Second Homily is againſt thoſe who have an inſatiable deſire of Enriching themſelves. The ſubject of this is the Hiſtory of the rich Young Man, who went away ſad, when our Saviour bid him Sell all that he had, and diſtribute the price of it to the Poor. He ſhews by this Example, That 'tis unprofitable to keep the Commandments, if one does not give Alms; and that all other Vertues will avail nothing, if one's Heart be fixed to this World by an immoderate Love of riches. He ſhows, That what is neceſſary is not very much; and at the ſame time he proves, That the greateſt Part of rich Mens Expences are ſuperfluous. He gives a very pleaſant Liſt of them in particulars, and which ſuit well enough with the Manners of our Age. He diſſuades from Avarice by the fear of Death and of Judgment, and by the meanneſs of Riches, and the bad Effects which they produce. Afterwards he refutes the moſt common Pretences which are made uſe of to excuſe Covetouſneſs. The firſt is founded upon the uncertainty of what may come to paſs: We know not, ſay they, the Accidents that may happen, or the Neceſſities we may be reduc'd to. "But, ſays St. *Baſil*, is not "the uſe of your Treaſures yet more uncertain? And though it were not, Can you make uſe of this Ex-"cuſe, while you ſpend your Wealth upon a Thouſand Superfluities? But I want it, ſay you, for "my Children. This Excuſe for Covetouſneſs is plauſible. You cover your ſelves with the Pre-"tence of your Children, that you may ſatisfy your Luſts. Is it from you, that your Son receiv'd "Life? Is it not from God who guides and preſerves him? Ought he then to hinder you from obeying "his Commandments? The Riches that you leave him, will, it may be, be the occaſion of his "Ruine: Who knows whether he will make a good or bad uſe of them? Is not your Soul nearer to "you than your Children? 'Tis for the Good of that, that you ſhould beſtow the Chief Part of your "Riches in Diſtributing to the Poor; and then afterwards, give to your Children what they ſtand in "need of for their Livelihood. Thoſe who have no Children, pretend the Neceſſities of this Life, as "a Cloak for their Avarice. They would uſe what they have, they would neither Sell any thing, nor "give any thing away. St. *Baſil* declares, That this Temper of Mind, is contrary to the Reſpect "which is due to the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, and that it makes it void, whilſt it forms to it ſelf a Rule "and Conduct contrary to the Maxims of the Goſpel. At Laſt, he refutes the Pretence of thoſe who "think to exempt themſelves from giving Alms in their Life-time, by leaving their Goods by Will "as Legacies to the Poor. Miſerable Wretches that you are, ſays he to them, you will not then be "Liberal and Charitable towards Men, till you ceaſe to Live! What Recompence can you expect for a "Liberality which comes after Death? O brave Piety to practiſe no good Works but with Ink and "Paper! You deceive your ſelves, and you think to fulfil the Commands of the Goſpel in dying, "*Abraham* nevertheleſs will tell you then; My Son, you enjoy'd your Good Things and Pleaſures in "your Life-time: Do not your Actions ſhow, that you could have wiſh'd your ſelves to be Immor-"tal; That you might always have enjoy'd your Riches, and that if you had been ſo, you would never "have remembred the Commands of God, and the Precepts of the Goſpel; and therefore it is to "Death, and not to you, that the Poor ought to give thanks for the Good you have done them. "Do not Deceive your ſelves, God will not be deceiv'd, he will not be thus mock'd; that which is dead "is not to be offer'd unto the Sanctuary, offer up a living Sacrifice. He that offers up only the "remains of the Sacrifices is an ungrateful Perſon.

St. *Baſil* treats alſo of Alms in a Homily, which was made upon the occaſion of a great Famine and Dearth. After he has deſcrib'd theſe Calamities, he ſays, that the hard heartedneſs of the Rich to the Poor, was the cauſe of them. "The Fields are barren, ſays he, becauſe Charity is waxed "cold? "He obſerves, That publick Prayers were made, but in ſo bad a manner, and with ſo much diſtraction

St. *Basil.*

deſtraction that they were not heard; That Children were ſent to them, whereas the Heads of Families ſhould have come themſelves, to beg God's Mercy for their Sins. He relates the Example of the *Ninevites*; he exhorts Perſons of all Conditions to give Alms according to their Ability. "You are "poor, ſays he, but you may find many poorer than you: You have Corn for two days, and there "are ſome who have it only for to day. If you are Good and Charitable, divide equally what you "have left with him that has nothing; be never the more backward to give him becauſe you have but "little left for your ſelves; you prefer your private Intereſt and Advantage to the common Danger "of many poor People. For tho' you had no more but one Loaf, if a miſerable Wretch ſhall beg of "you one Morſel of it, do not refuſe him, and when you give it to him, lift up your Hands towards "Heaven, and ſay theſe Juſt and Charitable Words: Lord, I have but this one Loaf which you ſee, "and I ſee my ſelf in danger of having no more; but I prefer thy Commandment to the Love of "my ſelf, and of the little that I have, I give a Charity to my Brother, who is ſore pinch'd with "Hunger. Give alſo an Alms on your part, O my God, to your Servant, who runs a hazard of "wanting Victuals. I know your Goodneſs, and put my Truſt in your Sovereign Power, you will "not long delay the Relief of your liberal Hand, but ſcatter abundantly in a few days, the Gifts of "your Magnificence. 'Tis certain, adds he, that thoſe who rely upon Divine Providence, are like the "Springs and Fountains which are not dry'd up by drawing from them, but ſend forth their Waters "with a greater Force than before. If ye are Poor, lend your Money upon Intereſt to God who is Rich." Afterwards he repreſents the Miſery and Pain of Hunger, and deſcribes in a moſt moving manner the Extremity of a Man languiſhing for want of Food, to beget the greater horror of the Cruelty and Barbarity of covetous rich Men, who ſuffer their Brethren to die for Hunger, when they are able to aſſiſt them. He obſerves, That in a time of publick Neceſſity eſpecially, we muſt give conſiderable Alms, and that we muſt expiate our Sins by Charity to the Poor. At laſt, he admoniſhes the Poor not to throw themſelves into Deſpair, but to put their Truſt in the Mercy of God, who has ſometimes plentifully fed the Juſt after an extraordinary manner. He exhorts them to ſuffer with Patience like *Job*, to conſider their Miſery as the Trial of their Vertue, to give thanks to God, to beſtow ſomething to the Poor, even of their Neceſſaries; aſſuring them that this is the way to procure the Multiplication of their Loaves, as God did formerly multiply the Cruiſe of Meal to the Widow of *Sarepta*.

To theſe three Sermons may be join'd the Homily wherein he proves, That we muſt not ſet our Hearts upon the Riches and Pleaſures of this World. There he ſhews, That the only Care which we ought to be concern'd for, is that of our Souls; That we ought to rid our Minds of the Love of Riches, and give bountifully to the Poor. After this he deſcribes a Fire, which it was feared might have burnt down the City: He conjures thoſe that eſcaped this great Calamity, to relieve thoſe that ſuffered, and exhorts theſe laſt to Patience by the Example of *Job*, whoſe Hiſtory he explains.

The 10*th*. Homily is againſt Anger; where firſt he excites a Horrour of this Paſſion, by giving a Deſcription of its miſchievous Effects; and then he ſhews, That we can have no juſt Excuſe for this Paſſion of Anger, by ſhewing that all the Pretences which are alledg'd for it are falſe. The Firſt, is an Injury which we may think we have received. But St. *Baſil* ſhews, That we ought not to render Injury for Injury, and that we muſt not imitate our Enemy, nor follow his Footſteps and Example. He adds, That whatſoever Outrage has been done to us, we need do no more, but remember that we are Duſt, and ſhall return to Duſt, to convince us that we have deſerved all ſorts of Reproaches and Diſgraces: That by ſhowing Meekneſs we revenge our ſelves of our Enemies, that we acquire the Glory of being mild and patient, and that ſilence upon this Occaſion, deſerves the Rewards of Heaven. Reproaches are another Cauſe of Anger: But St. *Baſil* ſhews, That even this is ill-grounded, becauſe theſe Reproaches are either true or falſe; if they are true, we are to blame if we trouble our ſelves for them; if the they are falſe, our Anger for them gives cauſe to ſuſpect that they are true. But he call'd me Poor, ſays one: "If that be true, ſays St. *Baſil*, bear with it; if it be "falſe, What does it concern you? 'Tis no ſhame to be Poor, for you came naked into the World, "and Jeſus Chriſt being Rich would appear Poor in it. He treated me as a Fool and an Ignorant "Fellow, will another ſay. Yet many more reproachful Words were ſpoken of Jeſus Chriſt. But "yet, How can we forbear being angry, when we are abus'd and buffeted, when we are beaten and "torn in pieces? Will others ſay. Jeſus Chriſt did alſo ſuffer more than all this, anſwers St. *Baſil*." Laſtly, St. *Baſil* preſcribes Rules to avoid Anger, as not to think more highly of our ſelves than others, to hearken with a Philoſophical Temper to the Diſcourſes of a Man that is truly angry with Sin, with the Devil, with Error, with the Enemies of God; to practiſe Humility, and conſider the Miſeries of Men. He concludes with ſome New Reaſons to diſſuade Men from Anger.

The 11*th*. Homily is againſt Envy. In the firſt part he reckons up the Reaſons which may inſpire a Man with hatred of this Vice. He ſays, That 'tis a Vice proper to the Devil, which gnaws and conſumes him in whom it is found, tho' he receives no Profit by it, and which is always accompanied with Melancholy and Vexation of Spirit, and that an envious Man is the unhappieſt Man in the World. Laſtly, he deſcribes all the troubleſome Conſequences, and miſerable Effects of Envy; and he ſays, That the beſt way to cure this Vice, is to have no great Eſteem of the things of this World, to deſpiſe its periſhable Goods, and to place all our Happineſs in the Hope of a future Life, to believe that nothing but Vertue is a ſolid and true Good, and to deſire nothing elſe.

The 14*th*. Homily is againſt Drunkenneſs. It was compos'd upon the occaſion of a Diſorder which happen'd upon *Eaſter-Eve*. Probably there had been at that time ſome profane Recreations; the Men and Women without any Reverence for the Vigils of ſo Holy a Feſtival, had made Feaſts, and the Women had aſſembled, and were come to dance and ſing, even to places where the Bodies of the Martyrs were kept. "St. *Baſil* having ſeen this Diſorder, was ſenſibly touched, as he ſays of

St. Baſil. " himſelf at the Beginning of his Diſcourſe; That after ſo many Exhortations, after ſeven Weeks " Faſting, after being preſent ſo many times at the Service of the Church and the Sermons, during the " time of Lent, they had deſtroy'd in one day the Fruit of all his Labours. He ſays, That he knew " not whether he ſhould hold his Peace, or whether he ſhould ſpeak; That he ſhould have held his " Peace, but that he fear'd the Chaſtiſement of *Jeremy*, for having refus'd to preach to an unbelieving " and rebellious People; That Drunkenneſs was the ſource of this Diſorder, and that he muſt now " preach againſt this Vice." This is in effect the Subject of this Homily, wherein he poſſeſſes Mens Minds with a great horror of this Crime, and deſcribes the pernicious Effects of it. Towards the end of it, he returns to the exceſſes of the preceding Day. He cries out againſt their Songs and Dances, againſt their immoderate Laughter, againſt their Apparel, which was neither honeſt nor modeſt; and he exhorts thoſe of his Hearers who had been of this Company, to cure themſelves of Drunkenneſs by Faſting, to ſing Pſalms inſtead of the merry Songs which they had ſung, to turn their Laughter into Mourning, and their Dancing into Kneeling; and in ſhort, to leave off their ſumptuous and magnificent Apparel, and to put on that which is more agreeable to Modeſty and Chriſtian Humility.

The 22d. Homily is of Humility. He begins it with obſerving, That Man loſt his Dignity by the Sin of *Adam*, and that he cannot recover it but by Humility: That the Devil uſes all his Endeavours to deſtroy this Vertue, and to deprive us of it, by poſſeſſing us with a great Eſteem of Riches, of Honours, and the Advantages of Body and Mind. But he ſhews, That a Man ought not to glory in all theſe things, which are no ways permanent, but paſs away in a Moment; That the only true Glory of Man, is to know God, to be fully perſuaded of his own Miſery, and to believe that we are juſtified only by Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and that we ought to attribute all to God. This is the great Principle of St. *Auſtin* about Grace, which St. *Baſil* explains in this place, adding that we can do nothing without the Aſſiſtance and Grace of Jeſus Chriſt; That 'tis a Folly and Stupidity to think, that the Grace of Jeſus Chriſt is a Natural Power; That St. *Peter* who anſwer'd with a Spirit of Pride to Jeſus Chriſt, telling him, *Though all your Diſciples ſhould be offended, yet will I never be offended*, was abandon'd to humane Weakneſs, and ſo fell into Sin. He ſpeaks afterwards of the other part of Humility, which is, not to exalt our ſelves above others, not to eſteem our ſelves more than them, not to deſpiſe them becauſe of their Faults; but to believe our ſelves much greater Sinners than they. He exhorts his Auditors to imitate the Life of Jeſus Chriſt, which was a continued Courſe of Actions of Humility; he would have a Chriſtian imitate his Maſter, and give Signs of Humility in all his Behaviour. " Your Humility, ſays he, muſt appear in the Plainneſs of your Apparel, in the Modeſty " of your Ornaments, in your Gate, in the Frugality of your Table, in the Tone of your Voice, in " the Simplicity of your Furniture, in the Order of your Houſe, in the Manner of Accoſting and " Saluting your Brethren. Take heed that you do not diſcover in your Diſcourſe and in your Actions " a ſtately and affected Way, and be affable to your Friends, mild towards your Domeſticks, pa- " tient with the Paſſionate, and courteous to Inferiors. Comfort the Afflicted, viſit the Sick, de- " ſpiſe no body, be pleaſant in your Requeſts, chearful in your Anſwers, complaiſant and eaſie to " all the World; do not praiſe your ſelves, do not deſpiſe thoſe who praiſe themſelves; hide as much " as you can your own Merit and Vertue, accuſe your ſelves of your Sins without waiting for the " Reproof of others; be not troubleſome nor ſevere in your Reproofs, neither let them be given in " Anger; Condemn not your Neighbour for ſmall Faults, have a Compaſſion and Tenderneſs for " thoſe that have ſinned. In ſhort, ſhun the Praiſes of Men, by all the ways that others uſe to pur- " chaſe Glory, and think not to pleaſe any but God only. In a Word, put on Humility, and by " this means you ſhall arrive at Glory, Jeſus Chriſt will acknowledge you for his Diſciple, and will " glorifie you.

The Subject of the 21ſt. Homily which was pronounc'd at *Laciza*, in a publick Aſſembly, is more complex than that of the preceding. There he exhorts thoſe to whom he ſpeaks, to remember the Spiritual Diſcourſes which were read to them in the Morning, for finding out Remedies againſt Temptations. He recommends to them, to have no regard to the Condition of Men in this World, but to conſider all Chriſtians as Brethren, to treat the Poor and Rich alike, and the Small as well as the Great, becauſe nothing but Sin puts a Difference between Men. He diſſuades them afterwards from the three principal Vices, which are Anger, Envy, and Covetouſneſs. He repeats in this Homily many things which are found in thoſe whereof we have already ſpoken. He obſerves in it, That theſe kind of Aſſemblies meet every Year; that the People who cannot have Preachers every day are able to teach them theſe things, may learn them at leaſt once a Year by coming to theſe publick Feſtivals.

The 30th. Homily is an Exhortation to the Catechumens, who delay or neglect to receive Baptiſm. He ſays in his *Exordium*, That tho' one may lawfully receive Baptiſm at any time, yet the time of *Eaſter* is the moſt proper time for receiving it: That for this reaſon, the Church as a Good Mother, invites at this time all the Catechumens to receive Baptiſm. He exhorts them to receive it, Firſt, becauſe if the Jews ran with ſo much earneſtneſs to receive the Baptiſm of St. *John*, 'tis very fit that they ſhould ſhow yet more earneſtneſs to receive the Baptiſm of Jeſus Chriſt, which is far greater, more excellent, and more effectual than that of his Fore-runner. Secondly, Becauſe 'tis dangerous to delay, and oftentimes Men are ſurpriz'd by Death; and becauſe without Baptiſm, we can have no part in the Kingdom of Heaven, nor can we be deliver'd from the Tyranny of the Devil. " If one were to diſtribute, ſays he, Gold and Silver; if he were to give temporal Favours in any " place, all the World would run thither: Wherefore then do you not run to Baptiſm? If one pro- " miſes to remit all the Debts of another, will not the Debtor run to receive his Promiſe? When " therefore the Buſineſs is to receive Remiſſion of your Sins, What reaſon have you to delay? If one " be

" be guilty of many Faults, Grace is promiſed in greater Abundance to thoſe who have more Sins. If St. *Baſil.*
" you be afraid of ſinning, Why do you trouble your ſelf about the Time to come? Seeing you are
" well conducted through the Time paſt, after having liv'd to the World, you muſt live to God.
" Baptiſm is the Sign by which a Chriſtian is known; it changes a Man entirely. He muſt not put off
" Living well till Old Age, which is nothing but to mock God, by giving him the laſt Years of
" Life, after he has beſtow'd the prime of his Years upon the Devil and the World, upon his Pleaſures
" and his Sins. Temperance in Old Age is no longer a Vertue, 'tis a Sign of Weakneſs which will
" never be rewarded. Moreover, he is not certain that he ſhall be in a Condition to receive Baptiſm,
" he may die ſuddenly, he may fall into a Sickneſs, which ſhall take away his Speech and his Senſes:
" 'Tis very difficult when a Man is ſick to lift up his Head to Heaven, to raiſe himſelf, to kneel down,
" to pray, to hearken to what is taught him, to underſtand it, to make Profeſſion of it, to make an
" Agreement with God, and to renounce, as he muſt, the Devil. There is nothing but the Love of
" Licentiouſneſs that can diſſwade Men from receiving Baptiſm; becauſe the Laws of Chriſtianity pu-
" niſh Vice ſeverely, and exact of Men a moſt regular way of Living: Theſe require that we ſhould
" be upright in Heart, moderate in our Words, humble in our Thoughts and Actions, and pure in
" our Intentions. They forbid all Paſſion and Revenge, they command us to love our Enemies, to
" yield to Violence, to ſuffer Perſecution, to die to Sin, to mortifie our Body, and to be crucifi'd
" with Jeſus Chriſt. But, you will ſay, This is hard and difficult; 'Tis ſo, but what Happineſs is
" there in this World, which is eaſie to obtain? Who hath ever won the Prize without Trouble?
" Can one hope for the Reward of a brave Man by ſpending his Life in Pleaſures? Can one obtain
" the Victory without running? We muſt enter into the Kingdom of Heaven through much Trouble
" and Labour. Thoſe who do the Works of the Devil, have they leſs Trouble than we? Are they
" more exempt from Labour, *&c.*

" But, 'tis difficulty, ſay you, to preſerve the Treaſure of Grace, and the Innocence of Baptiſm:
" Muſt we then refuſe a good thing for fear of being deprived of it? If you watch over your ſelves, if
" you be conſtant in Praying, in Faſting, in Singing of Pſalms, and in the Practice of the other Ex-
" erciſes of a Chriſtian, you ſhall preſerve your Treaſure". Afterwards, he repreſents in a lively man-ner, the Remorſe which they ſhall have at the Day of Judgment, who ſhall ſee themſelves condemn'd for want of receiving Baptiſm. He repreſents the Deſpair which ſhall ſeiſe upon them; and con-cludes from all theſe Motives, that they ought quickly to purge away their Sins by Baptiſm. This Exhortation is admirably ſuited to the Chriſtians of our Age, who delay from day to day, to do pe-nance for their Sins, and forſake their Diſorders.

The 24th. Homily to Young Men, about reading Gentile Books, is very curious. He does not ab-ſolutely forbid the Reading and Study of profane Books; but he deſires, Firſt, That they would not dwell upon them, and that they would not look upon this Study as the principal Thing of their Life, but that they would be perſwaded, that the principal Knowledge is that of *working out their own Salvation*; and that this Knowledge is to be learnt in the Holy Scripture. 2. That they ſhould read profane Books with Diſcretion, and not give Attention to the Evil that is in them, but only to the Examples and Diſcourſes which may be uſeful, and which lead Men to Vertue. He relates a great Number of Examples and Inſtructions, which he drew from all ſorts of profane Authors. Theſe are all the Moral Homilies of St. *Baſil*; I have now only to ſpeak of his Panegyricks; for that of *Julita* is rather a Moral Diſcourſe than a Commendation of that Saint.

In the *Exordium* of the Panegyrick of St. *Gordus*, St. *Baſil* ſays, That Chriſtians celebrate the Feſtivals of Saints, and praiſe their Actions, to glorifie God in his Servants, to rejoice the Righteous, and to excite all the Faithful to their Imitation. He obſerves that the Saints have no need of our Praiſes; That 'tis ſufficient to relate their Lives, that ſo their Vertues may ſerve for a Pattern to others. He adds, That the Nobility of Extraction, the Family, the Education, the Maſters, are the Subject of Praiſe in profane Panegyricks; but Chriſtians have no other Subject of Praiſe, but the peculiar Vertues of thoſe whom they commend. After this, he gives an Account of the Life of St. *Gordus*. He ſays, That this Saint was of *Cæſarea*, and that he had the Command of a Hundred Men in the Emperour's Army; That in his time a furious Perſecution was rais'd againſt the Church, which St. *Baſil* deſcribes; That then this Saint of his own accord quitted his Office of Captain, and retir'd into a ſolitary Place; That after he had been there exercis'd, purified and prepared for the Combate, he came into the City one day, when all the People were aſſembled to ſee a publick Show which was preſented upon the Theatre, and declar'd who he was; That being led to the Tribunal of the Judge, he made Profeſſion of Chriſtianity; That nothing could ſhake his Conſtancy, but he went with Cou-rage to the Place of Puniſhment; and that after he was fortified with the Sign of the Croſs, he boldly receiv'd the Stroak of Death. St. *Baſil* deſcribes this Hiſtory very eloquently, and introduces this Martyr, ſaying many fine things, and well-worthy of his Conſtancy. I wonder that he did not ex-cuſe his Zeal for coming and preſenting himſelf to the Combate, which ſeem'd to be contrary to Chri-ſtian Prudence, to the Rules of the Church, and the Determinations of the Holy Fathers. 'Tis be-liev'd that this Saint ſuffer'd Martyrdom under *Licinius*.

The Hiſtory of the Forty Martyrs related in the following Homily, happen'd alſo under this Em-peror. St. *Baſil* begins it with ſaying, That the Martyrs could not be praiſed too much for the Three Reaſons which he alledg'd in the preceding Panegyrick: Firſt, Becauſe we teſtifie by this Remem-brance of thoſe who were the Servants of God, the Reſpect we owe to our common Maſter. Se-condly, Becauſe we celebrate the Praiſes of the Martyrs, that we may make our own Wills ſuffer Martyrdom. And, laſtly, That Men may be induc'd to imitate their Vertues.

St. *Baſil.*

Theſe 40 Martyrs were 40 Soldiers, who being at *Sebaſtea* during the Perſecution of *Licinius*, declar'd that they were Chriſtians. When the Governor of the City ſaw, that their Conſtancy could not be ſhaken, nor they perſuaded by fair means to change their Religion, he order'd them to be expos'd in the Night all naked to the rigor of the Air, at a time when a Pond near the City was quite frozen over: They reſolv'd all to endure this Torment with Conſtancy; but one of them being overcome by Pain, renounc'd the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, but he loſt his Soul, and could not ſave his Life; for he was no ſooner put into warm Water to bring ſome Heat into him again, but he expir'd. However, God permitted that the number of the 40 Martyrs ſhould be compleat, for one of their Guards perceiving the Angels who diſtributed to each of them a Crown, made Profeſſion of being a Chriſtian, and put himſelf in their Number, and was baptiz'd in his own Blood, and ſav'd by his Faith. The next Morning they were all burnt, and their Aſhes thrown into the River. This is the Hiſtory of the 40 Martyrs, as it is related by St. *Baſil*. 'Tis commonly believ'd that they were expos'd all Night in the Pond; But this procceds from a miſ-underſtanding of St. *Baſil*'s words, who ſays expreſly, That they were expos'd to the Air in the Middle of the City, at a time when the Pond hard by was all frozen over. 'Tis this which makes the Confuſion. He adds one notable Circumſtance, That the Mother of one of thoſe 40 Martyrs exhorted her Son to ſuffer boldly. Laſtly, he ſays, That thoſe 40 Martyrs protect the City of *Cæſarea*; That the Chriſtians can find aſſiſtance by their Prayers; That if we ſhould ardently deſire for us the Prayers of one Martyr only, we ought much more to beg the Interceſſion of 40; That whether we be in affliction, or in a joyful condition, 'tis good to have recourſe to them, either to be deliver'd from Evil, or to be continued in Proſperity; That they hear the Prayers of Mothers who pray for their Children, and of Women who pray for the Return or Health of their Husbands. Let us pray then together with theſe Martyrs, ſays he, concluding his Diſcourſe, Let us join our Prayers with theirs.

In the Panegyrick of the Martyr *Mamas*, which is the 24th. he praiſes this Holy Martyr who had been a Shepherd; ſeeing that he probably had but little to ſay of him, he enlarges in this Homily upon the Praiſes of Shepherds, and gives a Catalogue of the Great Men who had kept Flocks. Towards the end, he makes a Digreſſion againſt the *Arians*: 'Tis believ'd that this *Mamas* ſuffer'd under the Emperour *Aurelian*.

The Panegyrick upon the Martyr *Barlaam*, is a very ſhort Diſcourſe; wherein he praiſes this generous Confeſſor, who had endur'd with Conſtancy the burning of his Hand, rather than ſuffer the Incenſe to fall into a little Box, which was upon the profane Altar of an Idol.

The Aſcetical Treatiſes of St. *Baſil* are very uſeful, not only to the Monks, but alſo to all thoſe that make Profeſſion of Piety, and contain the Rules of the Morality of Jeſus Chriſt, which agree to all the World.

The three firſt Treatiſes which are at the beginning of the Aſceticks, are diſtinct Diſcourſes which have no Reference to them; though the Firſt is entituled, *A Preface to the Aſceticks*. 'Tis an Exhortation to thoſe who have embrac'd a Monaſtick Life, wherein he endeavours to perſuade them, that they are engag'd as Soldiers in a Spiritual Warfare, and that they ought to fulfill all the Obligations of it. The Second alſo, is, *An Exhortation to a Monaſtick Life*; wherein ye repreſents the Advantages of Celibacy, and of the Practices of Religion.

The Third, which is entituled, *Of a Monaſtick Life*; contains many Precepts which concern thoſe who retire from the World.

Theſe three Treatiſes are diſtinct Diſcourſes, but the two following of Faith and Judgment are the Preface, or the Firſt Book of the Aſceticks. We muſt begin with the Book of Judgment, and join to it that of Faith, which ends with a little Preface to the Aſceticks; and all theſe make only one Preface to the whole Work. He declares there, that having been educated in the Chriſtian Religion, and inſtructed from his Youth in the Doctrine of the Holy Books, when he came to the Years of diſcretion, he perceiv'd that there was much Union among the Profeſſors of Arts and Sciences; but that he found great Diviſions in the Church of Jeſus Chriſt, that he was ſometime in doubt which Party he ſhould chooſe; and that meditating upon this Subject, he came to know that the greateſt Evil was Schiſm and Diviſion, which proceeded from the Ignorance and Sin of thoſe who did not obey the Commands of God, and follow'd not his Law: That having afterwards reflected upon the terrible Judgments of God upon theſe Perſons, he believ'd himſelf oblig'd to adhere to the Faith of the Church, and to meditate on thoſe Precepts of the Holy Scripture which concern the Manners and Behaviour of Men: That being then perſuaded, that nothing but Faith working by Love, would avail any thing, he believ'd that 'twas neceſſary after the Explication of the Faith of the Church, and the Doctrine which is to be held concerning the Trinity, to write a Book of Manners.

This Concluſion of the Book of Judgment, ſhews that after it, follow'd the Treatiſe of Faith; wherein he ſays many fine things concerning the Vertue of Faith, and then expounds the Doctrine of the Church, and makes Profeſſion of the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit, whom he affirms to be of the ſame Subſtance with the Father. He exhorts thoſe to whom he wrote, to keep to the Simplicity of this Faith, which is founded upon the Authority of the Holy Scripture, and he prays God that they may always continue inviolably fix'd in it. At laſt, having explain'd this Faith, he declares, That he has collected into one Body many Precepts taken out of the New Teſtament.

Theſe Precepts are compriz'd in 80 Rules, divided into ſeveral Chapters. To theſe muſt be joyn'd the 84 Great Rules, and the 313 Small ones, which are Anſwers to ſeveral Moral Queſtions, that comprehend all that is moſt excellent in Chriſtian Morality. Theſe are they which make up the Body of St. *Baſil*'s Ethicks or Aſceticks, divided in Two Books, as we have obſerv'd. They may be conſulted

concerning

concerning all the Offices and Actions of a Christian Life. They may be useful to all States and Conditions, and one may say that St. *Basil* has there collected, and methodically digested all the Practical Part of the Gospel. Upon which Account *Photius* had Reason to say, That whosoever shall follow these Precepts, shall undoubtedly be sav'd. St. *Basil.*

The Book of the Instructions of Monks, and of Monastical Constitutions, are two Books distinct from the Asceticks, which contain many Precepts and Rules for the Monks, that are not so general, nor so useful to all the World, as the Treatise of Morality.

To know the Genius and Doctrine of St. *Basil*, we can address our selves to none better than to his faithful Friend, *Gregory Nazianzen.* See then how he speaks of him. He compares his Eloquence to a Trumpet sounding in the Air, to a Divine Word which shall be spread over the whole Earth, to a wonderful Whirl-wind raised after a very surprizing Manner. He says, That he has div'd into the most hidden Secrets of the Holy Scripture, which he has made use of to instruct all Men, and to make them lose the Relish of things present, and fall in Love only with things to come. That his Writings are the Object of the Admiration of all Persons, and the Pleasure and Study of all Men of Worth. The Authors that wrote after him, says he, say nothing but what they have drawn out of his Works: The Ancients are neglected, and nothing is minded but what he has said anew. In a word, He alone is sufficient to make an able Man.

"When I read his Treatise of the Creation, adds St. *Gregory*, methinks I am present with the "Creator; when I light upon the Books which he wrote against Hereticks, methinks I see the Fire "of *Sodom*, which reduc'd those Criminal Tongues to Ashes; when I peruse what he has written of the "Holy Spirit, I acknowledge the God whom I possess, and I make no Scruple to publish boldly the "Truth; when I read the Explications of Scripture which he has made for the Illiterate, I under-"stand the deep Abysses of Mysteries; when I hear his Panegyricks of the Martyrs, I despise my own "Body. I fansie my self present with those whom he praises, and I feel my self excited to the "Combat; when I set my self to read the Discourses which he has written concerning Morals, and "the manner of living Well, my Heart and my Soul are purified that they may become the Temple "of the Holy Spirit; they reform me, they instruct me, they change me, and lead me unto Vertue." We are not here to think, That St. *Gregory Nazianzen* in saying all this, heightned the Matter as an Orator, or flattered him as a Friend; what he says is very true; and there is not any Author whose Writings make a greater Impression than those of St. *Basil*: He describes things so lively, he explains his Reasons with so much force, he urges them so vigorously, he makes such loathsome Portraictures of Vice, such persuasive Exhortations to Vertue, he gives so large and so profitable Instructions, that 'tis impossible to read his Writings, but one must feel himself instructed and convinced of the Truth, and he cannot but conceive a Love for Vertue and a Hatred of Vice. His Discourses are not void of Thoughts, and full of Words, as for the most Part those of Orators are; but Eloquence is there joyn'd with Doctrine, they instruct, they divert, and they move at once. His Stile is pure and significant, his Expressions are lofty, his way of Writing elegant, clean and persuasive; his Discourses appear always natural, flowing gently, and without Affectation: He persuades pleasantly, he explains things with great Clearness, he knows how to give them so probable a turn, that he may be taken for a Pattern; and he comes near *Demosthenes*, and the ablest Orators of Antiquity, in the Judgment of the Learned *Photius*; and even in the Judgment of *Erasmus*, he excels the Ancient Greek Orators, and is free from their Faults. He was fit for all kinds of Writings. His Commentaries upon Scripture are most instructive and most natural: He excels in his Panegyricks. The Force and Subtilty of his Reasoning appear in his Treatises of Controvesie; His Discourses of Morality are instructive and moving. In short, tho' his Asceticks have not the same Loftiness as his other Works, yet there one may find the same Purity of Phrase, and the same Clearness; but his Method renders them sometimes a little obscure. In word, Whatever Subject he treats of, he does it always very Learnedly. He had all the Properties of a Divine, understanding perfectly the Holy Scripture, the Tradition of the Fathers, and the Canons of the Church: He was a very able Rhetorician, a very profound Philosopher, and a very subtil Logician. He understood also the Mathematicks, and his own continual Sickness made him a Physician: He understood Philological Learning to Perfection, and made use of it to very good Purpose. He knew all that was most curious in the Poets, the Historians, and profane Orators, as may appear from many places of his Writings, and chiefly from his little Tract of Reading profane Authors. In a word, that which is indeed admirable is, that he join'd with this Learning, a profound Piety, and a singular Prudence. He was sweet and affable ro all the World, charitable towards the Poor, and compassionate to others in Misery. He was accus'd of being Proud, but St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, who suspected him of this Vice, vindicates him from it in his Panegyrick. He was of a very infirm Health, and subject to many Diseases; he speaks of them in the most part of his Letters, and also in some of his Homilies. St. *Gregory Nazianzen* informs us, that he was pale, that he wore always a great Beard, that he was reserv'd in his Speech, often thoughtful and pensive, had a particular way in his Apparel, in his Bed and his Meat, which some would imitate after his Death.

The Doctrine of St. *Basil* is very Pure and Orthodox. He has explain'd the Mystery of the Trinity, against the Hereticks, clearly and beyond Contest; tho' at the beginning he was reserv'd in his Expressions about the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, yet he always own'd it, and never spoke contrary to what he thought. He never us'd any other Precaution, but to be silent upon that Point, when he thought it not necessary to speak of it, or that it would be to no purpose. He was one of those who troubled himself most to distinguish the Three *Hypostases* in God; that's to say, to prove, that *Hypostasis* and *Person* signific the same thing. As to the Mystery of the Incarnation, he acknowledg'd in

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St. *Baſil.* Jeſus Chriſt two Natures without Confuſion, and yet united in one and the ſame Perſon. He rejected the Error of the *Apollinarians* and *Theopaſſians*, and maintain'd with the Church, that the Properties of the humane Nature do by no means agree to the Divinity. He affirm'd ſeveral times, That the Cauſe and Reaſon why the Son of God was made Man, was the Salvation and Redemption of Mankind, polluted by the Sin of *Adam*. He knew the Greatneſs of that Fall, and the miſerable Effects which it produc'd, as Concupiſcence, Sickneſs, Death, *&c.* He eſtabliſh'd the Neceſſity of the Grace of Jeſus Chriſt, without which it is impoſſible to do Good. He is the only Perſon of the Greek Fathers who ſpoke moſt clearly of it, and attributed leaſt to Free-will, tho' he own'd it. He admitted the Efficacy and Neceſſity of Baptiſm: Yet he believ'd that this Sacrament might be ſupplied by Faith and Charity, and by the Baptiſm of Blood, and that it ſignified nothing, at leaſt to thoſe that had not Faith, and were not well diſpos'd to receive it: He mentions the Unction that accompany'd it, and approves the Ceremonies that were join'd with it: He call'd the Euchariſt the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt: Tho' he was of Opinion, that we ſhould communicate often, yet he requires Holy Diſpoſitions in thoſe who receive this Myſtery. He ſpeaks of the Ceremonies and Prayers that were made uſe of for the Offering, and of the Manner in which it was diſtributed to the Faithful: He obſerves, That they carri'd it and kept it in their Houſes, and that they believ'd it was always conſecrated. He commends Faſting, and ſpeaks of Lent as a Faſt to which we are oblig'd. He has alſo obſerv'd, That it was attended with Abſtinence from Meat. He ſpeaks of the Uſage of Invocating Saints and Martyrs. He is perſwaded that they pray for us, and that their Interceſſion is very profitable. He prefers Celibacy to Marriage. He approves of Vows and a Monaſtick State. He acknowledges the Authority of Traditions, as well as that of Scripture. However, he has ſome particular Opinions, as when he maintains in the Firſt Homily of the Creation, That the Angels were created long before the World; and when he affirms in another place, That all Men ſhall be purified at the Day of Judgment by Fire. But there are very few of this ſort of ſlight Errors in this Author. There were alſo ſome Expreſſions objected to him which appear'd Hyperbolical or leſs Exact; but 'tis eaſie to give them a good Sence. I ſhall not ſtay to make a larger Enumeration of his Opinions, which I have explain'd at length in the Extracts out of his Works. I conclude therefore with giving a Catalogue of the Tranſlations and Editions of the Works of this Father.

The firſt Edition of the Works of St. *Baſil* in Greek is that of *Frobenius*, printed at *Baſil* in the Year 1532. It contains the Homilies upon the Creation and the Pſalms, 29 different Homilies, the Book of the Holy Spirit, and ſome Letters. After it followed the Edition at *Venice*, made by *Sabius*, in the Year 1537. in which are added the Three firſt Books againſt *Eunomius*.

At laſt, in the Year 1551, almoſt all the Works of St. *Baſil* were printed in Greek at *Paris*, by the Care of *Janus Cornarius*; who alſo printed them in Latin by *Frobenius*, in the Year 1549.

Wolfgangus Muſculus made a New Edition at *Baſle*, in 1565, by *Oporinus*, and added the Commentaries upon *Iſaiah*, and 20 Letters. *Gothofredus Tilmannus*, a *Carthuſian* of *Paris*, was the firſt *Roman Catholick* that took pains to make a Latin Edition of St. *Baſil*'s Works. He revis'd and corrected the Verſions, and tranſlated ſome Books over again, and made a larger Latin Edition of St. *Baſil* than all the foregoing, which was printed at *Paris*, in 1566, and re-printed at *Antwerp*, in 1578, and at *Paris* by *Sonnius*, in 1603. This is the largeſt of all the Latin Editions of this Father's Writings.

The Firſt Edition in Greek and Latin was in the Year 1618. printed at *Paris* in three Volumes: In it the Greek Text was corrected by many Manuſcripts from *England*, and by ſome out of the King of *France*'s Library. At the End of the Third Volume there are the Notes of *Fronto Ducæus*, and of *Morellus*, with the various Readings, collected by *Schottus*. The laſt Edition of 1638, is not ſo fine and correct as the former: But it contains more by 200 Letters, than had ever been printed before.

Beſides theſe Editions of the moſt part or all St. *Baſil*'s Works, there are alſo ſome particular Treatiſes printed a-part, ſome in Greek and ſome in Latin, and their Editions are not to be neglected, becauſe commonly the great Editions are made from them; but 'tis difficult to gather them all together. Theſe are all that I could find. The Homilies of the Creation of *Euſtathius*'s Verſion, printed at *Paris* by *Badius*, corrected by *Faber* in 1520. Some Homilies tranſlated by *Volateranus*, printed at *Cologne* in 1531. The Aſceticks tranſlated by *Fumanus*, were printed by *Griphius* in 1540. The Rules in 1575 at *Cologne*, and all the Aſceticks in 1560. The Book of the Holy Spirit tranſlated by *Eraſmus*, at *Baſle* in 1532. The Homilies upon the Creation at *Leipſick*, in 1566. The Books againſt *Eunomius* of *Beza*'s Verſion, in 1520. The Diſcourſe of Faſting, at *Paris* in 1613, at *Rome* in 1532, by *Galeſinius*. The Homily upon the Nativity, and of Anger, in Greek, at *Paris*, in 1587. That of Drunkenneſs, at *Hanover*, in 1594. The Homily upon the 40 Martyrs, Greek and Latin, by *Stenius*, at *Heidelberg*, in 1604, and with the Notes of *Voſſius*, at *Mentz*, in 1614. The Letter of Communion is in the ſame Volume. The firſt Letter to St. *Gregory*, at *Paris*, in 1562, of *Budæus*'s Verſion. Some Greek Letters at *Venice*, in 1499. Some others, at *Paris* and *Haguenaw*, in 1528. Some ſelect Letters, by *Stenius*, at *Paris*, in 1531. A Letter to a Virgin upon her Fall, by *Cartenus*, at *Paris*, in 1574. The Canonical Epiſtles with *Balſamon*, in 1561. The Letters of *Julian*, at *Amſterdam*, in 1567. The Letter or the Treatiſe of Reading profane Authors, at *Strasburg*, in 1507; at *Baſil*, in 1532; at *Paris*, in 1533, and 1621; at *Rome*, in 1594. The Treatiſe of a ſolitary Life, at *Paris*, in 1631. The Liturgy in Latin, tranſlated by *Hervetus*, at *Venice*, in 1548, in *Octavo*: in Greek in the ſame City, in 1601, and 1620; at *Antwerp* and *Paris*, in 1560; that of *Maſius* by *Plantin*, in 1569; that of *Victorius Scialagh* the *Maronite*, at *Ausburg*, in 1604; the Grammar, at *Florence*, in 1513; at *Baſle*, 1562, and 1585, in *Octavo*. The Diſcourſes of St. *Baſil*, collected by

by *Simeon Logotheta*, or *Metaphrastes*, by *Morellus*, in 1556, 1558, and at *Franckfort*, in 1598. The Third Homily of Fasting, and the Homily upon the 8th. Chapter of the *Proverbs*, publish'd by *Cotelerius* in his First Volume of the *Greek Monuments*, and some Letters in the Third, [Dr. Hammond published a Prayer made by St. *Basil*, *for Forgiveness from God to those who have done us wrong*, in Greek, from a Manuscript in the *Bodleyan* Library, in his *Practical Catechism.*] St. *Basil.*

I have nothing further to do, but to speak a word or two of the Translators of the Works of St. *Basil*. *Ruffinus* has made in Latin an Abridgment of his Ascetical Rules. *Eustathius* and *Dionysius Exiguus* translated his Homilies upon the Creation. After them *Argyropilus* translated it a-new, and his Translation review'd by *Tilmannus*, is that which is printed in the Greek and Latin Edition. The Homilies of Fasting, and those upon *Isaiah*, and the Books of the Holy Spirit, are of *Erasmus*'s Version. The Translation of the First Homily against Covetousness is by *Volateranus*. The Book of Virginity was translated by *Ambrosius Camaldulensis*.

Beza and *Georgius Trapezuntius* translated the Books against *Eunomius*; the Ascetick are translated by *Fumancellus*; the Letters to *Amphilochius* by *Hervetus*; the Letter to *Chilo* by *Tilmannus*. The last Letters were translated by *Hoëschelius*. Father *Combefis* took care to print in 1674, the Translation of St. *Basil*'s Sermons; and it had been very happy if he could have spoken Latin as well as he understood Greek. The same Father before his Death made a Review of the Greek Text of all the Works of St. *Basil*, and their Versions, which was printed at *Paris* in 1679. This Work may be of great use for making a new Edition of St. *Basil*: It would be very advantageous to the Church, and the Commonwealth of Learning, that any one should undertake it. In general, one may say, That all the Translations which we have mention'd are full of Faults, some more, some less: Some of them must be corrected exactly, and others done a-new; the Greek Text should be review'd and corrected by many Manuscripts, and the Books ought to be rang'd almost in the same Order that we have us'd in our Extracts, and some Notes added to explain the Text, and some Observations upon the History and Discipline: 'Tis a Work that I would willingly undertake, if God should give me Strength; if I could think that it would be well receiv'd by the Publick, and that some Printer would be willing to be at the Expence of it. We see every Day multitudes of little French Books appear in Publick, and scarce any Ancient Books printed, either in Greek or Latin. The Booksellers indeed say, 'Tis not their Fault, but the Fault of the Publick, because the former sell well, and go off, and they are enrich'd by them; whereas the latter remain in their Shops, and so they are undone; the Fault therefore is to be attributed to the Giddiness of Men in this Age, who have lost all relish of Antiquity, and are pleas'd with nothing but Novelty: True and solid Learning is not in Fashion in this Age, but Men satisfie themselves with a superficial Knowledge of things: The Study of any thing that is solid is laid aside; and Antiquity is learn'd from the Moderns, and 'tis rare for any one to go up to the Fountain-head. This is a most deplorable unhappiness to Learning in general, and 'tis to be fear'd that this superficial Study of things, will throw us into a worse State, than the Ignorance and Barbarism of the preceding Ages. But since French Books sell well, the greatest part of the Letters and Moral Homilies of St. *Basil*, ought at least to be turn'd into French, which would be no less useful, and more pleasant than the Ascetical Books which have been translated by Monsieur *Hermant*, who has also written in French the Life of this Saint after a most Exact and Learned manner.

St. GREGORY NAZIANZEN.

ST. *GREGORY* of *Nazianzum*, was born in this City, in the Year 318. [He was born at *Arianzum*, a small Village near *Nazianzum*, where his Father had an Estate.] His Father, call'd *Gregory*, had been engag'd amongst some Hereticks, who were call'd *Hypsistarians*, because they profess'd to worship only the most High God, and yet they observ'd some Ceremonies of Pagans and Jews. His Wife *Nonna* converted him, and caused him to be baptiz'd by *Leontius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, about the time that the Council of *Nice* was assembled. Soon after he was chosen to be Bishop of *Nazianzum*, and govern'd that Church for the space of 45 Years. His Son *Gregory* applied himself to the Study of humane Learning; he begun his Studies in *Palestine*, and from thence went to *Alexandria*, where he studied Rhetorick, and at last to perfect himself, he went to *Athens* about the End of the Year 344. After he had stay'd there some time with St. *Basil*, he departed from thence after him to return into his own Country; where he was baptiz'd, and took Care of his Father's Affairs. After this he retir'd with his Friend St. *Basil* into some solitary Places in *Pontus*; but he was oblig'd to leave this Retirement to return home to his Father's Assistance. The old Man being surpriz'd had sign'd the *Constantinopolitan* Creed; whereupon the Monks and other Catholicks of his Bishoprick separated from his Communion, and the Division had continued, if St. *Gregory*, the Son, had not come to *Nazianzum*, and restor'd Peace there. In this Journey 'twas, that he was ordain'd Priest by his Father; and after he had reconcil'd their Minds, he return'd again to his Retirement, out of which, nevertheless, he sometimes came to preach unto the People. St. *Gregory Nazianz.*

St. *Basil* being Bishop of *Cæsarea*, ordain'd him, as we have already said, Bishop of a little City call'd *Sasima*, but he was quickly disgusted with so tedious a Habitation, and departed from it in great Anger against his Friend. [Dr. *Cave* says that he never went to see it.] He return'd to *Nazianzum*, where he was oblig'd to take Care of that Church in Conjunction with his Father, and to be as it were his Coadjutor; which he did upon Condition, that he should not be his Successor: And therefore his Father being dead, he withdrew from *Nazianzum*, lest he should be detain'd there by Force.

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He went to *Seleucia*, and from thence to *Constantinople*; where he arriv'd about the Year 376, and found the City full of *Arians*, who stirr'd up the whole City into an Uproar against him. He enter'd into the Church of *Anastasia*, which was the only Church then remaining to the Orthodox; he assum'd the Government, and took Care to instruct them, and to preserve this little Flock. Being very Eloquent, he converted in a little time a great number of *Arians*, and encreas'd the Number of Catholicks. *Peter*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, understanding this good Success of his Labours, wrote to him very honourable and candid Letters, and confirm'd him in the Bishoprick of *Constantinople*. While things were in this Condition, one *Maximus*, a *Cynick* Philosopher, attempted to get himself made Bishop of *Constantinople*; and finding a Priest that join'd with him, he gain'd *Peter* of *Alexandria*, who Ordain'd him Bishop of *Constantinople*. Thither he came afterwards in the Year 379, with some Mariners, accompanied by some Bishops of *Egypt*, and enter'd by force into the Church. The Clergy and People having a great Affection for St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, run into the Church, and drove *Maximus* out of it, who went to wait upon the Emperour *Theodosius*; but not being receiv'd favourably by him, he was forc'd to return to *Alexandria*, where he did all that lay in his Power to usurp the See of that City. But having no better Success there than at *Constantinople*, he retired into the West, and presented himself before the Council of *Aquileia*, where he shew'd the Communicatory Letters which he had from *Peter* of *Alexandria*; and the West being perfectly govern'd in all Matters relating to the East by the Church of *Alexandria*, he was kindly receiv'd there, and the Council wrote in his Favour to the Emperour.

In the mean time St. *Gregory*, who lov'd Retirement, bid adieu to his People, recommending to them, that they should keep the Doctrine of the Trinity, and remember him; but his People being resolv'd not to suffer his Departure, he was forc'd to promise them, that he would continue at *Constantinople*, till the coming of the Bishops, who were quickly to assemble there. The Emperour *Theodosius* having made his publick Entry into *Constantinople*, in the Month of *November* 380, drove away from the Churches, *Demophilus* the *Arian* Bishop, and order'd St. *Gregory* to enter into the great Church. The People urg'd him to take his place in the Episcopal Throne, but he would not do it; and to quiet the Tumult, and the Acclamations of those that were present, he told them wisely, that they must in the first place give thanks to God for the great Happiness that had befallen the Church. After this he continued in the Government of the Church of *Constantinople*, and was confirm'd in this See by the Authority of the First Council of *Constantinople*, whereof *Meletius* was President. But after his Death, the Eastern Bishops, who had hitherto maintain'd St. *Gregory*, begun to murmur against his Ordination, being dissatisfied with his opposing the Ordination of *Flavianus* in the room of *Meletius*. When he heard them speak of it, he propos'd to resign, which Proposal being receiv'd with greater Easiness than he expected, he was forc'd entirely to resign the Bishoprick of *Constantinople*. When the *Egyptians* arriv'd he did it with a great deal of Generosity, tho' he was extremely troubled to quit so dear a Church; for he never spoke of it afterwards but with Grief, and testified a kind of Indignation against those Bishops who forc'd him away from this See. He withdrew immediately to *Nazianzum*, where he died about the Year 389.

The principal Writings of this Father are his Discourses or Sermons, which are compos'd with great Art and Eloquence. We have 55 of them extant.

The *1st.* is an Apologetical Discourse, wherein he gives an Account of his retiring into *Pontus* immediately after he was ordain'd Priest, and of his return to *Nazianzum*. He fled for fear of being made Bishop, and therefore in this Discourse he blames those who would all on a sudden mount up into the Episcopal Throne, and carry on Intrigues to obtain that Dignity. *I am asham'd*, says he, *of those who being no more perfect than others, (nay, I pray God they be not worse) dare with sacrilegious Hands, and a profane Spirit approach the Holy Mysteries, and who endeavour to obtain the Sovereign Dignity of Priesthood, when they are not in a Condition even to come near to Holy Things. They push forward and involve themselves in much Trouble, that they may have access to the Holy Table, not considering it is an Employment that engages them to Vertue, but as a means to live at their own Ease: In so much that they never think of Discharging their Office after an unblameable manner, but of exercising such a Dominion as shall be subject to no body. Never did this Ambition reign more in the Church of Jesus Christ than it does at present, I know it will be in vain for us to endeavour to put a stop to it, but I count it a Duty of Piety to testifie our Detestation and Shame of it.* Afterwards he describes very eloquently, the Difficulties and Troubles of the Episcopal Office. He says, That this Office is more troublesome and painful than can be imagin'd; That 'tis a most difficult thing to govern Souls; That 'tis the greatest and rarest thing in the World, to know how to command well; That nothing is more dangerous than an Obligation to answer for others; That a Bishop ought not only to be free from Faults, but also to be very Vertuous; That he ought to be still perfecting himself from day to day, and that Vertue should be natural to him, for if it be forced it will not continue long; That the Science of governing Men without Violence and Fear is the Science of Sciences, *ars artium, scientia scientiarum*; That 'tis infinitely more difficult to cure Souls than to heal the Diseases of the Body, because the Cure of the Soul depends entirely upon the Will of the Sick; That the Physician of the Body has leave to use Iron and Fire, and the most violent Medicines, for recovering the Health of the Body; but the Love which Sinners have for themselves will not allow these sort of Remedies to be us'd, when their Souls are under Cure; That they shun them; That they are resolv'd to continue in their Sins, and are ingenious to hinder their Recovery; That they hide their Sins to excuse them, or else impudently defend them; That the Physicians of the Body know by sensible and external Signs, the Diseases which they undertake to cure; but the Physicians of Souls have invisible and hidden Maladies to heal;

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That the End of the Physician for the Body is to restore Health, which puts Men in a Condition to enjoy the Good Things and the Pleasures of this World; but on the contrary the Design of the Spiritual Physician is to withdraw Men's Affections from this World, and fix them upon God; That for this End God was made Man, and suffered so much upon Earth. From all this he concludes, That the Profession of a Spiritual Physician is more difficult than the Practice of an ordinary Physician. He adds also to prove the same thing, the great Diversity of Spiritual Diseases, and the different Dispositions of those who are to be cur'd, who require an infinite number of different Remedies. "Some, says he, will be reform'd by Discourse, and others by Example; Some must be push'd "forward and others kept back; Praises are useful to some, but others have need of Rebukes; Some "must be Exhorted, and others must be Chid; Some must be Reproved in Secret, and others in Pub- "lick; Some must be severely Punish'd for small Faults, and others must be gently Handled; Some "must be Frighted with the fear of the Judgment of the Great Day, and others must be Allur'd with "hopes of Mercy: In a word, Great Moderation must always be observed, and all Excess avoided. "Lastly, He represents the Difficulties of discharging the Duty of Preaching as we ought, which he "calls the First and Principal Employment of the Ministers of Jesus Christ." He says, That all the World undertakes to Preach, and yet 'tis a folly to believe that all those who undertake it are capable of it; That this Sacred Ministry requires a sublime Soul, a perfect Knowledge of the Doctrines of the Church, and a very good discerning Faculty. He declaims against those who thrust themselves into this Ministry, before they have meditated long upon the Holy Scripture and studied their Religion. He proposes as a Pattern to Preachers, the great Apostle St. *Paul*; he collects together a great many Passages of Holy Scripture against False Prophets, against Priests that are unworthy of their Function, and against those that abuse the Word of God: he does not forget the Charge which Jesus Christ draws up against the Pharisees; That they were like painted Sepulchers which appear'd outwardly very Fair, but inwardly were full of Filthiness; and then he makes this Important Reflection. "This, says he, is what I think upon Day and Night: These are the Thoughts which macerate me, "which consume and confound me. I am so far from dreaming of Governing others, that I think "of nothing but appeasing the Wrath of God, and purifying my self from my own Faults. One "should be pure himself before he undertakes to purify others; he should be fill'd with Wisdom, be- "fore he attempts to Instruct others; he must have Light that he may be able to Communicate of it "to others; he must not be far from God, who would draw others to him; he must be Holy, that "he may Sanctify others; he must be Prudent that he may give them Advice. But when shall "we be so, will the People say that are always ready to undertake every thing, who build those "Buildings slightly which presently fall down again? When will you place your Lamp upon a Can- "dlestick? When will you improve your Talent? This is what they say who have more Friendship "for me than Piety. You ask me when I shall be in a Condition to Guide others: I tell you, That "the oldest Age is not too long a Term to prepare ones self for so Excellent and so Difficult an Em- "ployment? That 'tis better to be slow than forward in this Case; That tho' I have been Conse- "crated to God from my Infancy, tho' I have Meditated from my Youth upon the Law of God, "tho' I have been Exercis'd in the Practice of Vertue, yet I acknowledge my self altogether unca- "pable of Governing a Church, chiefly at a time when the best thing a Man can do is to shun it, "that he may escape the Tempest, wherein all the Members of the Church are divided, Charity "seems to be wholly extinguish'd, Bishops have but the empty Names of Bishops, all the World "publickly slights them, and some defame them; there is no Fear of God remaining, but Impu- "dence reigns every where, and 'tis counted a piece of Piety to treat others as Impious. Our "Judges are Enemies to God, Holy Things are trampled under Foot, and the Mysteries are laid "open to the Prophane; Strangers and Infidels, who were not permitted to enter into our Churches, "do now come even into the Sanctuary. The Gate is opened to Detraction and Calumny, and he "that Rails best at his Neighbour, passes for the honestest Man. The Faults of others are observ'd, "not to bewail them, or bring a Remedy to them; but, on the contrary, to make such bloody Re- "proaches as increase the Wickedness of those who have committed them. Men are not judg'd Good or "Evil by their Vertues or Vices, but by the Friends they have on their side. The same thing is "prais'd to Day and blam'd to Morrow; some admire what others detest, and all their Sins are easily "pardon'd who are willing to embrace Impiety. This is the height of Iniquity to which we are "arriv'd: But 'tis not the People only who are thus disorderly, but the Curse of the Prophet seems "to be fulfil'd, *The Priest is become like the People.*" After this he deplores the Misery of the Catholicks, who were divided, and contended about useless and trivial Questions. He observes, That one is oblig'd, when the Faith is the Matter under debate, both to separate from those who teach Impiety, and to suffer any thing rather than approve it; but that it is a folly to break the Peace, and stir up troubles about Questions which are not of Faith. At last he returns to his Subject, and having represented the Dangers which one runs in the Priestly Office, the Difficulty there is of discharging it well, and the terrible Judgments of God upon those that perform it amiss; he concludes, That he had reason to preferr a Solitary Life, Calm and Free from Cares, to a Life full of Troubles and Dangers. But after he has justified his Retiring, he gives the Reasons why he returned into his own Country. The First is the Affection and Friendship which he had for his Country-men. The Second is the Assisting of his Father and Mother. The Third which he explains by the Comparison of *Jonas*, is his Fear lest he should resist the Will of God, who seem'd to call him to the Priestly Function. Here he gives two admirable Rules about the Conduct which Men ought to observe, either for avoiding or accepting of Sacred Orders: He says, We must be afraid of engaging our selves rashly; but then we must also be afraid of refusing the Call of God, and that we may keep the middle between

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theſe two Extremes, we muſt be of ſuch a diſpoſition, that we neither ſeek after Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, nor refuſe them when they are offer'd, if we know our ſelves capable. That 'tis Raſhneſs to ſeek after them, and Diſobedience to refuſe them; but we muſt neither Condemn thoſe who ſhun them for fear, not thoſe who accept them from a Principle of Obedience; That the Dignity of the Prieſthood aſtoniſhes ſome, and others truſt to the Aſſiſtance of him who calls them; That *Abraham* obeyed readily; That *Moſes* refuſed to obey; That *Iſaiah* immediately obeyed the Command of God, who ordered him to Propheſie, but *Jeremiah* excuſed himſelf from doing it by Reaſon of his Youth. " Theſe reaſons, adds he, charm me, they bend my Soul, they ſoften my Heart, I can no " longer reſiſt, but I humble my ſelf under the Almighty Hand of God, and accuſe my ſelf of Sloth " and Negligence: If there was any Fault in it I beg Pardon; I have been Silent, but I ſhall not al- " ways hold my Peace; I have now retired to conſider my ſelf, and to indulge a little to my Grief; " but I will now praiſe God in the Aſſemblies of his People; I will be yours, my Brethren; I will be " yours, O Holy Flock; I ſubmit to you, my Father, I offer you the ſacrifice of Obedience; but give " me your Bleſſing, guide me by your Prayers, lead me the way by your Judgment: Let us beg of God " all the Graces Neceſſary to Conduct the Flock together in the way of Eternal Salvation." He wrote this Diſcourſe at his leiſure time, about the Year 362.

The 2d. Diſcourſe of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, is upon the *Nazianzenes* neglecting to come to hear him Preach, when upon their Invitation he had left his Solitude to live among them; he complains of their Negligence, and deſires them to behave themſelves anſwerably to the Affection that he had for them. St. *Gregory* preach'd this Sermon immediately after he was Ordain'd Prieſt in the Year 362.

The 3. Diſcourſe is againſt the Emperour *Julian*, where he employs all the Torrents of his Eloquence. He obſerves, That this Emperour did in vain endeavour to hinder the Chriſtians from Studying good Learning, and applying themſelves to the Liberal Sciences, ſince this could not hinder them from Confeſſing the Name of God. He bewails the Unhappineſs of thoſe who were overcome by the Perſecution of this Emperour; he praiſes the Providence of God who had deſtroy'd him. He relates that *Gallus* and *Julian* having undertaken each of them to build a Church in honour of the Martyrs, this laſt could not compaſs his Deſign, and that his Structure fell down while it was a-building, which St. *Gregory* does not fail to attribute to the Vengeance of God, who would not ſuffer the Martyrs to be honoured by him who was to make ſo many himſelf. He ſays, That while *Julian* follow'd the Study of Learning he diſcover'd what he had in his Mind; That he diſputed eagerly for the Pagan Opinions; That he loved every thing which alienated Men from the Chriſtian Religion, and that he did not conceal his opinions from thoſe that were inclined to the ſame Impiety with himſelf. That after his Brother *Gallus* was Created *Cæſar*, all *Aſia* was a School of Impiety to him; That he had the moſt pernicious and dangerous Maſters, that he could find out, and that he buſied himſelf in Magick.

St. *Gregory* declaims againſt *Conſtantius*, and accuſes him in a Rhetorical way for leaving the Empire to *Julian*. But he excuſes him afterwards, to whom he gives exceſſive Praiſes, by ſaying, That he was Surpriz'd; That he gave way too much to his own Goodneſs and Natural Eaſineſs; and that in ſhort, It was not in his Power to hinder *Julian* from being Emperour, who ſeized the Government againſt his Will; That he revolted from him, and that *Conſtantius* was troubled at his Death; That he had even raiſed *Julian* to the Dignity of *Cæſar*. He ſays, That after *Julian* had uſurp'd the Empire, he perfectly declar'd againſt Chriſtianity; That he effac'd his Baptiſm, by impure Blood, and profan'd his Hands by Sacrifices, as if it were to waſh and purify them from the unbloody Sacrifice of Chriſtians, by which they partake of the Body, the Divinity and Sufferings of Jeſus Chriſt. He relates, That one Day this impious Man while he was Sacrificing, ſaw a Croſs encircling the Entrails of the Sacrifices; That at another time, having entred into a ſubterraneous Place to Conſult with the Devil, being frighted with the Noiſe which he heard in the Cave, and the Spectres which he ſaw, he made the Sign of the Croſs without thinking of it; That at this Wonder-working Sign, all the Devils fled and the Noiſe ceas'd. Then St. *Gregory* deſcribes the Arts which *Julian* uſed againſt the Chriſtians. He ſays, That *Julian* being perſwaded that open Perſecutions did only encreaſe the Conſtancy of Chriſtians, and that the Martyrs did Honour to their Religion, he had recourſe to Impoſtures and Tricks; That he allow'd the People to Abuſe and uſe Violence to the Chriſtians, and reſerved to himſelf the ways of moderation to allure and perſwade them; That he changed his Court, and gain'd the Souldiers over to his ſide; That he removed Chriſtians from all Offices, that he entic'd ſome by Hope of Rewards, and ſeduc'd others; That he ſent ſome of them into Baniſhment, and in ſpite of his affected Gentleneſs he had exerciſed the greateſt Cruelties upon others. He adds, That this Tyrant had a Deſign to ſhut out Chriſtians from all Protection of the Law, and to forbid them to make uſe of it, alledging this for a reaſon, That their Law commanded them to bear Injuries patiently, and to render Evil for Good.

St. *Gregory* anſwers this Raillery, by ſaying, That if Chriſtians had a Law which oblig'd them to bear with Evil, yet there was no Law in the World which permited any to do it. And beſides that, there were among Chriſtians Two ſorts of Precepts; that ſome of them do ſo oblige, that it is abſolutely neceſſary to obey them; but there are others which do not oblige, but Chriſtians are free to fulfil or not fulfil them; that all the World cannot arrive at that perfection which conſiſts in the obſervation of Evangelical Counſels, and that one may be ſav'd, by obſerving only what is commanded as neceſſary to be done. In this place he makes a Digreſſion about the Moderation which Chriſtians obſerv'd when they were in Power, and this he oppoſes to the Cruelties which the Pagans have exercis'd. *There was a Time*, ſays he to the Pagans, *when we had the Authority in our Hands as well*

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as you; but what have we done to those of your Religion, which comes near to what the Christians have suffer'd from you? Have we taken your Liberty from you? Have we stirr'd up the Fury of the Mobile *against you? Have we put Governours in places on purpose to condemn you to punishment? Have we attempted the Life of any Person? Have we remov'd any Body from the Magistracy, or from their Offices? In a word, Have we done any of those things to you which you have made us suffer, and which you have threatned against us;* I cannot conceive how St. *Gregory* could reconcile all these things with what he had said before, that *Constantius* did very ill to suffer *Julian* to live, and leave the Empire to him, because he was an Enemy to the Christian Religion, and was to Persecute it; and that in this, *Constantius* made a very ill use of his Gentleness and Goodness. Afterwards he speaks of the Prohibition which *Julian* had given to Christians, to study humane Learning. *It belongs to us,* says he, *to Discourse, it belongs to us to understand the Greek Tongue, as it belongs to us to Adore the Gods: But as for you, Ignorance and Barbarism is your Portion; and all your Wisdom consists in saying, I believe.* St. *Gregory* answers him, that the *Pythagoreans* who had no other Reason to give for what they Affirm'd, but the Authority of their Master, would not have jested in that manner, upon what the Christians answer when they are askt about their Doctrine, *This is what I believe*; that this only signifies, that 'tis not lawful to doubt of what is written by Persons Divinely inspir'd, and that their Authority is of greater force than all the Reasons and Arguments of the World; but that it does not follow from thence, that Eloquence, Terms, of Art, and Skill in Languages, belong only to those who profess to acknowledge many Gods: "For, says he, if this be so, either the Greek Tongue is confin'd to the Religion, or to the Nation: It cannot be said, that 'tis confin'd to the Pagan Religion; for, Where is "that Commanded? Who are the Priests that have enjoyn'd us to study humane Learning as an Action of Religion; Neither can it be said that 'tis confin'd to the Nations that profess to Adore false "Gods: For it will not follow, because the Greek Tongue has been us'd among those that profess the "Pagan Religion, that therefore it is so confin'd to them who profess that Religion, that others cannot make use of it, This is as if one should say, that working in Gold cannot be exercis'd but by "Painters, because there were some Painters that were Goldsmiths likewise: He concludes, that "Languages cannot be confin'd to a Profession, nor an Art, nor a Religion, but that they are common to "all those that can make use of them." He adds several Curiosities about the Invention of Letters and Sciences, about the Origin of Sacrifices, about Pagan Ceremonies, and the infamous Actions which the Poets attributed to their false Gods. He occasionally answers an Excuse which the Pagans make to cover the Folly of their Poets, alledging, that they invented what they said concerning their Divinities to please the people, but that under these Veils there was a secret Sence and hidden Mystery. St. *Gregory* confesses, that there may be in Religion hidden Mysteries, and such Discourses as all the World does not understand; and he acknowledges, that there are some of this nature among Christians; but then he maintains, that the Veils, Representations, the Appearances, and the Figures which conceal these Mysteries and Truths, ought to have the Character of Honesty and not of Infamy: That otherwise this was to do like one that would conduct a Man to a fine City through a Bog, or that would bring a Man into Harbour, by leading him over the Rocks: And besides, that there was no Example produced by the Poets which excited to Vertue, but on the contrary, they inclin'd all Men to Vice, whereas the Christian Religion teaches nothing but Vertue and Perfection.

St. *Gregory* Nazianz.

The 4th. Oration is also an Invective against *Julian.* There St. *Gregory* represents the visible Judgments which God had made use of to punish his Impiety, as well as the sensible manner of protecting his Church, and defeating the Designs of this impious Man. He relates first, that when *Julian* would have had the Jews rebuild the Temple of *Jerusalem*, there arose such a Storm as drove away those that undertook the Work, and that having retir'd into a neighbouring Temple, there came forth a Fire which consum'd them. He adds, that there appear'd a Sign of the Cross in the Heavens, which was a Mark of the Victory which Jesus Christ had gotten over these Impious Men; and that all those who saw it, or spoke of it, found their Clothes mark'd with this Sign. He says, that this Miracle, was so publick, that many who saw it embrac'd immediately the Christian Religion, and were Baptiz'd.

But if the Power of God appear'd in this Miracle, his Vengeance clearly appeared in the miserable Death of *Julian.* Before he departed to march against the *Persians*, he made a Vow, That if he return'd Conqueror, he would reduce all Christians under the Power of the Devil: But God who confounds the Designs of the Wicked, did not suffer him to return from this Journey. For being unseasonably engag'd, he found himself incompass'd with the Army of his Enemies, and having mounted up into a high place to discover it, he receiv'd a stroke of which he died. St. *Gregory* says, that some reported that he was pierced thorow by a Dart from his Enemies, and others, that it was done by one of his own Souldiers, or that one of his own People thrust him thorough with a Sword. He observes, that at his Death he would have it believ'd that he was become a God, and that he order'd his most faithful Friends to throw his Body into the River, to make it believ'd that he was rank'd among the Gods; but this was not put in execution. St. *Gregory* afterwards makes a Comparison between the Funeral Pomp of *Constantius* and *Julian*; wherein he observes that the Funeral of *Constantius* was accompanied with the Ceremonies of the Church, with the Publick Prayers sung in the Night-time, with Wax-lights and the other Honours which Christians were wont to pay unto the dead. He excuses this Emperour, as to the Suspicion of *Arianism*, and throws all the Fault upon the Great Officers of his Court. He affirms also, that after his Death, Angelical Voices were heard to celebrate his Praises. He describes the Manners, the Temper, and the Vices of *Julian.* He says, that he always had a bad Opinion of him; he makes a very disadvantageous Representation of him; he admires the Providence of God, who reliev'd his Church, heard her Prayers, and confounded the Designs of the Pa-

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gans; yet he deplores their Miſery; he exhorts Chriſtians who enjoy Repoſe at preſent, to remember the time of their Affliction, and to conſider it as a Warning from God, that they ſhould ſin no more. Upon this Occaſion he deſcends to Morality, and exhorts the Chriſtians to whom he ſpeaks, to Celebrate the Feſtivals after a Chriſtian Manner, and to bear Injuries patiently. About the End of this Diſcourſe he returns to his Subject, and invective againſt *Julian*. Theſe Diſcourſes were written ſome years after the Death of *Julian*; and they contain more Strokes of Eloquence than Principles of Theology and Morality.

The 5th. Diſcourſe is an Apology addreſs'd to his Father upon his Retirement. He confeſſes, that he had retir'd for love of a ſolitary Life, but that the Friendſhip he had for his Father, and the Reſpect he ow'd to his old age, had oblig'd him to return. He ſays, that his Father call'd him back, that he might aſſiſt him in the Government of his Dioceſs, and for that end had given him the Unction of Holy Orders. This Diſcourſe was in the Year 362.

The 6th. Diſcourſe was ſpoken before St. *Gregory Nyſſen*, who was come to ſee St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, ſometime after he was ordain'd Biſhop of *Saſima*. He complains in the beginning of this Diſcourſe, that St. *Baſil* had in a manner violated the Laws of Friendſhip, by obliging him to accept of this new Biſhoprick. About the end, he exhorts thoſe that heard him, to purify themſelves from their Sins, and to ſubdue their Paſſions, in imitation of the holy Martyrs whoſe Feſtival they Celebrated. He ſays, that the beſt way of Solemnizing their Feſtivals, and the greateſt Honour they could do them, was to live Regularly and Holily. He declaims againſt the Exceſſes, and Buſineſs that was done at the Aſſemblies on theſe Feſtivals. He praiſes the Martyrs, and gives them the Title of Mediators. He concludes with praying to God, to perfect the great Flocks, and preſerve the little ones, and to comfort him by his Grace, and guide him by his Illumination, and aſſiſt him in feeding the Flock of Jeſus Chriſt. 'Tis plain, that this Diſcourſe was ſpoken by St. *Gregory* in the Year 371, at a ſolemn Feſtival of ſome Martyrs, after St. *Baſil* had Ordain'd him Biſhop of *Saſima* in the Year 371.

The following Diſcourſe which was ſpoken before St. *Gregory* the Father, and St. *Baſil*, was alſo at the ſame time, and upon the ſame Subject. He declares with what Difficulty he had accepted the Biſhoprick of *Saſima*, and prays them to aſſiſt him with their Prayers and advices in the Government of his Dioceſs.

In the 8th. Homily, he directs his Diſcourſe to the People of *Nazianzum*, about his Father's chooſing him to be his Coadjutor. In it he repreſents the Obligation that lies upon one to do Service to the Church, when he is capable of doing it; and repeats again the Rule which he had propos'd in his firſt Diſcourſe, That we ought not to ſeek after Offices, but neither ſhould we refuſe them, when we are call'd to them, and they do not exceed our Abilities. He adds, that he intended now to joyn with his Father, to take care of the Church of *Nazianzum*, but that he would by no means be oblig'd to ſucceed him, and that no body could ever force him to it. That thoſe who Command muſt do it voluntarily, as thoſe who Obey muſt obey willingly, *ut volentes volentibus præſint; which is moſt* neceſſary, ſays he, amongſt the Clergy, where we do not uſe Dominion, but Inſtruction. *Volentium enim non coactorum, pietatis ſacramentum eſt.* This Diſcourſe was in the Year 372.

In the 9th. Diſcourſe which was at the ſame time, he ſpeaks to the People of *Nazianzum*, in the preſence of a Magiſtrate, who took care to make an Aſſeſſment of the Taxes. In it, he firſt gives the Reaſon of his Silence, and then exhorts Chriſtians to withdraw their Affections from the things of this World, and to labour only for Eternity, by purifying themſelves with good Works. He recommends to Paſtors to take care of their Sheep; and to the faithful, to ſubmit themſelves to their Paſtors. He admoniſhes the Men of Learning, not to truſt to their Knowledge and Eloquence, not to affect Knowledge more than is neceſſary, not to graſp at all Learning, but only ſo much as may ſerve them for teaching Truth and Righteouſneſs.

After this, he addreſſes himſelf to the Judge, and tells him, That *we muſt render to Cæſar the Things that are Cæſar's, and to God, the Things that are God's*; that's to ſay, that we muſt render to *Cæſar* the Tribute that belongs to him; and to his Miniſters, the rewards which the Law has appointed them; and that more than that does not belong to them. He prays him in particular, to treat his People with Gentleneſs and Humanity in the Aſſeſſment which he was to make. He makes a pleaſant Obſervation, that Jeſus Chriſt came into the World at a time when a Tax was made, or an Aſſeſſment of all the Inhabitants of the Earth, to ſhew that God is always preſent at thoſe Actions; that he was made Man, and did himſelf pay Tribute to comfort thoſe that are in Bondage, and to teach them to bear it patiently: But withal, that by thus abaſing himſelf, he taught the Kings and Potentates of the Earth, to treat thoſe that are ſubject to them with Mildneſs and Moderation: That Servitude it ſelf was a Burden heavy enough, which ſhould not be encreas'd by Rigour; that Tribute was an effect of the firſt Man's Sin, becauſe War which occaſion'd Tribute, was a Conſequence of the firſt Sin, and a juſt puniſhment of God; but that it ought not to be augmented by over-charging and ill uſing the Miſerable. He adds, that God makes in the other Life a Book, or, if it be lawful to uſe the Term, a Roll, where in all Men are ſet down, without any diſtinction of their State and Condition: That there Men ſhall be treated after the ſame manner, as they have treated others; and that if the Judge to whom he Addreſſes his Speech, would we favourably treated there, he muſt treat his People favourably and civilly. After he has ſpoken to him with this freedom, he beſtows many Commendations upon him; and prays him to exempt the Poor, the Clergy, and the Monks. *Theſe Men*, ſays he of the laſt, *who are no ways allied to this Earth, who have nothing but their Bodies, and do not ſo much as poſſeſs that entirely, who have nothing for Cæſar, and have all for God*, that's to ſay, *who can give nothing but Prayers, Hymns, Watchings and Tears, of which ſeizure cannot be made: Theſe Men, I ſay,*

who

who are dead to this World, that they may live to Jesus Christ, who have crucified their Flesh with Jesus Christ, and even parted, as one may say, their Soul from their Body. This is an excellent Description of the ancient Monks, which gives us a great *Idea* of their Poverty, and how much they were disengaged from the World. St. *Gregory Nazianz.*

The 10*th.* Discourse of *Gregory Nazianzen* is a Funeral Oration upon his Brother *Cæsarius*, wherein he relates his principal Actions, and makes a Panegyrick upon them. In it he commends him, and comforts his Father and Mother. He observes that the same Ceremony is renewed every Year for the Dead. Towards the end, he discourses of the State of the Souls of the Just, from the time of their Death until the Day of Judgment. He says, that he was inform'd by the Discourses of the Learn'd, that holy Souls which are acceptable to God, being deliver'd from the Bands of this Body, feel an ineffable Joy and Pleasure, by considering the Blessedness which they are one day to receive; that they go directly to God, and that they know already, as it were in an Image and Representation, the Happiness they shall receive after the Resurrection of the Body. He adds, That he had often seen in a Dream his Brother all over Glorious: *Whether it was,* says he, *that the Imagination represented him thus, or that this Apparition was real.* He concludes with a Moral Discourse, wherein he shews, that we ought to be so far from Mourning for the Dead, that we ought rather to mourn for our selves, and sigh, because we continue so long upon Earth. He wrote this Discourse sometime after the Death of his Brother, which happen'd in 368.

The 11*th.* Discourse is a Panegyrick upon his Sister St. *Gorgonia*, who died sometime after her Brother. In it he has given an excellent Description of her Vertues, of her Prudence and Wisdom in the Government of her Family; of her Humility, her Zeal, her Charity to the Poor; of her Care for Adorning Churches, her Mortifications, her Diligence in Prayer, her Submission to the Will of God, her Constancy in her Sickness, and her Manner of Dying, which was worthy of a Christian. He observes, that she was baptiz'd a little before she died; but that she had led so holy a Life, that Baptism did not confer any Grace upon her, but was only the Seal of those Graces which she had receiv'd. Yet we must not believe that she was not baptiz'd till her last Sickness; for St. *Gregory* says, that in a former Sickness, when she saw that the Remedies which were us'd, gave her no Relief, she went into the Church, and there having pray'd near the Altar, she mingled with her Tears (what she had reserv'd of the Antitypes of the precious Body and Blood of Jesus Christ) and that she was cur'd immediately. This Action, which St. *Gregory* calls a *pious piece of Impudence*, shews that she was baptiz'd some time before her last Sickness. Towards the end of this Panegyrick, he describes the happy State of just Souls which are departed out of this Life; he makes no doubt but they enjoy the Company of Angels, and a most perfect Knowledge of the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity. This Discourse was spoken about 370.

The following Discourse is about the Reconciliation of the Monks of *Nazianzum* with his Father, which was made, as we have said, about the Year 363. He congratulates their Re-union, and proves the Usefulness and Necessity of Peace. See how he describes the Habit of Monks, and the Austerity of their Life: "All that I have seen, says he to them, brings to my Remembrance upon the account "of this Fraternal Division, your Watchings, your Fastings, your Prayers, your Tears, your Knees "harden'd with bearing the weight of your Bodies, your beating of your Breasts, your deep Sighs, "your Tears shed in singing forth continually the Praises of God, your Hair cut short and neglected, "your naked Feet, your Habits which have nothing of Pride, your Girdle which adorns without be-"ing an Ornament, your short Cloaks button'd back, that bold Gate, that modest Eye, that plea-"sant Smile, that calm Discourse, that Silence which is more instructive than all Discourse, those re-"gular Austerities, those Riches in Poverty, that Glory under Contempt.

The 13*th.* Discourse is also about the Benefits of Peace. In this, as well as the preceding Discourse, he makes some Digressions about the Faith of the Church against Hereticks, and he concludes this with a Prayer for their Conversion.

The 14*th.* is upon the same Subject, where he speaks against the Errour of *Apollinarius.*

The 15*th.* was preach'd after a great Hail, which fell in *Pontus* in the Year 372, which wholly ruin'd the Country. In it he exhorts the People of *Nazianzum*, to acknowledge that this Judgment was a just Punishment of their Sins; that they ought to consider God as full of Mercy, when they compare it with the Vengeance which God will inflict upon the Reprobate in the other World. He sets down in particular, some of those Sins which God has punish'd by this Scourge, as the Oppression of the Poor, whose Goods were seiz'd upon either by Fraud or Violence, the Usury whereby they had enrich'd themselves and robb'd the Poor, their Forgetfulness of God, their Rigour towards the Poor, the Contempt which they had shown of the Exhortations of their Preachers, their vain Confidence in Riches, the Covetousness of the Rich, which inclines them to keep up their Corn in their Granaries, that they may sell it dear in a time of Scarcity, their sumptuous Apparel and Houshold Furniture. He exhorts them all to implore the Mercy of God towards 'em, by their publick Prayers, their Fasting, their Penance, and their giving of Alms. He ends this Discourse with praying his Father to appease the Wrath of God by his Prayers, and to beg of him Food for the Body, after he has pray'd for the Food of the Soul.

The 16*th.* Discourse of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, is a famous Oration of the Love of the Poor and of Poverty. He wrote it particularly in favour of the Poor in the Hospital, which St. *Basil* had built in *Cæsarea*, and he spoke it at some solemn Festival about the Year 363. He shews in this Discourse that the Love of the Poor and Poverty is a most excellent Vertue: After this he describes in a most pathetical manner, the miserable State of the Poor and Sick: He proposes very pressing Motives with a great deal of Eloquence, for touching the Heart of the Rich, and inclining them to assist the Poor and Sick; and he urges with much Clearness and Strength, the most convincing Reasons for perswading them

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them that they are oblig'd to it. He concludes with ſaying, that Alms-giving is not only a Duty of Piety, but of Neceſſity; that it is not only a Counſel, but alſo a Precept.

The 17*th.* Diſcourſe is about ſome Differences that happen'd at *Nazianzum*, between the People and the Governour. St. *Gregory* appeaſes the People in the firſt part of this Diſcourſe, and exhorts them to ſubmit without fear to the Orders of the Governour; and in the ſecond part, he ſpeaks to the Governour with a wonderful Frankneſs, to incline him to Mildneſs and Clemency. He tells him, that he ſhould not take it ill that he ſpoke to him with freedom; that the Law of God ſubjects him to the Commandment of his Biſhop. "For, ſays he, the Church has an Authority of her own, which is "far greater and more excellent than that of Princes, unleſs you will ſubject the Spirit to the Fleſh, "and Heaven to Earth. He adds, that he did not doubt but he would take in good part the Liberty "wherewith he ſpoke, ſince he was one of the Sheep of his Flock. I will not therefore, ſays he, make a "long Diſcourſe. You command by Jeſus Chriſt; 'tis by him that you exerciſe your Authority; 'tis he "who has given you the Sword that you carry; but he has not given you ſo much Power for any other "end, but to terrifie the Wicked, and threaten them with Puniſhments. Take care then that you "preſerve this Truſt with Purity: You are the Image of God, but ſo are all Men in ſome ſenſe. They "are all your Brethren, have compaſſion on them, imitate the Mercy of God, join Mildneſs with Ter-"rour, temper your Threatnings by giving ſome hopes; many times Men compaſs their Deſigns bet-"ter by Gentleneſs than by Violence." He uſes many other Arguments of this Nature, to mollifie the Wrath of this Governour, whoſe Threatnings had frightned the People of *Nazianzum*. At laſt, he ſays, that if theſe Reaſons did not move, but ſtill he ſhould want ſome more powerful Motive, that he would take the Boldneſs to offer him Jeſus Chriſt, and thoſe Myſteries of Salvation which he communicated with the ſame Mouth with which he now deſired this Favour: In ſhort, he conjures him to grant this Favour to the Church of Jeſus Chriſt, and to conſider, that God will treat him after the ſame manner, as he ſhall treat thoſe who are ſubject to his Dominion. This Diſcourſe is a Maſterpiece of Eloquence, which ſeems to have been recited in the Year 372.

The 18*th.* Sermon is the Panegyrick of St. *Cyprian*, the Martyr. There are in this Panegyrick ſome things that relate to the Life of St. *Cyprian*, Biſhop of *Carthage*, as what concern'd his Studies, his Learning, his Accompliſhments, his Baniſhment and his Death: But there are other Circumſtances which cannot agree to him, as when he obſerves, that he of whom he ſpeaks was a Senator, who made Love to a Chriſtian Lady of Quality, call'd *Juſtina*; that he would have made uſe of Magick to corrupt her; but this Lady having recourſe to Jeſus Chriſt, and the Virgin *Mary*, to be deliver'd from this Perſecution, the Devil entered into the Body of St. *Cyprian*, who was not diſpoſſeſs'd till his Converſion. 'Tis certain that this Accident, and ſome others which St. *Gregory Nazianzen* relates in this Diſcourſe, happen'd not to the Biſhop of *Carthage*: And yet he does expreſly declare, that he of whom he ſpeaks was Biſhop of that City. It muſt therefore be owned, that St. *Gregory* compos'd this Panegyrick out of ſome falſe Memoirs, wherein theſe Circumſtances were added to adorn the Life of this Holy Martyr by a pleaſant Story: Howſoever, St. *Gregory* greatly values this Hiſtory, and beſtows many Praiſes upon the Holy Martyr, whom he deſigns to commend. He ſays, that his Aſhes wrought abundance of Miracles, and he exhorts his Hearers to honour this Saint by their Vertues and their good Works. He concludes with a Prayer, which he addreſſes to him, wherein he deſires his Aſſiſtance and Protection for governing his Flock, and conducting thoſe of whom he had the Charge. This Diſcourſe ſeems to have been written when St. *Gregory* was Coadjutor to his Father, that is to ſay, about the Year 372.

The 19*th.* Diſcourſe of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, is a Funeral Oration upon his Father, which he ſpoke in the preſence of his Mother and St. *Baſil*. He addreſſes his Speech to St. *Baſil* after this manner: "You cannot be come to *Nazianzum* but for Three Reaſons; To ſee us, to viſit the Flock, "and to provide a Paſtor for it. You will ſatisfie the firſt by your good Offices in comforting us with "a Funeral Oration, wherein you may celebrate the Vertues of my Father, and at the ſame time "ſhew us, that we muſt deſpiſe this Mortal Life, and look upon Death as an aſſured Harbour, which "ſhelters us from the Storms and Tempeſts of this Mortal Life. Thus you may comfort us: But "how will you comfort this Flock? You may do it, Firſt, by promiſing that you will take upon "you the Care of Governing it: Secondly, by ſhowing that we are not abandon'd by this good Pa-"ſtor, and by perſwading us that he is with us, that he is here preſent, that he ſtill watches over his "Flock, that he takes care of it, protects and defends it. For I do not doubt (they are his own words) "but he being now much nearer to God, does a great deal more for his Flock by his Interceſſion, than "he did upon Earth by his Teaching." After this he gives us an account of his Father's Life, and makes a Panegyrick upon his Vertues: Neither does he forget thoſe of his Mother *Nonna*, whom he comforts towards the end of his Diſcourſe, by letting her ſee that ſhe ought not to value this Life, nor fear Death, and by promiſing to aſſiſt her all the reſt of her Days. It ſeems that all St. *Gregory*'s Brethren were dead, and that he was left alone. There are many remarkable things in this Oration of St. *Gregory*, but chiefly what he ſays his Father's Celebrating the Euchariſt, tho' he were ſick; and that one day when he was in his Bed, he conſecrated the Elements which were upon the Altar before the People, repeating as little of the Prayers as he could; and that having pronounc'd the Words of the Conſecration of the Euchariſt, and given the People the Bleſſing, he lay down upon his Bed again. What he ſays of Elections, is alſo of great conſequence to Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline. He declares, that his particular Advice was, that for avoiding Conteſts and Canvaſſings, the Elections ſhould be reſerv'd to the principal part of the People, that is, to the Clergy, or at leaſt that they ſhould have the better ſhare in them. We muſt not forget the Deſcription which he has given of that Magnificent Church, which his Father built at *Nazianzum*. This Panegyrick was in the Year 373.

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Tho' St. *Gregory* discharged very well the Offices of Natural Affection, by making Funeral Orations upon his Brother, his Sister, and his Father; yet one may say, That he excell'd himself in discharging the Offices of Friendship, by his Funeral Oration upon his Friend St. *Basil*, which is the 20*th.* of his Discourses. There he describes the Life, the Labours, and different Employments of this Saint exactly: He praises his Piety, his Faith and his Vertues, and forgets nothing of all that could be said to his Advantage. It may be observ'd in all the other Funeral Orations, That the Church in the time of St. *Gregory Nazianzen* believ'd, that the Martyrs and Saints enjoy'd already Eternal Happiness, and the Vision of God; that they took care of Men upon Earth, that they interceded for them, and that it was very profitable to pray to them for the obtaining of Spiritual and Temporal Favours. St. *Gregory* could not have spoken this Funeral Oration until after his Return from *Constantinople* in 381. St. *Gregory Nazianz.*

[By the Character which Mr. *du Pin* himself gives of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, it appears that he was a Man of very great Warmth of Fancy; and so it is no wonder if when he believ'd that Saints were after Death receiv'd up into Heaven, that he should in some warmer parts of his Harangues, such as *Allocutions* to the Saints from their disconsolate Friends below, or *Prosopopœia's*, where they are introduc'd comforting or strengthning those whom they left behind, say several things that are not too severely to be scann'd. His εἰ τῆς αἰτήσεως shews, that he question'd even in his highest flights, whether those Saints whom he was then commending, understood what he said. And the Consequences are then too manifest to be insisted upon; since no Man ever calmly taught, That the Blessed above can so far concern themselves as to intercede for the Faithful below, that Questions whether these happy Beings have any Knowledge of what is done upon Earth: Only this must be said, That the excessive Honors which were paid to Saints and Martyrs upon their Anniversaries brought in all those Corruptions which afterwards grew so very scandalous.]

The Panegyrick upon St. *Athanasius* was spoken at *Constantinople*. There he relates, with much Exactness and Eloquence, the principal Actions of St. *Athanasius*, and excites our Admiration of his Doctrine, his Constancy, his Firmness, his Zeal for Religion, his Love of Peace, and his other Vertues. This Discourse is the 21*st.* The precise time when it was spoken is not known; but 'tis certain that it was at *Constantinople*, which he designs clearly enough, when he says, That he was in a City very much corrupted, where there were Arches and Theatres.

The Discourse in praise of the *Maccabees*, follows after the Panegyrick of St. *Athanasius*. He observes, at the beginning of this Discourse, That tho' many did not honour the *Maccabees* as Saints, because they lived not since the Coming of Christ; yet they are worthy of the same Honour with the Martyrs who suffer'd after Christ; nay, and their Actions are more admirable. "For says he, "if they suffer'd Martyrdom before Christ's Coming, What would they not have done, if they had "come after him, and had had the Death of Christ for an Example? He adds, That no Man before "the Coming of Christ, was accomplish'd with all Vertues, without having Faith in Jesus Christ." He describes afterwards the Martyrdom of the Seven Brethren, and the Constancy of their Mother, and extols those Actions with the most beautiful Stroaks of Eloquence: Then he sends the Reader to the Book which *Josephus* wrote upon this Subject. The time is not known when this Panegyrick was recited.

The 23*d.* Discourse, which bears at present the Title of a Discourse in the praise of *Hero* the Philosopher, or barely of a Philosopher, was, according to St. *Jerome*'s Testimony, a Panegyrick upon *Maximus* the Philosopher, compos'd by St. *Gregory* before he had any difference with him. We have seen that St. *Basil* also commended this Philosopher in the Letters which he wrote to him. St. *Gregory* in this Panegyrick represents the Idea and Pattern of a Christian Philosopher: There he praises a solitary Life, and yet prefers Labour and Business before unprofitable Study. He observes, That the Church was become more Illustrious by Persecutions: He describes the Miseries which it suffered under the Emperours, *Constantius*, *Julian*, and *Valens*. He describes the horrible Tragedy that was acted in the Church of *Alexandria*, when *Lucius* invaded it, to force away *Peter* of *Alexandria*, the Successour of St. *Athanasius*, very particularly. He says, That this Philosopher was then torn with Scourges, and sent into Banishment. Towards the End he explains the Faith of the Church about the Mystery of the Trinity. This Oration must have been spoken or written at *Constantinople* in the Year 378.

The 24*th.* Discourse is address'd to the *Egyptians*, who were come to *Constantinople*. St. *Gregory Nazianzen* praises the Piety of the Faithful of *Alexandria*, testifies a great deal of Respect for the Memory of St. *Athanasius*, a great Esteem for his Successour *Peter*, who then possessed the See of *Alexandria*, and a great Love for the People of *Alexandria*, whom he makes no scruple to call his People. He declares, That he would willingly be united in Communion with the Christians of *Alexandria*, and because they made some Difficulty of joining with him, he expounds to them his Doctrine concerning the Mystery of the most Holy Trinity, and insists chiefly upon proving the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. This Discourse was spoken in the Year 379, before *Maximus* was ordained Bishop of *Constantinople* by the *Egyptians*.

The 25*th.* Discourse is against the *Arians*: He begins it with declaring, That they ought not to glory in their Multitude, nor despise his little Flock, because it preserved and maintained the Purity of the Faith. He represents in the following Discourse the Troubles and Confusions which the *Arian* Heresie produced, and charges them with all the Outrages and Cruelties, which they had exercised against the Catholicks. He shows that neither the Magnificence, nor Grandeur, nor Riches, nor Power of the *Arians* render'd their Cause more acceptable in the sight of God. He vindicates himself from the Reproaches thrown upon him of coming to *Constantinople* to make Disturbances: He says, That he did not come thither of his own accord, as those who now run after the Promotions

of

St. *Gregory Nazianz.*

of the Church; That he was call'd to the Place; That he only followed the Guidance of the Holy Spirit; and that after he came to *Conſtantinople*, he did not imitate thoſe who were inſatiably Covetous; That he had commenc'd no Law-ſuit againſt the *Arians*, neither for their Churches, nor for the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, tho' they were unjuſtly poſſeſs'd both of the one and the other; That he had perſecuted no Body; That he had ſuffer'd patiently all manner of Injuries and evil Treatment. After he has ſhewn theſe things, he makes an elegant Compariſon between the *Arians* and the Catholicks of *Conſtantinople*. "They have, ſays he, the Temples, but we have the God that dwells in "them, and we our ſelves are the Temples; They have the People for them, we have the Angels "for us; They have for their Portion Aſſurance and Raſhneſs, we have the Faith on our ſide; They "have Threatnings, we have Prayers; They perſecute, and we ſuffer; They have Gold and Silver, "and we are in Poſſeſſion of the Holy Doctrine: But our Flock is little? Yes, but it does not go "to throw it ſelf upon Precipices; our Sheep-fold is narrow, but it is well-guarded againſt Wolves; "it does not lie open to Robbers, and Strangers cannot enter into it. This little Flock, which will "every day grow greater by the Grace of God, gives me no cauſe to fear. I ſee it, I count it eaſily; "I know my Sheep, and they know me; they hear my Voice, they anſwer me; I call them, and "they follow me, and they will not follow Strangers; they will not follow *Valentinus*, *Montanus*, "*Manes*, *Donatus*, *Sabellius*, *Arius*, *Photinus*; and they continue ſteadfaſt in the Faith of the Tri-"nity, in whoſe Name they were baptiz'd." This Diſcourſe was ſpoken by St. *Gregory*, ſome time after he was come to *Conſtantinople*.

In the 26*th*. Diſcourſe, he exhorts thoſe of his Party to obſerve Moderation in their Diſputes with Hereticks. He there lays down a great many very wiſe and uſeful Maxims. He obſerves, That Peace is the greateſt Good that can be enjoy'd; That Schiſms and Hereſies have been raiſed up by Men of great Wit, but turbulent and deſigning, That thoſe Men are the Cauſe of Wars, Seditions, and other Miſchiefs, both to the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Society; That we ought neither to be too hot, nor too remiſs in the Defence of the Faith; That upon the whole Matter, the Order eſtabliſhed in the Church between the Paſtors and their Sheep, between the Clergy and the Laity, muſt be inviolably obſerved; That 'tis often much better to be ſilent than to ſpeak of Myſteries, becauſe it is very difficult to comprehend and explain them, and that 'tis very rare to find Ears fit to hear them, and Minds capable of bearing them; that when we are obliged to ſpeak, we ſhould do it with much Humility and Modeſty; That the common People ſhould content themſelves with believing, and leave Diſputes to the Learned; That Faith and Religion are for the Ignorant as well as for the Learned, and for the Poor as well as the Rich; That the Learned themſelves ought to ſhun uſeleſs Queſtions and Diſputes; That among the Hebrews, it was not allow'd to all the Jews indifferently to diſcourſe of the Law, but they choſe ſuch to do it as were judg'd capable of it; That ſome Men had one Gift, ſome another; in ſhort, That thoſe who take upon 'em to diſpute and teach others, being puſh'd on by a Zeal for the Faith, ſhould not condemn thoſe who by a reaſonable Precaution and wholeſome Fear are hindred from adventuring to do the like. He concludes all theſe Reflections in theſe Words: "If you will all obey me, as well Young as Old, as well Clergy as Laity, "as well Monks as thoſe that are barely the Faithful, you will give over this vain Oſtentation of "ſhowing your Knowledge by Diſputes, and you will rather take care to draw near to God by an up-"right and prudent Converſation, by the Purity of your Manners, by your edifying Diſcourſes, that "ſo at laſt you may obtain Eternal Life." 'Tis not neceſſary here to obſerve, that this Diſcourſe was ſpoken at *Conſtantinople*.

In the 27*th*. Diſcourſe, St. *Gregory* vindicates himſelf againſt thoſe who accuſed him of Ambition. In his *Exordium*, he enquires after the Reaſons, why the People of *Conſtantinople* were entic'd, and as it were charm'd by his Preaching: He ſays, That it could not be his Learning which allur'd them, for they were ſatisfied that he had but little of it; That it could not be the Doctrine which he taught them, ſince he was not the firſt who had preach'd it to them, neither had he preach'd any thing to them which they had not learn'd formerly from St. *Alexander* their Biſhop: "That neither can "they ſay, That he had gained them by Artificial and Flattering Diſcourſes, as for the moſt part, "ſays he, they do now-a-days who are of the Prieſtly Function, who have made an Art of Preach-"ing the Word of God, who have brought the Arts of the Bar into the Church, and the Ornaments "of the Theatre into the Chair of Truth. You know, adds he, and God is my Witneſs, That we are "ſo great Strangers to this Fault, that they rather accuſe me of Ruſticity, and of not knowing the "World, than of being a Flatterer, and ſeeking to pleaſe Men, ſince I ſometimes reprove too ſe-"verely, even thoſe who are moſt Affectionate to me, when they do any thing that I think not "reaſonable. You know how I mourn'd, how I cry'd, when ye plac'd me againſt my Will upon "the Throne, violating the Laws of the Church for the Love that you ſhow'd me. I uſed ſo great "Freedom with thoſe who appeared moſt zealous for me, that they withdraw in Anger, and "changed their ancient Friendſhip all of the ſudden into Hatred againſt me. Why then have you "ſo great a Paſſion for me, but only, firſt, Becauſe you choſe me your ſelves, and called me to "your Aſſiſtance; and ſecondly, Becauſe you have acknowledged, that I was neither Ambitious, "nor Fierce, nor Paſſionate, nor Proud, nor given to Flattery; and thirdly, Becauſe you have ſeen "how I have ſuffer'd for you all, both from thoſe that openly attack'd me, and from thoſe that ſo "cruelly laid ſecret Snares for me." After this he vindicates himſelf from the Charge which his Enemies drew up againſt him upon the account of his Eloquence. He ſays, That 'tis Envy which makes them ſpeak thus. He juſtifies himſelf alſo from the Ambition whereof he was accus'd; and ſhows, That he did not ambitiouſly aſpire after the See of *Conſtantinople*; That he had met with nothing there but Labour and Fatigue; That if he had been free to chuſe, he ſhould have preferr'd

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his Solitude before so painful an Employment; That he was not engaged in it for any other Reason but only to assist the Church of *Constantinople*, which was then without an Orthodox Bishop; That he would not trouble himself, tho' Men should censure him for having other Motives than really he had; That God knows what his true Intention was; That he never sought to please Men but God only; That he lov'd Goodness for Goodness sake, without any prospect of Wordly Interest. At last, He addresses his Speech to all Estates of Men, and makes this brave Remonstrance to them: "You Kings "of the Earth have a respect for your Crown: consider the Excellency of Power which is entrusted "with you: All the World is subject to your Empire, but the Heavenly things are above you; 'tis "God only who governs them: Be you as Gods with respect to your Subjects, make your Empire to "consist in this, and not in Gold, in Silver, and in Arms. You Great Men of the Age, who possess "the most considerable Offices in the State, be not lifted up because of your Power, look not upon "things Temporal as if they were Eternal: Be you faithful to the Emperours, but above all things be "faithful to God. You that are Persons of Quality make your Manners answerable to your Nobility. "You Wise Men, you Philosophers, you Orators, How can you pretend to Wisdom and Eloquence, "if you do not Adore him who is the Author and Fountain both of the one and the other? You that "love Riches hearken to the Prophet, who admonishes you not to trust to the Abundance of your "Riches, know that you rely upon a frail thing. You that spend your time in Diversions, mortifie "your selves by refraining from some things, assist your sick Brother with that which you have too "much of. In short, All you that are Citizens of this Second City of the World, which hardly "yields to the First, Govern your selves after such a manner, that you may be the First in Vertue, "and not in Debauchery and Licentiousness." This Discourse was spoken some time after *Theodosius* and the People had forc'd St. *Gregory Nazianzen* to ascend the Episcopal Throne of *Constantinople*, at the End of the Year 380. St. *Gregory Nazianz.*

The following Discourse was spoken after *Maximus* had endeavour'd to render himself Master of the Episcopal See of *Constantinople*. St. *Gregory* had retir'd for some time into the Country to refresh himself: When he return'd being certainly inform'd of all that was done against him in his Absence, he made a Discourse to his People against this Philosopher: And First, in the Exordium of his Discourse, he declar'd the Joy he had upon his Return to his Flock, from which he had been separated, and then he falls very severely upon *Maximus*, and shews, that he was unworthy of the Episcopal Throne which he aspir'd to: Afterwards he draws a Portraiture of a True Philosopher to set it against that which he had made of *Maximus*, and describes the several Offices of all Conditions. He returns to his Subject again, by saying, That he fear'd not his Enemies in the least: "For what "will they do to me, says he? How will they provoke me? They say that I am ignorant: I know "no other Wisdom but the Fear of God, and the keeping of his Commandments. They blame me "for Poverty; alas, would to God, that I could even part with that little which I possess. They "force me away from my Bishoprick; but did I ever think it a Happiness to be a Bishop? They will "take from me one of the Chief Sees, and one of the Principal Churches in the World. But is it "not at this time a Piece of Prudence to shun great Dignities, since upon their Account all "Churches are embroil'd and overthrown, and upon their Account the whole Earth is divided? Alas, "Would to God, adds he, that there were no places of Dignity in the Church, no Precedencies, no "Tyrannical Prerogatives, and that none would distinguish us but by our Vertue. But at present, "what Mischiefs do the Disputes about Prerogatives and Place, bring upon the Church! How many "People are Destroy'd for these Contests? I speak not only of the Laity, but even of the Bishops. "What more will they do unto me? They will hinder me from approaching to the Altars: But I "know another Altar, whereof this is but a Figure which can neither be demolish'd nor broken. "Will they drive me away from my House? Will they hinder me from diverting my self? Will they "alienate my Friends from me? I have no other House but that which the Piety of another *Shunamite* offer'd me. As to what concerns pleasures, all the Evil that I wish to those that design Evil "to me, is, That they may enjoy no other Pleasures than what I take. As for my Friends, I have "some that will not forsake me, even tho' they should be ill intreated upon my Account. "There are others whose Pride I have endur'd for a long time. *Peter* has deni'd me, and it may "be has not yet bewail'd his Fault." He concludes with deploring the Misery of his Church.

The 29th. Sermon begins with a Declamation against those who thrust themselves into places of Governing the People, and Preaching the Word of God without being capable. Afterwards he explains the Mystery of the most Holy Trinity very exactly. Above all things he recommends to them that Christians should hold to the Simplicity of Faith, without endeavouring to fathom and comprehend its Mysteries. This Sermon was preach'd at *Constantinople*.

The 30th. Sermon is about the Election of *Eulalius* Bishop of *Doaza*. This Discourse is short and contains nothing remarkable: It was spoken about the Year 372.

In the 31st. Discourse, having spoken of the Mystery of the Incarnation, he explains the Answer of Jesus Christ to the *Pharisees* in *Ch.* 19. of St. *Matthew's* Gospel, concerning Divorce. He says upon this place, That Jesus Christ condemns the Custom which permits Husbands to forsake their Wives, and does not permit Wives to forsake their Husbands, because in the Sight of God there is no Inequality between the Man and the Woman. He observes, That a Bill of Divorce permitted Husbands to send away their Wives for all sorts of Reasons; but that Jesus Christ did not permit it except only in case of Adultery. He says, That Marriage is commendable, when the Parties are contracted with a design of having Children; but he preferrs Virginity to Marriage. He explains in what Sence 'tis said, That all Persons are not capable of embracing Celebacy. Tho' he owns the Free-will of Man, yet he confesses, that God must give a Will to do Good, and enable us to obtain the

St. *Gregory Nazianz.* Victory. He occaſionally rejects the Opinion of *Origen* concerning the Pre-exiſtence of Souls. Laſtly, He exhorts his Auditors not only to preſerve the Purity of Faith as well as of their Bodies, but alſo to Contribute according to their Power to the Eſtabliſhment of Sound Doctrine. He addreſſes himſelf chiefly to the Emperour, and tells him, That if he thought that he did great Service to God, by hindering Murders, Adulteries, and Robberies by his Edicts, he might yet do him greater Service by making an Edict in Favour of the Catholick Faith. This Diſcourſe was in the Year 380.

The 41ſt. Diſcourſe is an Oration which he made to the Biſhops of the Council of *Conſtantinople* in the Year 382. Where, after he had made his Apology for governing the Church of *Conſtantinople*, by deſcribing the wonderful Effects he had produc'd in that Church, he prays them to grant him a Succeſſor, with as much Earneſtneſs, as others deſire the Greateſt Sees.

The Reaſons which he alledges for obtaining Permiſſion to retire, are Firſt, his great Age, the Quarrels of Churches and Biſhops, the Envy that ſome bore to him, the Diviſion of the Eaſt and the Weſt, and his Love of Retirement and Solitude. He adds ſome other Reaſons which tend to the Confuſion of his Enemies, ſuch as the Perſecutions which he had endur'd with Patience, his Frugality, his Modeſty, his Humility. At laſt, He conjures them to create another Biſhop who ſhould be more agreeable to the reliſh of the World. Here he repreſents very naturally, the Luxury, Ambition, and Arts which were but too common among the Biſhops of the Great Sees. At laſt, He bids Adieu to his Dear *Anaſtaſia*, to the other Churches of *Conſtantinople*, to the Council, the Clergy, the People, and to the Court. Theſe Adieu's are pathetical to thoſe that had an Eſteem of him, and are very picquant to thoſe that were his Enemies, and wiſh'd that he would abdicate his Charge. 'Tis plain that this Diſcourſe is the laſt of thoſe which he ſpoke at *Conſtantinople*.

The Five following Diſcourſes are Entitled, *Of Theology*, becauſe St. *Gregory Nazianzen* explains there what concerns the Divine Nature, and the Trinity of Perſons: There he treats of the Rules which ought to be obſerved in the Adminiſtration of the Word of God. He ſays Firſt, That this Function does not ſuit all Men; That he who diſcharges it muſt be pure in Heart and Mind; That he ſhould not apply himſelf to it but with a ſedate Temper; and Laſtly, That he ought not to treat of thoſe Matters before Pagans, nor before thoſe who have no ſenſe of Religion, and who think of nothing but Pleaſures. He adds many fine things about the Diſpoſitions and Qualifications that are neceſſary to a Divine. He blames thoſe who having their Hands tied, that is, who do no Good Works, yet have a wonderful Itch to prate, and thoſe who think to be great Divines, becauſe they underſtand the Subtilties of *Ariſtotle*'s Logick; and the *Gentile* Philoſophy, which they make uſe of nothing to the purpoſe when they Diſcourſe about Myſteries.

In the 2d. Diſcourſe he enquires what may be conceiv'd concerning the Nature of God. He ſays, That his Exiſtence is known by the Creatures; That his Immenſity, Spirituality, and his other Attributes are known; but that it does not follow from hence, that his Eſſence and Nature can be comprehended; which he proves againſt *Eunomius* in the ſecond Diſcourſe of Theology, which contains many great Notions concerning the Nature and Attributes of God.

In the 3d. he proves the Equality of the Three Perſons of the Divinity and the Son, and anſwers the moſt part of *Eunomius*'s Sophiſms. The 4th. continues the ſame ſubject; and in the 5th. he proves, That the Holy Spirit is a Divine Perſon diſtinct from the Father and the Son, That he proceeds from the Father, and that he is not begotten as the Son, tho' he be of the ſame Subſtance and the ſame Nature. He obſerves towards the End of this Diſcourſe, That under the Old Teſtament the Father only was diſtinctly known; That the Son is clearly Reveal'd in the New; That in it alſo there are found Paſſages enough to prove the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, but that it was fully clear'd by the Tradition of the Church. Theſe Diſcourſes ſeem alſo to have been ſpoken at *Conſtantinople*. And thus we are come to the 38th. Sermon upon the Feſtival of the Birth of Jeſus Chriſt. In it St. *Gregory* admires the Wonders of the Myſteries of the Incarnation: He deſcribes the Fall of the firſt Man, which he ſuppoſes to have been the Cauſe of the Incarnation of Jeſus Chriſt, and reckons up the Advantages which Mankind receiv'd by this Myſtery. At laſt, He teaches Chriſtians to Celebrate the Feſtival of Chriſtmas, by purifying themſelves from their Sins, by imitating the Vertues of Jeſus Chriſt, and particularly his Patience and Humility.

The 39th. Diſcourſe is a Sermon upon the Feſtival *Of Lights*, that is, upon the Feaſt of *Epiphany*, on which alſo the Solemnity of the Baptiſm of Jeſus Chriſt is obſerv'd. There he ſpeaks of the Wonderful Effects of this Baptiſm, which had the Vertue of purifying us. He diſtinguiſhes many ſorts of Baptiſm; *viz.* The Baptiſm of *Moſes*, the Baptiſm of St. *John*, the Baptiſm of Jeſus Chriſt, the Baptiſm of the Martyrs, and the Baptiſm of Penance, which he calls a Laborious Baptiſm; and taking occaſion from this laſt he Diſcourſes againſt the Errour of the *Novatians*. Laſt of all, He adds alſo to this Baptiſm which we have already mentioned, the Baptiſm of Fire, wherewith he ſays one may be baptiz'd in another Life.

The following Diſcourſe was ſpoken the next Day. 'Tis an Inſtruction about Baptiſm to thoſe that are to be baptiz'd: There he obſerves the Excellence of Baptiſm and its marvellous Effects. He ſets down and explains the different Names that are given to this Sacrament. He obſerves, That it conſiſts in Two Things, the Water and the Spirit; That the waſhing the Body with Water, repreſents the Operation of the Spirit in purifying the Soul. He ſays, That Baptiſm is a Compact which we make with God, by which we oblige our ſelves to lead a New Life; That 'tis very dangerous to break the Promiſe which we made at Baptiſm, for there is no more Regeneration, nor perfect Renovation to be hop'd for afterwards; That we may indeed cover the Wound by a multitude of Tears and Sighs, but that it would be much better not to need this Second Remedy, becauſe it is very

very difficult and troublesome; and that we can have no assurance but Death may surprize us before our Penance be finish'd. *You*, says he, addressing himself to the Ministers of Jesus Christ, *you can, as the Gardener mention'd in the Gospel, pray the Lord to excuse the barren Fig-tree yet a little longer, you can desire him that he would not cut it down, and that he would permit you to dung it, that's to say, to impose as a penance upon it Weeping, Watching, lying upon the hard Ground, Corporal Mortifications and making humble Satisfaction; but what certainty have you that God will pardon him? Wherefore, my Brethren, being buried by Baptism with Jesus Christ, let us rise with him, let us descend with him into the Waters, that we may ascend with him into Heaven.* He proves afterwards, that we ought not to delay the Receiving of Baptism, and refutes the vain Pretences of those who delay it. He says, that Infants are to be Baptiz'd to consecrate them to Jesus Christ from their Infancy. He distinguishes Three Sorts of Persons that are Baptiz'd; the First, are those who do Evil wilfully and with Delight; the Second, are those who commit Sin with some reluctancy, and without approving it; the Third, are those who live well before they are Baptiz'd, either because they are naturally inclin'd to Vertue, or because they would prepare themselves for Baptism. He distinguishes also Three Sorts of Persons among those that do not receive Baptism. Some are Impious and Malicious, who live in the greatest Excesses, and have no Veneration at all for Baptism: Others have a great deal of Respect for this Sacrament, but they delay to Receive it, either through carelessness, or that they may still have the greater liberty to sin: The last are those who cannot receive it, *either because of their Infancy*, or because of some sudden accident. As to the first, he makes no doubt but they shall be most grievously punish'd, not only for their other Crimes, but also for despising Baptism. As to the Second, he says they shall be less punish'd because they are not kept from Baptism by Malice, but by Negligence or Folly. As to the last, he says, that they shall never partake of Glory, but neither shall they suffer the Punishments of Hell: because tho' they were not Baptiz'd, yet they were free from Sin, and it may be said of them, that they rather suffer'd the Loss than were the Cause of it. He says also in the following Discourse, that Infants must be Baptiz'd, tho' there be no danger of their death. After this he enlarges upon the Effects of Baptism, and upon the divine Fire which purifies us. He concludes according to this Custom, with an Explication of the Trinity. In this Discourse he mentions Unction, and some other Ceremonies of Baptism. These Three Discourses were spoken at *Constantinople* in 381. St. Gregory Nazianz.

The 41st. Sermon is the First Sermon upon the Feast of *Easter*, which is very short and contains nothing remarkable. It was spoken at *Nazianzum*.

In the 42d. Sermon upon the same Festival, having repeated some part of what he had said about the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, in his Oration upon the Feast of *Christmas*, he explains the Ceremonies of the Jewish Passover, which he applies to the Passion of Jesus Christ: This place shews that his Allegories are very far fetch'd. The rest of his Discourse is a Repetition of what he had said in his Sermon upon the Nativity, concerning the Impiety of Hereticks, and an Exposition of the Faith of the Church. 'Tis thought that this Sermon was compos'd by St. *Gregory* at *Nazianzum*, after he return'd from *Constantinople*.

The 43d. Discourse was spoken at the Feast of the Dedication of the Church of St. *Mamas*, which was near *Nazianzum*. There he Discourses of this Dedication which he calls *the New Sunday*. He exhort his Auditors to Vertue, and concludes with saying something of the Life of St. *Mamas*. This Discourse was made when St. *Gregory Nazianzen* was Coadjutor to his Father.

The 44th. Sermon of Pentecost begins with an Instruction about the manner of celebrating these Feasts, after which follow his Commendations of the Number *Seven*: The rest of the Discourse is, about the Holy Spirit and his Gifts.

These are all the Sermons of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*. The following Treatises are not Sermons but Letters.

The 45th. is a Letter written to a Monk call'd *Evagrius*; who could not conceive how the Divine Nature or Substance could be simple, being compos'd of Three Persons. St. *Gregory* resolves this Difficulty, by saying, That the Essence of God is most simple, and that the Persons tho' distinct yet are not separated, nor really distinguisht from the Divine Essence, which is common to the Three. He explains this by many Examples.

The 46th. is a Letter to *Nectarius* who was his Successor in the Throne of the Church of *Constantinople*; where he bewails the unhappiness of the Church which is attack'd by an infinite number of Hereticks. He writes particularly against *Apollinarius*, whose Errors he relates as they were taken out of one of his own Books. He accuses him of teaching, That the Word assum'd Flesh from all Eternity; of affirming, That the Divinity of Jesus Christ supplied the place of a Humane Soul, and that it may be said to have Suffer'd and to Die as well as the Humanity. After this he observes, that it is not lawful to assemble at the Publick Prayers with Persons of these Opinions: Then he exhorts *Nectarius* to Act vigorously against the Hereticks, and to pray the Emperour that he would suppress the Liberty which they now had of Meeting and Preaching.

The 47th. Discourse is an Allegorical Explication of the Four Animals mention'd in the First Chap. of *Ezekiel*. The Greeks doubt whether this Book be St. *Gregory*'s: And indeed the Stile is very confus'd, and every thing is handled without any Order or Design, and it seems to be patched up of various pieces; which makes me believe, with *Jacobus Bilius*, that this Discourse is unworthy of St. *Gregory*.

The 48th. Sermon attributed to St. *Gregory*, is a Discourse in praise of the Martyrs, publish'd by *Leunclavius*, which is in Greek in the last Edition. This Discourse seems not to me to have St. *Gregory*'s Stile. Some have attributed it to St. *Chrysostom*.

St. *Gregory Nazianz.*

The 49th. Discourse of Faith, which is said to be a Translation made by *Ruffinus* from the Text of *Gregory Nazianzen*, is the Work of some Latin Author, who quotes the Holy Scripture according to the old Latin vulgar Version. The Prologue of *Ruffinus*, which is at the beginning, is a Preface to the Apologetick, and the Seven Discourses of this Author, and not to the Version of the Treatise of Faith. The same Judgment is to be given of the following Treatise, concerning the Faith of the Council of *Nice*, which is not to be found in many Manuscripts. The First Treatise is quoted under the name of St. *Gregory* by St. *Austin* in his Third Letter; but it must certainly be another *Gregory* than this of *Nazianzum*: For undoubtedly this Work is a Latin Author's, since in two Places he speaks of the Greeks, as not being one himself. *The Reason, or the Word*, says, he, *is call'd by the Greeks* λογὸς; and in another place, *This is what the Greeks call Homousion.* This Treatise therefore must be some Latin Author's who was call'd *Gregory*: And there is none to whom it agrees better than *Gregory* of *Batica*, of whom we have already said, that he wrote a Treatise of Faith. Some have attributed it to St. *Ambrose*, others to *Vigilius Tapsensis*; but the Citation of St. *Austin* shows that it could not be written by this last, and that it was not written by the first. The following Treatise is also the same Author's, being written to explain the former, as Monsieur *Quesnel* has shown in his 14th. Dissertation upon the ancient Code of the *Roman* Church, where this Treatise is inserted.

The 51st. and 52d. Treatises are Two Letters to *Cledonius*, which St. *Gregory* wrote against *Apollinarius*, after he return'd to *Pontus*, as is observ'd by the ancient Author of his Life. In the first of these two Letters, St. *Gregory* complains of *Apollinarius*, that he and his Disciples publish'd new Doctrines, and that they boasted of their being received by a Synod of Western Bishops, tho' they were condemn'd in it, and explains the Faith of the Church about the Incarnation, and plainly rejects not only the Errors of *Apollinarius*, but also those that have been since publish'd by *Nestorius*, by *Eutyches*, and by all the other Hereticks. He gives to the Virgin, the Name and Title of, *The Mother of God.* Afterwards he refutes the Objections of *Apollinarius*, and observes another Error of this Author concerning the Trinity. He affirms, towards the end of this Letter, that we ought not to communicate with this Heretick. In the 2d. Letter he discovers the Tricks and Subtilties which the *Apollinarians* used to make People believe that they were Orthodox. Towards the end of this Letter he has these excellent Words: "O strange folly! He pretends to preach that Wisdom "which has been discover'd since Jesus Christ. What pity 'tis! For if the Gospel was not known till "about 30 Years ago, then the Gospel was of no use, for 400 Years that the Church has been esta-"blish'd: In vain have Christians believ'd and so many Martyrs suffer'd; in vain have so many Holy "Bishops govern'd the Church.

The Paraphrase upon *Ecclesiastes* was written by St. *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, as we have observ'd in speaking of this Father's Works. But we must add hear to what we have said in that place to prove it, that not only St. *Jerom* testifies in his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers, that St. *Gregory Thaumaturgus* wrote a Treatise upon *Ecclesiastes*, but that he cites this Treatise as his, in his commentary upon the 4th. Chapter, where he quotes a Passage which is Word for Word in the 4th. Chapter of this Paraphrase.

The Poems of St. *Gregory Nazianzen* were the Fruits of his last Retirement; he wrote them in the last Years of his Life: In them is to be found all the Fire and Vigour which one would desire in the Works of a Young Man, and all the thoughts which the practice of Vertue, for the space of many Years, could inspire into an old Man of consummate Piety.

The 1st. is a Poem which contains the History of his own Life from his Birth, till his departure from *Constantinople*. There never was any thing of this Kind written more pleasantly, more Elegantly, and more naturally than this Life is. In the first part he describes his publick and known Actions, where he says many things which are very useful to explain the History of the Council of *Constantinople*, and the Divisions of the Eastern and Western Churches; and there also he discourses against the Ignorance, the Pride, and the corrupt Manners of the Bishops of his time.

In the 2d. Part, he describes the Dispositions of his Mind: The former part relates to History, and this to Morality; and as there are in the former part many Circumstances that belong to Ecclesiastical History; so this contains many Christian and Moral Thoughts. The former is written in Iambick Verse, the latter in Hexameters.

In his Poem of the praise of Virginity, he handles with much Wit and Eloquence, the Question about the Preheminence of Celibacy above Marriage; and that he may explain this Question the more pleasantly, after he has enlarg'd upon the Praises of Virginity, he makes an excellent *Prosopopœia*, wherein he brings in married Persons, and those who observe Celibacy, speaking for both their Opinions; each of them says all that can be said on their side in favour of their State, but the latter have the better.

The 3d. Poem contains many Precepts for Virgins; he recommends to them Silence, Modesty, Retirement, Labour, and other Vertues necessary for a Virgin. These Two Poems are in Hexameter Verse.

In the 4th. Poem he bewails in general the Misery of Mankind, caus'd by the Sin of *Adam*, and relates some Circumstances of his own Life. This is in Elegiacks.

In the 5th. having described the Crosses and Sicknesses which he had endur'd in his Life, he submits himself to the Will of God, and offers to him the remainder of his painful Life.

The 6th. is upon the Vanity and Uncertainty of this Mortal Life.

In the 7th. he bewails his Miseries, and prays to God to deliver him from them.

The 8th. is upon the same Subject.

In

In the 9*th.* he describes a Dream, which he had about the Church of *Anastasia.*

In the 10*th.* after having described the Likeness and Hypocrisie of the Bishops of his time, he congratulates himself upon his departure from *Constantinople.* St. *Gregory Nazianz.*

The 11*th.* Poem describes the Vices of wicked Bishops, and deplores the Division of the Church; there he observes, that Persecutions encreased the Church; but Abundance and Riches have done it great Prejudice.

In the 12*th.* which is addressed to the Bishops of the Council of *Constantinople*, he describes after what manner he was forc'd away from that City, and testifies his Joy, for that God had recall'd him to his Retirement.

In the 13*th.* he describes the Misery and Weakness of Humane Nature.

He continues the same Subject in the 14*th.* wherein he describes the Miseries of Life, and the Horrour of Death, to teach Men to love nothing but Jesus Christ, and to have no Affection for any thing but the Treasures in Heaven.

The 15*th.* is also upon the same Subject, wherein he represents the Uncertainty and Instability of this Mortal Life, and of Worldly Riches, to convince Men that there is nothing Solid here below, but the Love of Jesus Christ.

The 16*th.* contains the Beatitudes of the Gospel, and the Rules of a Christian Life.

In the 17*th.* he wishes many Imprecations upon himself, if he should wander from the Faith of Christ, and the Precepts of the Gospel.

The 18*th.* is against the Desires of the Flesh.

The 19*th.* is against the Devil.

The 20*th.* is an Exhortation which he made to himself, to stir himself up to Conversion.

The 21*st.* is an Imprecation upon the Devil, and an Invocation of Jesus Christ.

The 22*d.* is a Prayer to God, to be delivered from this Life of Sin and Death.

The 23*d.* is a Reflection upon the Uncertainty of Life, and the Contempt we ought to have of it.

The 24*th.* and 25*th.* is upon the Weakness and Misery of our Nature.

The 26*th.* is of the Desire of God.

The 27*th.* and 28*th.* is a Lamentation upon the View of his own Miseries and Sins.

The 29*th.* is a Prayer to Jesus Christ.

The 30*th.* is a kind of Epitaph.

The 31*st.* is a Prayer of a Penitent Person.

The 32*d.* is a Farewell to the Devil.

In the 33*d.* he makes a Catalogue of the Books of the Holy Scripture. He distinguishes those of the Old Testament, into Historical, Poetical and Prophetical; He reckons 12 Historical, *viz.* The Five Books of *Moses*, *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, the Two Books of *Kings*, the *Chronicles*, and *Ezra*. He reckons 5 Poetical, the Book of *Job*, the *Psalms* of *David*, *Ecclesiastes*, the *Proverbs*, and the *Song* of *Solomon*; and 5 Prophetical, which are the 12 lesser Prophets that make but one Book only, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*; which in all make the Number of 22 Books, according to the Number of the Hebrew Letters. Afterwards he reckons up the Books of the New Testament, which are the Four Evangelists, upon whom he has this Observation, That St. *Matthew* wrote for the *Hebrews*, St. *Mark* for the *Greeks*, St. *Luke* for the *Athenians*, and St. *John* for those who penetrate into the most sublime Things. He joins with the Four Evangelists the Fourteen Epistles of St. *Paul*, those of St. *James*, the two Epistles of St. *Peter*, and the Three of St. *John*, and that of St. *Jude*. He concludes with saying, *That these are all the Books of the Holy Scripture, and all that others are Apocryphal.*

In the 34*th.* he describes the Plagues of *Egypt.*

In the 35*th.* he turns the Decalogue into Verse.

In the 36*th.* the Names of the 12 Patriarchs are put in Verse, and those of the 12 Apostles.

In the 37*th.* and 38*th.* he reconciles the Two Genealogies of Jesus Christ, by explaining the Opinion of *Africanus*. 'Tis a very surprizing thing, that he could put this Critical Question into Verse, and make all the Names of the Genealogies of Jesus Christ come into Feet, and yet he has done it, and handsomely enough.

In the following Poems, as far as the 46*th.* he turns some part of the Histories of the Gospel into Verse.

In the 46*th.* he prefers a Monastical Life to an Hermetical.

In the 47*th.* He prays *Hellenius* to ease the Monks of Taxes.

In the 48*th.* he exhorts one *Julianus*, a Magistrate, to Alms-giving.

The 49*th.* is written in the Name of *Nicobulus* the Son, who desir'd of his Father, that he would send him to some famous Academy to follow his Studies there.

The 50*th.* is an Answer made in the Name of this Father, who exhorts his Son to study.

The 51*st.* is written on the Name of the Son of *Vitalianus*, to appease the Anger of his Father.

The 52*d.* is against a lewd rich Man.

The 53*d.* is a Prayer of St. *Gregory* as he went into the Fields.

The 54*th.* is of the Silence which he kept during the time of Fasting: There he describes the Mischiefs which too great desire of Speaking produces, and the Advantages of Silence.

The 55*th.* is a Hymn to Jesus Christ upon the Feast of *Easter*, after he had kept silence all the time of Lent.

In the 56*th.* he gives to one *Olympias*, a Woman ready to be married, some very useful Precepts for her good Behaviour in Marriage.

The

St. Gregory Nazianz.

The 57th. is upon his Departure from *Conſtantinople*.

In the 58th. he proves the falſhood of Humane Vertue, and ſhows, That without the Grace of God, all our Endeavours are unprofitable to our Salvation. *Without the aſſiſtance of Jeſus Chriſt*, ſays he, *a Man cannot walk in the way of Salvation: Therefore we muſt take heed that we do not attribute to our ſelves what does not belong to us; we muſt not truſt our own ſtrength, how enlightned ſoever we be; we muſt not deſpiſe thoſe who appear to be leſs advanc'd than we in the way of Vertue, as if we were nearer the Deſign and End of our Courſe.* He adds many other Reflections, very proper to beat down the Pride of Man, and to humble him under the Almighty Hand of God.

The 59th. is a bitter Satyr againſt the Monks, who live diſagreeably to the Rules of that State, tho' they wear the Habit.

The 60th. is an excellent Prayer in a time of Sickneſs.

In the 61ſt. he exhorts *Nemeſius* Governour of *Cappadocia*, to forſake Paganiſm, and embrace the Chriſtian Religion.

The 62d. is a Collection of very uſeful Chriſtian Thoughts and Maxims for the Conduct of our Lives.

The 63d. is againſt the Pomps, the Ornaments, and ſumptuous Dreſſes of Women; and particularly he applies himſelf to condemn their Painting.

The 64. is an Epitaph upon St. *Baſil*.

After this there are ſeveral Sentences or Moral Thoughts, which contain the principal Offices of Life.

A Deſcription of Humane Life, and ſeveral Rules or Maxims of Morality.

The following Poem is Dogmatical. St. *Gregory* explains the principal Articles of the Chriſtian Religion; and he treats of the Unity of God, of the Trinity, of the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit, of the Creation of the World, of Angels and Devils, of the Nature and Origin of the Soul, of the Two Teſtaments, of the cauſe and Effects of the Incarnation of Jeſus Chriſt, and of the Baptiſms of Water and Blood. After this comes a Treatiſe in Verſe upon Virginity, many exhortations to his own Soul, and Prayers to God.

There are beſides 33 Poems written in Iambick Verſe upon different Subjects, a Treatiſe againſt *Apollinarius*, and ſome other ſeparate things: The Tragedy, entituled *Chriſt's Suffering*, wants very much of the Beauty, the Judgment and the Gravity of St. *Gregory*'s Pieces, and ſo 'tis not without reaſon that the Criticks Judge it unworthy of him.

We have in the Second Volume of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, at the end of his Poetical Works, a Diſcourſe of this Saint about Biſhops; and tho' we have it now only in Latin, yet 'tis plain that 'tis a Tranſlation of a Genuine Treatiſe of St. *Gregory*'s. There he relates after what manner he came to *Conſtantinople*, and the Troubles he ſuffer'd there for the Eſtabliſhment of the Faith, he complains of the Ingratitude of the Biſhops who forc'd him away from thence; and then he gives a very diſadvantageous Character of them, wherein he repreſents them either Ignorant and Stupid, or Proud and Ambitious, or Covetous, who think of nothing but heaping up of Riches by all kind of Ways, or Hypocrites who under the appearance of Vertue conceal the greateſt Immoralities.

There is in the greateſt part of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*'s Letters, more Wit, Learning and Eloquence, than Doctrine concerning Religion and the Diſcipline of the Church; yet there are ſome of them, wherein he purſues ſome Moral Thoughts with a great deal of Eloquence; as in the 17th. wherein he reproves *Cæſarius* becauſe he ſtaid in *Julian*'s Court.

The 18th. wherein he Diſcourſes of the Inconſtancy and Frailty of humane Life.

The 19th. and 20th. concerning the Reconciliation of St. *Baſil* with *Euſebius* his Biſhop.

The 22d. and 23d. are written in the Name of his Father to procure the Election of St. *Baſil* to be Biſhop of *Cæſarea*.

The 26th. is about the Calumny that had been raiſed againſt St. *Baſil*, for his diſguiſing his Opinion about the Divinity of the Holy Spirit.

The 31ſt. and 32d. wherein he complains that St. *Baſil* had made him Biſhop of *Saſima*.

The 37th. wherein he Comforts St. *Gregory Nyſſen*, upon the Death of his Brother.

The 38th. to a Lady who would force a Biſhop away from his Biſhoprick, under Pretence that he ow'd her very conſiderable Sums of Money, having formerly managed her Eſtate.

The 43d. wherein he reproves St. *Gregory Nyſſen*, becauſe he applied himſelf more to the Study of humane Learning than of the Holy Scripture.

The 55th. wherein he declares, That he was afraid of all Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies, *Becauſe I never ſaw*, ſays he, *the End of a Council which was happy and pleaſant, and which did not rather encreaſe the Evil than diminiſh it.* But this Cenſure which he wrote when he was vex'd with the Council of *Conſtantinople*, which had not treated him very favourably, ought not to paſs for a Rule, but only for a Teſtimony of his reſentment which came from St. *Gregory* in his Paſſion.

The 59th. and 71ſt. wherein he exhorts his Brother and *Poſthumianus* to make Peace between the Biſhops.

The 63d. wherein he exhorts a Particular Perſon to embrace the Chriſtian Philoſophy, and to deſpiſe the things of this World.

The 64th. 66th. 67th. and 70th. wherein he exhorts another Perſon to bear his Pains and Sickneſs patiently.

The

The 81st. is an Excellent Exhortation to Patience, and some others. But the most considerable of them all is the 219th. to *Theodorus* the Bishop of *Tyanea*, which might be plac'd amongst the Canonical ones: The Bishop to whom he writes had consulted him about an Oath, or an Asseveration made in Writing in a certain Affair: He who made this Agreement not willing to hold it longer, cited him with whom he had agreed, before a Judge, and made void the Compact in Court. Now it was ask'd whether this Man should be treated as a perjur'd Person, since he had not made a Solemn Oath, according to the ordinary Forms. St. *Gregory* answers in this Letter, That he is not at all of their Opinion, who think that no Oaths but those which are made with the Mouth, and according to the usual Forms, by laying their Hands upon the Holy Gospels, do oblige in Conscience, and that Asseverations made in Writing do not bind after the same manner: "For says he, If Contracts made in Writing do more bind a Debtor than bare verbal "Promises, Why shall not Oaths set down in Writing have at least as much Force, as those "which are spoken with the Mouth? In a word, Is an Oath any thing else, but the Affirmation of "him who promises, or who assures any thing?" From whence he concludes, That this Man who had brought his Action in Law, to have this Compact dissolv'd, which he was obliged by Oath to fulfil, tho' he gain'd his Cause, yet was guilty of Perjury, and ought to do Penance for his Sin. This is a very useful Admonition in our time, wherein there is scarce any heed given to Oaths and Affirmations that are made in Writing, as if they were nothing but mere Formalities of Law, and not truly and properly Oaths. St. *Gregory* teaches the same thing in the Poem made against those who Swear often, where he says upon this Subject, *Is one less oblig'd by writing than by his Words? And tho he should not have touch'd the Gospels, yet does he owe ever the less Reverence for God?*

St. *Gregory* Nazianz.

[By *Canonical Epistles* here, those are meant which were written to determine some particular Question in Discipline, as the Canons of Councils usually did: Of this Nature were St. *Basil*'s Letters to St. *Amphilochius* mentioned above.]

The Letters of St. *Gregory* are in number 242, if we comprehend in that number the 10 last published by *Sirmondus*; but there are some of St. *Basil*'s which are mix'd among them, as the 30th. the 206th. and 207th. His Testament tho' Ancient and Genuine relates only to his Domestick Affairs, and contains nothing but the Disposal of his Estate. This is all that we have to say in particular of the Works of *Gregory Nazianzen*: The Judgment which may be made of them in general is this:

It cannot be doubted, but this Author won the Prize of Eloquence from all the rest of his Age; for he does certainly excel them for the Purity of his Words, the Nobleness of his Expressions, the Ornament of his Discourse, the Variety of his Figures, the Justness of his Comparisons, the Beauty of his Reasonings, and the Sublimity of his Thoughts. St. *Jerome* and *Suidas* say, That he imitated an ancient Author call'd *Polemon*, but we may say, That his Stile approach'd very near to that of *Isocrates*. How lofty soever it be, it is Natural, flowing gently and pleasantly; his Periods are full, and hold up to the End; he has a wonderful abundance of Words, an unparallel'd easiness of Expression, and a most agreeable turn of Wit. His Orations are compos'd with much Art and Method, for in them he uses such Characters as are most agreeable to his Subject and his Auditors; so that one may say of him, That he was one of the most perfect Orators of *Greece*; yet he affected too many Antitheses, Allusions, Similitudes, Comparisons, and certain other Fineness of Oratory, which seem to render it Effeminate. Sometimes also his Thoughts and Reasonings are false; but then 'tis cover'd with the sparkling of his Expressions, and involv'd in the multitude of his Words. He is extremely Copious, and says but few things in many Periods. There are great numbers of Philosophical Thoughts interwoven in his Sermons, and they are full of Illustrations taken from History and Fables. He teaches Morality in such a manner as is more proper for Philosophers than the common People; but he is very Sublime and very Exact in the Explication of Mysteries, a Quality which made him deserve the Name of *The Divine* by way of Excellency. He had much Piety, but little skill in Managing of Business. He was so passionate a Lover of Retirement, that he could not for a considerable time apply himself to any Employment that hindred him from it. He easily undertook great things, but he quickly repented of his Undertakings. He had in his Life-time three Bishopricks, and yet it cannot be said that he was lawful Bishop of any one of them. For he would not have that of *Sasima* to which he was Ordain'd; and he did not accept of that of *Nazianzum*, but only for a time, to be Coadjutor to his Father, but upon Condition that he should not succeed him. When he came to *Constantinople*, he had no design to be Bishop of that Church, neither did he take the Title upon him. 'Tis true that he was afterwards plac'd upon the Episcopal Throne by the Emperor and some Bishops; but he was at last forced to leave it. He was of a Morose and Satyrical Humour; he lov'd Raillery and spar'd no body; but chiefly the Bishops that were not worthy of their Ministry, or that did not lead a Life agreeable to their Holy Orders.

These are the Editions of the Works of this Father. In the Year 1504, *Aldus Manutius*, a Printer at *Venice*, publish'd one part of his Greek Poems; In the Year 1516 he publish'd Sixteen Orations, and Nine more in 1536. Afterwards all the Works of St. *Gregory Nazianzen* were collected together and printed in Greek at *Basle* by *Hervagius* in the Year 1550. The ancient Version of *Ruffinus* was printed at *Leipsick* about the Year 1522, without any Name. The Translation of *Billibaldus Pircheymerus* was printed at the same time with the Greek at *Basle* by *Hervagius* in 1550. In 1571 *Leunclavius* translated 19 Orations which were printed by the same Printer. But all these Versions being very imperfect, *Jacobus Billius* Abbot of St. *Michael* of the Hermitage, who was one of the ablest Men of the last Age in the Greek Tongue, made a New Version of St. *Gregory*'s Works, which was first printed at *Paris* in 1569, and at *Cologne* in 1570; but the Edition of the same Version which *Genebrard* published at *Paris* in 1583, and Dedicated to Pope *Gregory* the

the XIII. is much more large and more exact. 'Tis this Version which has the Greek Text on one side, in the *Paris* Edition in Two Volumes, made by *Morellus* in 1609. Then there follow'd in the Edition of the Greek Text, the Corrections and Notes which *Billius* made on the Margin of St. *Gregory* at *Basle*, and it was review'd by many Manuscripts. The First Volume contains the Life of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, written by *Gregory* the Priest, the Orations and Letters of St. *Gregory*, together with an Addition, which contains the Greek Text of the Oration to the praise of the Martyrs, some Letters, and the Greek and Latin Testament of St. *Gregory*, with the Notes of *Morellus*, and some Critical Observations upon the Text, the different Readings and many Corrections. The Second Volume contains the Poems which had been already publish'd by *Billius*, with his Version in Verse, and some others translated by *Morellus*, the Treatise of Bishops, and the Latin Commentaries of *Elias Cretensis*, *Nicetas Serronius*, *Psellus*, *Cyrus*, and *Billius* upon all the Works of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*. This Edition is one of the fairest in Greek and Latin, that was ever printed at *Paris*: In it the Greek Text is printed very Neatly and Exactly, the Latin Version is Noble and Elegant. The Beauty of the Latin Verse is little inferior to that of the Greek, and the Discourses are rang'd in a very good Order; yet there are some Faults in the Text. The Version is not always Literal and Faithful enough, and the Order of time is not exactly observ'd, neither in the Letters, nor in the Orations. There remains now nothing for me to do, but to take notice of the particular Editions of some distinct Pieces of his Works. We have his Theological Orations translated by *Mossellanus*, printed at *Paris*, by *Chevallon*, in 1532; 38 Orations of *Pircheymerus*'s Version, printed at *Basle* in 1551. some others translated by *Gabriellius* at *Antwerp* in 1575; some Greek Sermons at *Ausburg* in 1587; three Sermons with Corrections upon the Text of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, printed at *Antwerp* in 1573; the Homily of *Whitsunday*, Greek and Latin, at *Leipsick* in 1582; the Oration of *The Love of the Poor*, translated by *Zinus* in 1550, printed by *Vascosanus*; the same Oration with the Apologetical Discourse, and the Sermon upon the Birth of Jesus Christ by *Eugubinus*, printed by *Plantin* in 1513. The Two Invectives against *Julian*, and some other Works at *Eaton*, in 1610; the Sermon upon *Easter*, translated by *Oecolampadius*; the Oration upon St. *Athanasius* at *Paris* in 1627; some Select Poems printed at *Rome* in 1592 and 1599; the Tetrastick Verses at *Venice* in 1562; the Poems translated by *Billius*, with the Notes of *Cyrus* at *Paris* in 1582; the Poems about Definitions translated and published by *Hoeschelius*, with the Translation of *Leunclavius*, in the Printing-House of St. *Andrew* in 1591; some Poems by *Plantin* in 1556; the Poems of the Rules of Life collected by *Sambucus*, by *Plantin* in 1568; the Poems about Principles at *Amsterdam* in 1568; the Poem of his Life with the Translation of *Billius* in 1598; the Poem of the Canonical Books at *Paris* in Latin in 1561; some Odes in 1603; the Tragedy *Of Jesus Suffering*, in Greek, at *Rome* in 1542, and at *Louvain* in 1544: His Letters printed with those of St. *Basil*, and translated by *Comanus*; Two Letters to *Themistius* printed apart; the Letter to *Nicobulus* printed also apart in 1597; the Testament publish'd by *Leunclavius* at *Frankford* in 1596, at *Eaton* in 1610; by *Brissonius* in his Forms, by *Baronius* in his Annals; and Lastly, by *Sirmondus*, at the End of the Edition, Greek and Latin, of 1609.

St. *Gregory Nazianz.*

St. GREGORY NYSSEN.

ST. *GREGORY* Bishop of *Nyssa* a City of *Cappadocia*, Brother of St. *Basil*, was born about the Year 339. He did not embrace a Solitary Life, as his Brothers *Basil*, *Peter* and *Naucratius* did, but continued in the World, and Married a Wife call'd *Theosebia*. (*a*) He profess'd at first Rhetorick, and with much Difficulty quitted that Employment to enter into Orders. (*b*) He was made Bishop some time after St. *Basil* in the Year 371. But he did not continue long in peaceable Possession of his See; for he was quickly persecuted by the Emperour *Valens*, and forc'd away from his Church in 374, by *Demosthenes* who substituted in his room a sad Wretch, as we have already observ'd in the Life of St. *Basil*. He return'd with the other exil'd Bishops in the Year 378, and was restor'd to the Possession of his Episcopal See. He appear'd after this with Splendor at the General Council of *Constantinople* in the Year 382, where he was chosen to make a Funeral Oration upon *Meletius* the Patriarch of *Antioch*, and delegated to be one of those Bishops who should visit the Dioceses of *Pontus*, as appears by the Law of the Emperour *Theodosius*, and as St. *Gregory* himself testifies in his Epistle to *Flavianus*. 'Tis believ'd that he was present also at a Council held in this City in the Year 383, and that he spoke there the Discourse against the *Anomæans*, which is entitled, *A Discourse about* Abraham, *or, Of the Divinity of the Son and Holy Spirit*. In 385, he preach'd also at *Constantinople* the Funeral Oration of the Empress *Placilla*. In short, his Name appears in the List of Metropolitans in the Council held at *Constantinople* for the Dedication of the Church of *Ruffini* in the Year 394. But it is certain he died soon after.

St. *Gregory Nyssen.*

This Father wrote many Books which are Commentaries upon Scripture, Dogmatical Treatises,

(*a*) *He married a Wife call'd* Theosebia.] In the Oration of St. *Gregory Nazienzen* in Commendation of St. *Basil*, he very clearly observes, That St. *Gregory Nyssen* was he of the Four Brethren that was engag'd in Marriage; and the same St. *Gregory* in *Ep.* 95. comforts St. *Gregory Nyssen* upon the Death of *Theosebia*, wherein he speaks of his Wife.

(*b*) *With much Difficulty quitted that Employment to enter into Orders.*] St. *Gregory Nazianzen* reproves him in *Ep.* 34. for that he having discharg'd the Office of a Reader in the Church, seem'd willing to embrace his ancient Profession, addicting himself wholly to the Study of Rhetorick and Humane Learning.

Sermons

Sermons upon the Mysteries of Religion, Discourses of Morality, Panegyricks upon the Saints, Funeral Orations, and some Letters concerning Discipline. St. Gregory Nyssen.

The First Book upon the Scripture is a smale Piece upon the Creation, wherein without insisting upon the Questions which St. *Basil* had explain'd before, he endeavours principally to explain the Sense of the Words of *Genesis*, and the Order of the Creation.

The Second Book of St. *Gregory Nyssen* is his Treatise about the Formation of Man, divided into Thirty Chapters, wherein he handles many Questions more curious than useful concerning the Creation of the World, the Formation of Man, the Nature and Origin of his Soul, concerning the Resurrection, and the Structure of a Humane Body. There he teaches, That the Soul is a Spirit which is equally in all parts of the Body; he refutes the Opinion of *Origen* concerning the Pre-existence of Souls before the Body, and maintains that they are form'd in the same moment with the Body. He thinks, That in the State of Innocence there would have been no Generation, but that Men would have multipled by some other means.

The Two following Homilies about the Formation of Man are St. *Basil's*, as we have already observ'd. There is also a Homily in the Second Volume upon the same Subject, wherein he explains all the Senses in which it can be said, That Man was created after the Image and Likeness of God. We may place among the number of Commentaries upon the Old Testament, the little Tract of the Witch of *Endor*, wherein he explains a part of the 28th. Chapter of the First Book of *Samuel*, and proves that it was not truly the Soul of *Samuel* that appear'd to *Saul*, but that it was the Devil, who assum'd the Likeness of this Prophet.

The Book of the Life of *Moses* is an Alegorical Explication of all the actions of this Lawgiver to the Jews, from whence he draws either Moral Instructions, or some Reflections upon Religion; upon which account 'tis also entitled, *Of a perfect Life.*

The Two Treatises upon the Inscriptions of the Psalms, are more useful than the preceding. In the First, he treats of the End, the Order, and the Distribution of the Psalms. He affirms, That their End is to teach the way of Vertue which leads to Happiness; That they are useful and delightful to all sorts of Persons, in what State and Condition soever they be, and whatsoever their Disposition be. He divides the Psalms into Five Parts, the First ends at the 40th. Psalm, the Second at the 71st. the Third at the 88th. the Fourth at the 105th. and the Fifth continues to the End of the Psalms. He is of Opinion that the Psalms contain'd in the First Part were compos'd to dissuade Men from Vice, and induce them to Vertue; That those which are in the Second, represent the Thirst and Ardour of those who have any Knowledge of Vertue, and any relish of its Sweetness; That those of the Third Part describe the State of those Persons who are advanc'd to the Knowledge of Divine Things; That those of the Fourth raise Men's Minds above all things in this World; That those of the Fifth elevate a Man to the Highest top of Perfection. There is more Wit than Solidity in these Reflections, as well as in the Interpretations of the Titles or Inscriptions of the Psalms, which he has given in his Second Part, and are almost all of them Allegorical. The same Judgment ought to be made of his Homily upon the 6th. Psalm which follows this Treatise.

The Eight Homilies upon *Ecclesiastes* are less forc'd, more useful and more natural: Those upon the Canticles are wholly Allegorical; but this Book cannot otherwise be explain'd. He wrote also upon the Proverbs, as he testifies at the beginning of the Homilies upon *Ecclesiastes*; but that Commentary of his is lost. *Possinus* has promised his entire Commentary upon *Ecclesiastes*.

The First Discourse of Prayer is concerning the necessity of it, and the manner wherein we ought to pray. The Four other Discourses are an Explication of the Lord's Prayer, as the following Treatise is an Explication of the Beatitudes: He always interweaves his Moral Reflections with a multitude of Allegories, Comparisons, and Histories, which render them less profitable and more tedious.

In the Homily upon the Words of Chap. 15. of the 1st. Epistle to the Corinthians, *When all things shall be subdued unto God even the Father, then shall the Son himself also be subject unto him*, which is the First in the Second Volume; he refutes the Consequences which the *Arians* draw from this Passage, and shows, That by the subjection of the Son, we must not understand a State of Servitude, but the Immortality and Happiness of the Humane Nature of Jesus Christ.

The Longest and most Excellent of all the Dogmatical Works of St. *Gregory Nyssen*, is his Treatise against *Eunomius*, divided into Twelve Books (*c*) wherein he refutes a part of what this Heretick had asserted in his Apology in answer to St. *Basil*. St. *Gregory* compos'd this Book after the Death of this Father, as we learn from the Letter at the begining of it, which is address'd to his Brother *Peter* of *Sebaste*. At the beginning of the First Book he defends the Person and Conduct of St. *Basil* against the Calumnies of *Eunomius*: He describes the Life of this Heretick and that of his Master *Aetius*, and afterwards refutes the Impious Reasonings of this Heretick, and explains the Passages of Scripture which he alledges to prove his Errors. *Photius* assures us, That in this Book St. *Gregory* did far excell the other Two Authors which have written against the same Book of *Eunomius*, as well for the Beauty and Sweetness of his Eloquence, as for the Strength and Multitude of his Arguments. He particularly praises the last Book which in his time was consider'd as a distinct Treatise.

His great Catechetical Discourse is an Excellent Treatise of the Manner, in which the Jews, Pagans,

c His Treatise against Eunomius, divided into Twelve Books.] There are some who have reckoned Thirteen; but they have inconveniently divided the Fifth Book into Two. These Books are quoted according to the present Division by *Theodoret*, and the Sixth Council. St. *Jerom* in his Catalogue Testifies, That St. *Gregory Nyssen* read this Division of his Treatise to him.

St. *Gregory Nyſſen.*

and Hereticks are to be Inſtructed, to Convince them of the Truth of our Religion. St. *Gregory Nyſſen* obſerves in the Preface, That the Reaſons which are to be uſed againſt Pagans, who deny the Unity of God, are different from thoſe that muſt be alledg'd againſt the Jews who oppoſe the Trinity, and that the Method which is to be follow'd in refuting the Hereticks who oppoſe the Divinity of One of the Three Perſons, ſhould be different from that which is obſerved in proving the Trinity againſt the Jews: That in diſputing both againſt the one and the other, we muſt uſe Principles agreeable to Reaſon, in which they and we are agreed; That when one Diſputes againſt an Atheiſt, he muſt prove the Exiſtence of a God by the Creation of the World; and when he has to do with a Pagan who admits many Deities, he muſt prove to him that there is but One, becauſe God muſt be abſolutely perfect, and there can be no more of this Nature but One. With reſpect to the Jew, he would have us endeavour to make him underſtand the Divine Word, by comparing it with the Word of Underſtanding, or the Reaſon that is in Men, and give him alſo ſome Idea of the Holy Spirit, by comparing him to the Breath that is in us, and then after that he would have us to prove the Exiſtence of the Divine Word by the Teſtimonies of Holy Scripture. To make the Incarnation appear probable to the Jews and to the Gentiles, he ſhews them, That Man has fallen from the State wherein he was created; That his Nature is corrupted by Sin; That it cannot be ſaid, that God is the Author of Evil; That therefore Man muſt have fallen by his own Fault, and by abuſing his Liberty; but that Man being once fallen, muſt be raiſed up again by him who created him; and thus it was reaſonable that the Word who created him, ſhould come himſelf to raiſe him from his Fall, and ſave him from his Shipwrack. Afterwards he anſwers all the Difficulties which are propos'd againſt the Incarnation; he ſays, That it was not unworthy of God to be born of a Virgin, to Eat, to Drink, to Die, and to be Buried, becauſe theſe things are neither criminal nor diſhonourable; That the Divinity being united to the Humane Nature did not loſe its Divine Perfections, as the Soul does not loſe its Spiritual Perfections by being united to the Body; That the Union of Soul and Body to compoſe a Man is no leſs incomprehenſible than the Union of the Divine and Humane Nature in Jeſus Chriſt; That the Miracles of Jeſus Chriſt, his extraordinary Birth, and his Reſurrection, are evident Proofs of his Divinity; That the Reaſon which mov'd him to become Man, was his Good-Will towards Men, and his Compaſſion towards Mankind; That his Divinity always continued impaſſible and incorruptible; That the Incarnation of Jeſus Chriſt was the moſt natural Remedy for us miſerable Sinners, and moſt agreeable to the Goodneſs, the Juſtice, the Wiſdom and Power of God; That he came at ſuch a time when Wickedneſs was arriv'd to its higheſt pitch; That he called all Men, but by calling them to the Faith he did not take away their Liberty; and this was the reaſon why many of them ſtill periſh'd; That Men ought not to be compell'd and forc'd to do good, for this would take away the praiſe of good Actions, and the blame of bad ones; That Chriſt ought to die, that he might be wholly like unto us, and that he might confirm our Reſurrection by his own; That all that he did after his Reſurrection firmly proves his Divinity. Afterwards he ſpeaks of Baptiſm and the Euchariſt: He ſays of Baptiſm, that there are Three Things in this Sacrament which conduct us to Immortal Life, Prayer, Water and Faith; That the Regeneration which is wrought in Baptiſm ought not to be attributed to the Water, but to a Divine Virtue; That by dipping the Perſon under Water Three Times, the Death and Reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt is repreſented; That without Baptiſm no Man can be waſh'd from his Sins, becauſe by it the Divine Vertue is rendred effectual, in conſequence of that which he believes to depend upon Free-will; That as the Soul is united to God by Baptiſm and by Faith, ſo the Body is united to God by the Euchariſt. This is the Doctrine of St. *Gregory Nyſſen*, who ſays, That the Body of Jeſus Chriſt entring into us, is an Antidote or Preſervative againſt Sin; That it changes and transforms us into him, and communicates unto us Incorruptibility. Afterwards he enquires, "How it is poſſible, that this Body which is diſtributed alone to ſo many Millions "of the Faithful over all the Earth, ſhould be entire in each of theſe, and in each part which they re-"ceive, and yet not ceaſe to remain ſtill entire in it ſelf: And he anſwers, That the Body of Jeſus "Chriſt having been the Habitation of the Word of God, was chang'd into a Divine Dignity: And "therefore I have reaſon to believe, ſays he, that to this Day the Bread being Sanctified by the Word "of God, is chang'd into the Body of the Word of God: For here the Bread is Sanctified by the Word "of God and Prayer; not that 'tis preſently turn'd into the Body of God by eating it, but becauſe "it is transform'd and chang'd at the ſame time into his Body, as the Word has ſaid in theſe Words, *This is my Body*," He adds, That this Fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt is communicated to us, and is changed into us, by means of the Bread and Wine which God hath chang'd and transformed into his Body, by Virtue of the ſacred Benediction. He ſpeaks in the following Diſcourſe of Regeneration. He thinks that it depends in ſome manner upon our Will and Free Pleaſure; and ſhews that it is unprofitable, unleſs after we have received the Sacrament, we lead a Life free from Sin. At laſt, he Diſcourſes of the Reward of thoſe who have liv'd well, and the puniſhment of the wicked. He affirms, That the Fire of Hell is of another Nature than the Fire upon Earth. There are at the End ſome Periods added againſt the Heretick *Severus*. Some Proteſtant Criticks have call'd this Book in Queſtion, whether it was St. *Gregory*'s or no; but the ableſt, as *Caſaubon* and *Albertin* have been forc'd to acknowledge it, becauſe they found it quoted oftentimes by *Theodoret* in his Dialogues, and taken notice of by *Euthymius Zigabenus*.

In the Book of Faith addreſs'd to *Simplicius*, St. *Gregory* treats of the Trinity. There he proves the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit, and anſwers the principal Objections of the Hereticks.

The Diſcourſe which was formerly Entituled, *Of Great Abraham*, is now, *Of the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit*; there he anſwers the *Anomeans*, whom he compares to the *Epicureans* and the

the *Stoicks*; he makes also a great Digression in praise of *Abraham*, wherein he describes the Sacrifice of his Son very naturally. St. Gregory Nyssen.

In the Treatise address'd to *Ablavius*, and Entituled, *That we must not say there are Three Gods*, he shews that the Three Divine Persons cannot be call'd Three Gods, but that they are One God only.

The Treatise to *Eustathius*, and that of the Difference of *Hypostasis* and Nature, are upon the same Subject; but they are found, as we have already said, among the Letters of St. *Basil*, and 'tis probable that the First was written by him.

The Latin Treatise which contains the Passages of the Old Testament, to prove the Divinity of the Son against the Jews, is not St. *Gregory Nyssen's*, since St. *Chrysostom*, who liv'd after St. *Gregory*, is cited in it.

The Treatise *of Common Notions* address'd to the Greeks, is a Scholastical Treatise about the Tearms, by which the Ancients us'd to explain the Mystery of the Trinity.

There are two little Tracts of St. *Gregory Nyssen's* against *Apollinarius*; the one very short in the First Volume, which is probably nothing but a Fragment; the other a little longer in the Second Volume. There he refutes some Objections of this Heretick; and proves, that 'tis the same Word which appear'd to the Patriarchs, and which assum'd real Flesh in time, and which is so intimately united to the Humane Nature, that what agrees to God is attributed to Man.

In the little Tract *against the Manichees*, St. *Gregory* proves against these Hereticks, that Evil is not an uncorruptible and uncreated Nature, no more than the Devil who is the Author of it. He demonstrates this by Ten Syllogisms.

In the Treatise *of Distiny* he particularly disputes against Judicial Astrology, which makes our Actions depend upon the Course and Influence of the Stars.

In the Treatise *of the Soul*, which is in the Second Volume, he first relates the different Sentiments of Philosophers and Hereticks concerning the Original and Nature of the Soul, and then proves that it is a Spiritual and Immortal Substance which is united to the Body, which penetrates, and actuates it. He compares this Union to that of the Divine and Humane Nature in Jesus Christ, and rejects the Opinion of *Origen* concerning the Ascension and Descent of Souls.

The Second Treatise *of the Soul and the Resurrection*, which is in the Third Volume, is a Dialogue which St. *Gregory* is suppos'd to have had with his Sister *Marcina* after the Death of St. *Basil* their Brother. There he proves the Immortality of the Soul. He is of Opinion, that it will distinctly know its Body at the Day of Judgment. He explains the Story of the wicked Rich Man and *Lazarus* Allegorically. There he refutes the Transmigration of Souls, and proves the Resurrection.

In the Treatise addres'd to *Jerius* concerning the untimely death of Infants, he endeavours to answer this Question, Why God suffered Infants to Die before they come to the Use of Reason? The most general Reason that he offers is, That he does it to prevent those Sins that these Infants would have commited, if they had come to the Age of Discretion. And because it may be objected to him, Why then does God permit so many wicked Persons to live, who had been more happy if they had never been, or if they should have died sooner? He Answers, That God permits it, First, because he draws Good out of the Evil which they do; Secondly, because their Punishment serves for an Example of God's Justice.

Some Criticks have questioned whether the Book *of Virginity* was St. *Gregory Nyssen's*: The only Reason which they alledg'd for caling it in question, is, because the Author was Married: But this Reason is so far from proving what they intend, that it rather proves the contrary, since 'tis certain that St. *Gregory Nyssen* had a Wife, as we have already shown. He describes in this Treatise the advantages of Virginity, and the Inconveniencies of Marriage; nevertheless he does not design to condemn Marriage. He adds, that the Christian Virginity does not only consist in the Purity of the Body, but also in the Purity of the Soul. He recommends Temperance, and the shuning of Pleasures and Voluptuousness, and gives many Rules and Examples of Christian Vertues.

The Sermons or Homilies *of the Mysteries* have much of the nature of Dogmatical Treatises. Thus in the Sermon upon the Nativity, having exhorted the Faithful to celebrate this Festival with joy, he explains some Questions about the Incarnation, and clears up some Circumstances about the Nativity. He follows the same Method in the Five Sermons upon *Easter*, which are fill'd with many Allegories. In the Sermon of the Ascension of Jesus Christ, he explains the 23d. and 24th. Psalms.

In that of *Whitsunday*, he exhorts Men to make themselves worthy to Receive the Holy Spirit.

In that upon the Festival of the Baptism of Jesus Christ, he treats of the Spiritual Regeneration which is wrought by Baptism, and exhorts those that are newly Baptiz'd, to lead a pure Life and free from Sin.

In the Discourse of the presenting of Jesus Christ in the Temple, of the Purification of the Virgin, and of *Simeon*, he makes many Allegories upon these Mysteries.

The Discourses of Morality are less Allegorical, and more useful than those that we have spoken of already. The Subject of those which we now have is as follows.

In the Oration upon his Ordination, St. *Gregory* discourses of the Miseries of the Church, and the little Faith which was to be found among the Christians of his time. He condemns the Divisions which were in the Church, and the Sophisms that were us'd about Mysteries. He exhorts Men to pray for the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, and to dispose themselves to receive them.

St. *Gregory Nyſſen.*

In the Diſcourſe againſt thoſe that delay Baptiſm, he exhorts the Catechumens to receive Baptiſm preſently without delaying it from day to day, as many Catechumens do. He invites them to draw near to Baptiſm, that they may be deliver'd from their Sins. He terrifies them with the fear of Death, the time whereof is uncertain. He makes them aſham'd of continuing ſo long in the Rank of Catechumens. He inſpires them with a Deſire of receiving Baptiſm, by repreſenting to them the Graces which it conveys, and the wonderful Effects which it produces. He thinks that it would be better to ſin after Baptiſm, than to die without it. He refutes the Pretence of thoſe who delay to receive Baptiſm, becauſe they find themſelves ſtill inclin'd to ſin: He ſays, that they deceive themſelves, if they think that after they have ſpent their Life in Pleaſures and Debauchery, they ſhall be purified by receiving Baptiſm at the point of Death. He diſtinguiſhes, as St. *Gregory Nazianzen* did, three Sorts of Perſons with relation to another Life. The Firſt Sort are the Saints and Righteous who are happy; The Second, are thoſe who ſhall neither be Happy nor Miſerable; The Third, are thoſe who ſhall be puniſh'd for their Sins. He places in the ſecond Rank thoſe who delay their Baptiſm till the Point of Death. This is a ſingular Opinion of his, and does not agree with the Holy Scripture; which has made ſome believe that this Treatiſe was not St. *Gregory Nyſſen's*: But it has his Stile and Air, and is not much different from his Doctrine, nor from that of St. *Gregory Nazianzen* in the Diſcourſe which he made upon the ſame Subject.

The Diſcourſe of Penance (*d*) contains two Parts: The Firſt againſt thoſe who reprove their Brethren with much ſharpneſs, and condemn them upon ſlight Grounds; and the Second againſt thoſe Sinners who do no Penance, or do it very negligently. He proves by the Example of Jeſus Chriſt, who convers'd among Phariſees and Sinners, that Sinners are not to be treated with much Rigour, nor to be condemn'd raſhly. He adds, that by uſing them hardly we throw them into Deſpair; That we ought to conſider that we are all Sinners; That God invites all the World to accept of his Grace; That we ought to ſupport the Weak, according to the Example of Jeſus Chriſt; That the greateſt Sinners have obtain'd Mercy, and that God is always ready to pardon thoſe who are penitent. He ſhows afterwards, that Harſhneſs and Rigour, do not agree with the Laity, who by condemning others with too much Severity, condemn themſelves; nor with Biſhops and Prieſts, whoſe Character ſhould be Mild and Charitable, as he proves by the Examples of *Moſes* and Jeſus Chriſt. He obſerves, that a good Paſtor ſhould do as the Gardener mention'd in the Goſpel, who pray'd his Maſter to ſpare the barren Fig-Tree a little longer, and that he ſhould follow the Example of *Moſes*, who continually begg'd Pardon of God for the People of *Iſrael*; and whoſe Affection went ſo far, that he wiſh'd he might be blotted out of the Book of Life, if God would pardon the Sins of his People. He ſubjoins the Example of the Prodigal Son, and ſays, That from thence we ought to learn to open the Church to Penitent Sinners, and to treat them with Mildneſs and Charity. But after he has ſaid theſe things againſt the too great Severity of ſome Miniſters of the Church, who deſpis'd thoſe that came near them as Supplicants, who would not regard them in their Afflictions, who ſhunn'd and repuls'd them; he exhorts Sinners to Repentance by the Example of the Woman that was a Sinner, who is mention'd in St. *Luke*. He ſays, that they muſt imitate her Weeping, her Tears, her Humility and Penance. He declaims againſt thoſe Penitents, who liv'd after the ſame manner that they us'd to do before they were in a State of Penance. "They "have, ſays he, the ſame Gravity in their Countenances, the ſame Magnificence in their Apparel, they "fare as ſumptuouſly as they did before, they ſleep as well as they did, they mind the ſame Buſineſs "as before; in ſhort, they take upon them the Name of Penitents, and do no Actions of Penance. "They are by their own Fault debarr'd from the Sacred Myſteries, and from the Communion of Ho"ly Things, and they take no care, nor are any ways ſollicitous to be re-admitted to them; on the "contrary they ſeem to deſpiſe them, and look upon them as very vile things." After this he ſhews by the Compariſon of one who was debarr'd from a King's Table, and of one that being ſick, deſir'd to be heal'd, how great the Folly is of thoſe who never think of doing Penance. "You, ſays he, "whoſe Soul is ſick, Why do you not run to a Phyſician? Why do you not diſcover your Sins to "him by Confeſſion? Why do you ſuffer your Diſeaſe to encreaſe till it be inflam'd and deeply root"ed in you? Re-enter into your own Breaſts, reflect upon your own Ways. You have offended "God, you have provok'd your Creatour, who is the Lord and Judge, not only of this Life, but alſo "of the Life to come. If you be ſick with Pleaſures, you muſt cure your Diſeaſe with Faſting and "Abſtinence; if your Soul is ſick with Luſt, you muſt uſe Continence for a Remedy. Covetouſneſs is "like a Fever that conſumes us, drive it away by giving of Alms and by Liberality; this is the Re"medy of a Soul that loves Riches immoderately. Have you taken the Goods of another? Make "Reſtitution. Are you ready to periſh by Lying? Avoid the danger you are in by the Love of Truth. "You are in Error and Hereſie; blot out this Sin by embracing the Faith of the Church; for what is "doing Penance, but effacing and deſtroying the Evil we have done? Enquire into the Diſeaſe where"with you are ſeiz'd, be ſorry for it, afflict your ſelves, and communicate your Affliction to your "Brethren, that they may be afflicted with you, that ſo you may obtain the Pardon of your Sins. "Show me bitter Tears, that I may mingle mine with yours. Impart your Trouble to your Biſhop, "as to your Father, he will be touch'd with a ſenſe of your Miſery, as *Jacob* was when he ſaw the "Coat of his Son *Joſeph* ſtain'd with Blood; or as *David* was upon the Death of his Son *Abſalom*:

(*d*) *The Diſcourſe of Penance.*] This Diſcourſe as well as that of Faſting, and the Panegyrick upon St. *Stephen*, belong to *Aſterius Amaſenus*, to whom *Photius* attributes them in *Vol.* 27. of his Bibliotheque. See what we have ſaid of them, when we give an account of the Works of this Father, where we have retracted what we ſaid upon this Subject in the Firſt Edition.

"Diſcover

" Discover to him the most secret Corners of your Heart; show this Physician your most hidden
" Wounds, he will take care of your Honour and your Health. The time of our Death is uncertain;
" my Brethren, let us prevent the Hour of our Death by our Vigilance, as Men use precaution against
" the Diseases of the Body before the Dog-days; let us endeavour to recover the Groat, which we
" lost by our negligence. St. *Gregory Nyssen.*

The Discourse *of Benevolence and Liberality towards the Poor*, contains the most convincing Reasons, the most pressing Motives, and the most lively Expressions which can be employ'd to excite Men to give Alms to the Poor, and to help them in their Necessities.

In the Discourse *against Usurers*, he shews that Usury is forbidden by the Laws of Charity, especially when he to whom the Money is lent is poor.

In the Discourse *about Fasting*, which was preach'd at the beginning of *Lent*, he exhorts the Faithful to fast exactly during this time. In the Sermon *against Fornication*, he gives a frightful representation of that Sin.

The Discourse against those *who hardly endure Reproofs*, teaches that Humility and Submission wherewith they should receive the Chastisements of the Church. St. *Gregory* discourses there against those who despise Excommunication. He gives a frightful description of the Soul of an excommunicated Person; and says, that it cannot partake of Glory, nor enter into the Kingdom of Heaven; That we must not imagine that Excommunication is an Invention of the Bishops; That it is an ancient Law of the Church, the Custom of our Fathers founded upon the Scripture which first introduc'd it: He shews the necessity of it. Towards the end he observes, that he did not wonder that many were troubled to bear his Rebukes, and murmur'd against him; that this Abuse had been of a long time, but he was resolv'd to bear with patience the Reproaches of others.

We may place at the head of the Funeral Orations and the Panegyricks of St. *Gregory Nyssen*, the Discourse wherein he proves, That we ought not to be troubled at the death of the Faithful, because it delivers them from this Mortal and Miserable Life, that they may enjoy Immortal Life and Eternal Happiness.

In the Funeral Oration upon *Pulcheria* the Daughter of *Theodosius*, after he has aggravated the loss which he suffer'd by the death of this young Princess, he shows that they should comfort themselves, since she is now happy.

In the Panegyrick upon the Empress *Flaccilla*, he describes the Vertues of this Princess, and represents the Happiness which she enjoys in Heaven.

In the Panegyrick upon the Martyr St. *Stephen*, after he has given an Account of the History of his Martyrdom and prais'd his Constancy, he refutes the Enemies of the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit.

There are Three Discourses of St. *Gregory Nyssen*'s in Honour of the 40 Martyrs, wherein he relates their Martyrdom, and praises their Constancy.

In the Panegyrick upon the Martyr *Theodorus*, (*e*) having described the Honours which the Church bestows upon Saints and Martyrs, and the Rewards which they enjoy, he relates the Martyrdom of *Theodorus*, and concludes with addressing a Prayer to him, for obtaining the Graces and Blessings of God by his Intercession.

In the Panegyrick upon St. *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, he praises the excellent Vertues of this great Saint; he relates many of his Miracles, whereof some are very extraordinary. *Suidas* names this Panegyrick among St. *Gregory*'s Works, and there is no reason at all to doubt of it.

The Panegyricks upon St. *Basil*, *Meletius* and St. *Ephram*, contain nothing but the Life and Praises of those great Men. To these Orations we may joyn the Life of St. *Macrina* his Sister.

The Canonical Epistle to *Letoius* contains the Rules or Laws of Penance. St. *Gregory* there distinguishes Three sorts of Sins, which referr to the Three Faculties of the Soul, *Reason*, *Lust* and *Anger*. He says, that the greatest Sins are those which belong to the Spirit of a Man, such as Idolatry, Judaism, Manichæism and Heresie. He would have those that voluntarily fall into these Crimes be depriv'd of the Sacraments till the Hour of Death: But, he says, that those who have been forc'd by the rigour of Torments to commit some of these Crimes, ought not to be punisht more severely than Fornicators. He ordains also, that those who deal in Magick, Witchcraft and Divination of things to come, should be treated as wilful Apostates, if they have practis'd this Art through Infidelity; but he would have them treated as those who yield under the rigour of Torments, if they have used it only through too much Credulity, or in hope of some considerable Gain. He says, that as to what concerns the Sins of Lust, they may be referr'd to Adultery and Fornication; and that Fornication is a kind of Adultery. He referrs to Adultery the Crimes which are against Nature. He imposes Nine Years Penance upon simple Fornication, and double the time upon Adultery; yet he leaves to the

(*e*) *The Panegyrick upon* Theodorus *the Martyr.*] Some Criticks think that this Panegyrick is Suppositious. First, because the Author of this Discourse prays the Holy Martyr to hinder the Incursions of the *Scythians*: Now, say they, the *Scythians* had not made any Incursions into *Armenia*, till a 100 Years after the death of St. *Gregory*, under the Reign of *Anastasius*. Secondly, the Author says, that *Theodorus* was of the Country of *Job*, that is, of *Arabia*, and yet his is a Greek Name, and 'its said in the same Panegyrick that he was of *Amasea* in *Cappadocia*. But 'tis easie to answer the first Difficulty, for the *Scythians* had made Incursions into the *Roman* Empire in the time of St. *Gregory Nyssen*, as appears by St. *Jerom Ep.* 30. and by *Cedrenus*, who says that they entred into *Thrace* under the Reign of *Valens*. The second Objection has no Difficulty, for the Author of this Panegyrick does not say, that *Job* was of *Arabia*, nor that *Theodorus* was of the same Province with *Job*, but only that they were both of the East.

Bishop

St. *Gregory Nyſſen.*

Biſhop a liberty of Moderating or Lengthning the Penance according to the Diſpoſition of the Penitent; and he would have thoſe treated more gently who confeſs their ſecret and hidden Sins In ſhort, as to the Sins which proceed from Anger, he ſays, That tho' the Scripture reproves all Sins ſeverely, yet the Fathers have made no Laws but againſt Murder. He impoſes 27 Years Penance for Wilful-Murder; and for involuntary Murders, the ſame ſpace of time as for Fornication; yet he allows this Penance to be diminiſh'd according to the Fervor of the Penitent. In general he obſerves, that all thoſe who fall ſick before they have perfectly finiſh'd their Penance, ſhould be reconcil'd at the Point of death, and be admitted to receive the Sacraments; yet upon condition that they fulfil their time of Penance if they recover their health.

As for Covetouſneſs, he ſays, That tho' this Crime be another kind of Idolatry, yet there are no Canons made to ſubject the Covetous to Penance; and therefore it is ſufficient to purifie them from this Crime, by Inſtruction and Prayer. As for Robbery, he ſays, there are Two ſorts of it; that which is done Publickly and by force of Arms, and that which is done Secretly; That thoſe who are guilty of the firſt ſort, ought to be put under the ſame Penance as Murderers; but as for thoſe who ſteal anothers Goods in ſecret, it was ſufficient that they ſhould reſtore them and give Alms to the Poor. He looks upon the Action of thoſe who dig up the Dead as a very great Crime, and puts them under the ſame Penance as Fornicators.

At laſt, he ſays, That tho' Sacrilege was one of the Crimes which was puniſh'd under the Old Law, by ſtoning the Perſon that was guilty of it; yet this Puniſhment was mitigated under the New Law, and that now ſacrilegious Perſons were treated leſs harſhly than Adulterers. He concludes with this Advertiſement to *Letoïus*, to whom he writes, that he ſhould chiefly conſider the Diſpoſition of the Perſon that does Penance, becauſe it is not the length of time, but the Converſion of the Perſon and change of his Life which cures the Sin.

Some Criticks have doubted whether this Letter was St. *Gregory Nyſſen*'s; but there is no reaſon to reject it, and it has been been own'd by the Greek Church, as appears by the Council held in the Emperour's Palace which approves the Canons of St. *Gregory Nyſſen*, and by the Commentaries of *Zonaras* and *Balſamon*, who acknowledge it to be Genuine; and beſides 'tis ſufficiently evident that 'tis the Work of an ancient Author.

In the Letter of the Profeſſion of a Chriſtian, he ſhews that it conſiſts in imitating Jeſus Chriſt, and he explains in what ſenſe this can be done.

In the following Letter to *Olympius*, he explains particularly wherein Chriſtian Perfection conſiſts, and makes a particular Enumeration of all the Offices and Vertues of a perfect Chriſtian.

The Treatiſe concerning the End which Chriſtians ought to propoſe to themſelves is almoſt upon the ſame Subject. St. *Gregory* proves, That the End of all Chriſtians ſhould be to ſhun Vice, to practiſe Vertue, to purifie themſelves from their Sins, to beg the Grace of Jeſus Chriſt, to be Humble, to be Charitable, to be diligent in Prayer, to deſpiſe the World, and to fix their Affections upon God. This Treatiſe is addreſs'd to the Monks.

In the Letter to *Flavianus*, he complains of the evil treatment he had receiv'd from *Helladius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*.

In the Letter concerning Pilgrimages to *Jeruſalem*, he diſſuades Chriſtians from undertaking lightly theſe kind of Journeys, becauſe of the Abuſes which happen in them. There have been great Diſputes occaſion'd by this Letter: Some have believ'd it ſuppoſititious; others have maintain'd that what is there ſaid reſpects only the Monks and the Nuns. But Firſt, there are no Arguments ſtrong enough to reject it, and the moſt learned Catholicks have acknowledg'd it as a Genuine Work of St. *Gregory*'s: And in the Second place, ſome Reaſons which are us'd to diſſuade Men from Pilgrimages to *Jeruſalem*, reſpect all Chriſtians in general. In the mean time, 'tis no ways probable, that St. *Gregory Nyſſen*, who was ſo very much devoted to the Saints, ſhould abſolutely condemn the Piety of thoſe who travell'd upon a good Deſign to viſit the Holy Places, eſpecially ſince this Practice was Authoriz'd and Approv'd from the beginning of the Fourth Age of the Church. It muſt therefore be ſaid, that he did not condemn it but upon the account of the Abuſes and Superſtitions, which began in his time to creep into theſe kind of Devotions, of which he was a Witneſs in his Journey to *Jeruſalem*. Thus St. *Jerome* who was very much devoted to the Holy Places, in his 13th. Epiſtle, diſſuades *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Nola*, from a Journey to *Jeruſalem* upon the ſame Reaſon that St. *Gregory* uſes. And to ſhow that St. *Gregory* could have no other Aim or Deſign, one needs but compare this Letter with the following to *Euſtathia*, *Ambroſia* and *Baſiliſſa*, wherein he acknowledges, that 'tis a Happineſs to ſee the Holy Places, provided a Man repreſents the Death and Sufferings of Jeſus Chriſt by his own Actions to himſelf. He complains in this Letter, that the Church of *Jeruſalem* was no more exempt from Diviſions than other Churches, and explains towards the latter end the Myſtery of the Incarnation. There he teaches, that the Divinity was not chang'd into the Humanity, but that the Divinity was united to a Nature like to ours, that it aſſum'd a Body and a Soul, and was never ſeparated from them; that the Virgin ought to be call'd the Mother of God, and not the Mother of a Man. He rejects the Opinion of the *Millenaries*. He complains of ſome that would not communicate with him in the Journey which he made to *Jeruſalem*. At laſt, he exhorts thoſe to whom he writes, who were at *Jeruſalem*, to continue firm in the Faith of their Fore-Fathers, and not to preferr Novelties to the Ancient Doctrine receiv'd from their Fathers by Tradition.

St. *Cyril* in the Book written to *Evoptius*, quotes a Paſſage of St. *Gregory*'s taken out of his Commentary upon the Epiſtle of St. *Paul* to the *Philippians*, which can be no other St. *Gregory* but this of *Nyſſa*.

Nyssa. The Eight Books of *Nemesius*'s Philosophy have formerly been attributed to him; but now it is generally agreed that this was a gross Error. *St. Gregory Nyssen.*

Tho' St. *Gregory Nyssen* professed Rhetorick, and *Photius* assures us, That his Style is Lofty and Smooth; yet one may say, that he came not near the Eloquence of St. *Basil*, and St. *Gregory Nazianzen*. His way of Writing is affected, and his Style is no ways Natural; he speaks more like a Declaimer than an Orator; he is always abstruse either by Allegories, or abstracted Reasonings; he mingles Philosophy with Divinity, and makes use of the Principles of Philosophers, both in his Explications of Mysteries, and in his Discourses of Morality: Upon which Account his Works are more like the Treatises of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, than those of other *Christians*. He follows and imitates *Origen* in his way of Allegorizing, and there are also some of this Author's Errors in his Works, about the Nature of Souls, and the End of the Pains of the damned; but he rejects and refutes them expressly in other places: 'Tis very probable therefore that the places wherein these Errors are to be met with were added since, which *Germanus* the Patriarch of *Constantinople* shows in a Book, out of which *Photius* relates an Extract in Vol. 218. of his *Bibliotheca*; wherein he proves as well by what goes before those places, as by what follows after them, and by an infinite Number of contrary Passages, that those places which agree with the Doctrine of *Origen* concerning the End of the Pains of the damned, were either added, or corrupted by the Disciples of this Author. He observes also, That the like happened to the Conference about the Soul with *Macrina*, to the Catechetical Discourse, and the Book of the Perfection of a Christian: And he should have added also the Treatise about Infants who die before they come to the use of Reason. It may be said also, That St. *Gregory Nyssen* having his Head full of the Books and Principles of *Origen*, could not always be so careful but some of his Errors would slip unawares into his Reasonings, tho' he was not really of his Opinion; and he rejected them at other times when he was more attentive. Yet 'tis plain that there is an Addition at the End of the great Catechetical Discourse, wherein mention is made of the Heretick *Severus*.

'Twas a long time before the Works of St. *Gregory Nyssen* were all collected together into one Body. The First Editions have only the Eight Books of *Nemesius*'s Philosophy. In 1536, *Aldus Minutius* printed at *Venice* three Greek Orations, and in 1537, the Greek Text of the Book *of the Formation of Man*; and the Version of this Book made by *Dionysius Exiguus*, was printed with the Treatise *of the Life of* Moses, and the Eight Books of *Nemesius*, at *Cologne* in 1551. The Book *of the Life of* Moses, translated by *Georgius Trapezuntius*, was printed at *Basle* in 1521. In 1544 *Camerarius* publish'd a Version of the Homily upon *Abraham*. In 1550, *Zinus* publish'd a Version of some Moral Homilies, which was printed by *Vascosanus*. *The Conference about the Soul*, translated by *Augerius*, was printed at *Paris* in 1557. *Laurentius Sifanus* collected together and translated several Treatises of St. *Gregory Nyssen*'s, and caused them to be printed at *Basle* in 1562. In 1567, *Leunclavius* made a New Translation of the Book *of the Life of* Moses. In 1564, *Hoëschelius* caused the Greek Text of some Orations of St. *Gregory Nyssen* to be printed at *Ausburg*. In 1567, the Book *of Virginity* was printed at *Rome* translated by *Galesinus*, together with Five Orations; the same Book was also translated by *Livineius*, whose Version appear'd in 1574. The Discourse *of Purification and of the Soul* was printed at *Cologne* in 1568. The Edition of the Year 1562 was re-printed at *Basle* in 1571. There was added to it the Exposition upon the *Canticles* translated by *Leunclavius*, and the Letter to *Flavianus*. The Edition of *Nivelle* of the Year 1573 is larger, and contains the Version of almost all the Treatises of St. *Gregory Nyssen* which had been then publish'd: Since that Edition *Maximus Margurius*, caused the Version *of the Book of Perfection*, and of the Letter to *Letoius*, and of the Book upon *the Titles of the Psalms*, to be printed at *Venice* in 1585. The Letter to *Letoius* was also printed at *Venice* in 1589, together with the Notes of *Antonius Augustinus*, and at *Paris* with those of *Balsamon* in 1561; at *Ausburg* together with the Homily of the Divinity of the Son and Holy Spirit, translated by *Hervetus*, in 1591. The Book *of Perfection* of *Zinus*'s Translation, was printed at *Venice*, in 1575. In 1593, *Hoëschelius* printed in Greek at *Amsterdam*, the Book *of the Christian Profession*, and that *of the Life of* Moses, the Treatise against *Apollinarius*, and that *of Faith*. *Fronto Ducæus* printed in Latin at *Ingoldstadt* in the Year 1598, the Treatises against *Apollinarius*, of the Witch of *Endor*, the Discourse upon the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, that of St. *Gregory* upon his Ordination, his Book against the *Manichees*, the Treatise of Destiny, and the Oration against Usurers. The Book of the Titles of the *Psalms* in Greek and Latin, translated by *Gretser* was also printed at *Ingolstadt* in 1600, the Treatise *about the End of a Christian* was publish'd by *Morellus* in the Year 1606, the same Year appear'd in Greek and Latin the Letter about Pilgrimages to *Jerusalem*, and that to *Eustathia*, *Ambrosia* and *Basilissa*, the first printed by *Moreilus*, and the last by *Robert Stephens* with *Casaubon*'s Notes; both the one and the other were printed at *Hanover*, the first in 1607, with the Notes of *Du Moulin*, and the second in 1611. In 1605, *Fronto Ducæus* printed a New Latin Edition of the Works of St. *Gregory Nyssen*, which contains all that had been publish'd. At last, in 1615 there came out a Greek and Latin Edition of the Works of this Father which was printed in Two Volumes by *Morellus*, with the Notes of *Fronto Ducæus*; but because in this Edition there was not the First Book against *Eunomius*, nor the Greek of the Moral Orations, therefore there was a Supplement made at the End of St. *Basil*'s Works printed in 1618. The last Edition in 1638 was Copy'd after this, where the same Version of the last Homilies is put twice, once by it self apart, and once over against the Greek. This Edition was done very negligently, and is very uncorrect.

St. CÆSA-

St. CÆSARIUS.

St. Cæſarius.

CÆSARIUS, the Brother of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, after having finiſhed his Studies at *Alexandria*, came to dwell at *Conſtantinople*, and paſs'd the greateſt Part of his Life at Court in the Quality of Phyſician to the Emperour. He continued alſo ſome time with *Julian*, but finding himſelf ſollicited to quit the Chriſtian Religion, he retir'd into his own Country. After the Death of this Emperour he return'd to Court and came into Credit again under the Reign of *Valens*. He was honour'd with the Office of Treaſurer of *Bithynia*. He was like to have periſh'd in the Earthquake which happen'd at *Nice*, where he loſt part of his Goods. He died at Court in the beginning of the Year 369, and made the Poor his Heirs.

There is no great probability, that a Man who liv'd as *Cæſarius* did ſhould compoſe Dialogues upon the moſt ſubtile Queſtions of Philoſophy and Divinity; yet Four of them are attributed to him, which ſome have thought were written in his Name by St. *Gregory Nazianzen*; but they can neither be the one's nor the others. For, Firſt, It is not credible, that *Cæſarius*, who ſpent his Life at Court, and was but a ſimple Catechumen, ſhould be the Author of thoſe Queſtions, which ſuppoſe the Writer of them to be very well vers'd in the moſt ſubtile Parts of Theology. Secondly, The Title of theſe Dialogues import that the Author of them was Secretary to the Emperour, and that he had taught Twenty Years at *Conſtantinople*; which cannot be ſaid of the Brother of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, who was not Secretary, but Treaſurer, and who did not profeſs Theology at *Conſtantinople*, but Phyſick. Thirdly, St. *Gregory Nazianzen* in his Funeral Oration ſays not a Word of his Skill in Theology, nor that he had written about Religion. Fourthly, This Treatiſe has neither the Style nor Genius of the Writers of the Fourth Age. Fifthly, It cites St. *Gregory Nyſſen*, who died long after *Cæſarius*, and *Maximus* an Author of the Seventh Age. All which does plainly ſhow, That it can neither belong to *Cæſarius* nor St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, whoſe Style is as different from the Authors of this Dialogue, as the Style of *Demoſthenes* is from that of the Declamations of *Aphthonius*.

Photius ſays, That 'tis eaſie to perceive, that the Style of theſe Dialogues, is the Style of a Young Man who had learned ſome Rudiments of Rhetorick, and was proud of that little Knowledge which he had in Divinity and Philoſophy; That his Sallies of Wit are moſt of them unpleaſant; That he often makes uſe of Poetical Terms, and without any reaſon varies from the common Conſtruction; That his Style however is clear enough, and that there are few things to be blamed in his Doctrine. Theſe Dialogues contain 195 Queſtions and Anſwers about Matters of Theology and Philoſophy, more Subtile and Curious than Uſeful and Profitable. In *Photius*'s time, there were 220 of them. There are ſtill in many Manuſcripts thereabouts more or leſs, which plainly ſhows that theſe Queſtions were written by ſome Modern Greeks, who lov'd to buſie their Minds with theſe ſort of Queſtions, and to publiſh them under the Names of Ancient Authors. *Leunclavius* was the firſt who tranſlated theſe Queſtions, and his Verſion was printed at *Baſle* in 1571. Afterwards *Elias Elingherus*, Library-Keeper of *Ausburg*, publiſh'd in 1626, 78 of theſe Queſtions in Greek and Latin. Laſt of all, *Fronto Ducæus* publiſh'd the Greek Text and Verſion of 195 Queſtions and Anſwers, divided into Four Books, and thoſe were printed in the Addition to the *Bibliotheca Patrum* in 1624, and in the Eleventh Volume of the Edition in 1644.

St. AMPHILOCHIUS.

St. Amphilochius.

ST. *AMPHILOCHIUS*, an intimate Friend of St. *Baſil* and St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, was of *Cappadocia*. Having for ſome time profeſs'd Rhetorick, he afterwards attended the Bar, where he diſcharged the Office of an Advocate and a Judge (*a*.) Leaving this, he retir'd into a ſolitary place of *Cappadocia* call'd *Oziſala*, and after he had led there for ſome time a very Holy Life, he was in the Year 375 Ordain'd Biſhop of *Iconium*, the Metropolis of *Lycaonia*, a Province of the Diocеſs of *Aſia*, bordering upon *Cappadocia*. When he was Biſhop he took Care not only of his own Church, but alſo of the Affairs of the Neighbouring Churches. He was preſent at the Council of *Conſtantinople*, and there the Care of the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs of his Country was committed to him. About the Year 383, or 384, he held a Council at *Syda* againſt the *Maſſalians*, which *Photius* mentions in Vol. 52. *Theodoret* relates in *Ch.* 16. of *B.* V. of his Hiſtory, that St. *Amphilochius* petition'd the Emperour *Theodoſius* to prohibit the Hereticks to hold their Aſſemblies in Cities; That the Emperour judging his Petition too Rigorous, deny'd it; but *Amphilochius* returning ſome time after to the Place, and ſeeing *Arcadius* his Son cloſe by the Emperour *Theodoſius*, who had already been proclaim'd Emperour, he Saluted the Father without Saluting the Son; That *Theodoſius* thinking he had fail'd in his Duty through Inadvertence, commanded him to Salute his Son, to whom St. *Amphilochius* made anſwer, That it was enough that he had Saluted him. Whereupon *Theodoſius* fell into a Paſſion, and declar'd how much he was offended with him for his neglecting of his Son; That then *Amphilochius* diſcreetly told him, You cannot ſuffer an Injury to be done to the Emperour your Son, and do you ſuffer thoſe who diſhonour the Son of God? That the Emperour being ſurpriz'd with this Reply,

(*a*) *Advocate and a Judge.*] St. *Gregory Nazienzen* recommends to him the Affairs of his Friends in Letters 19, 106, 160. and it appears by Letter 106, that he was accus'd for not doing Juſtice.

made

made a Law; wherein he forbids Hereticks to hold their Assemblies any longer. *Theodoret* says, That this happen'd after *Theodosius*'s return into the East; that is, about the Year 392. But 'tis much more probable, that St. *Amphilochius* spoke thus to the Emperour, sometime after the Council of *Constantinople* in the Year 382, since it was then that the Law of *Theodosius* was made against Hereticks, forbidding their Assemblies. The Year of *Amphilochius*'s Death is not certainly known. St. *Jerome* in his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers, written in 392, mentions him as one then living. There also he mentions a Treatise of the Holy Spirit, which St. *Amphilochius* had read to him a little while before, wherein he proves that the Holy Spirit was God, Adorable and Almighty. St. *Amphilochius.*

The Works of this Father have been quoted with Commendation by the Councils and the Ancients. The Councils of *Ephesus* and *Chalcedon*, produce some Testimonies out of them against the Errors of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*, but they do not tell us out of what Book they are taken. *Theodoret* in his Dialogues produces others which are taken out of the Homilies upon these Words of the Gospel; *My Father is greater than I*; and upon these other Words, *The Son can do nothing of himself*; and out of a Homily upon these other Words of Jesus Christ in St. *John*, Chap. 5. *He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath eternal life*; and out of a Homily upon these Words of Jesus Christ in St. *Matth.* Chap. 26. *My God, let me not drink of this Cup*; out of a Discourse against the *Arians*, which is the same with that upon these Words, *My Father is greater than I*, as appears by *Leontius*; and out of another Sermon upon the Word, the Son of God. *Facundus* in Ch. 3. of *B.* XI. of his Treatise, cites Four Passages out of St. *Amphilochius*, whereof the First is taken out of the Homily upon these Words, *My Father is greater than I*; the Second out of the Homily upon these Words, *He that believeth in him that sent me hath eternal life*; the Third out of the Homily upon these Words, *I ascend to my Father and my God*; and the Last out of the Homily upon these Words, *Let me not drink of this Cup.* The Seventh Council in Action Five, quotes a Fragment of St. *Amphilochius* against the Books written by Hereticks, who bear the Name of the Apostles. *Leontius* and *Anastasius Sinaita* quote also some Passages of St. *Amphilochius.* St. *John Damascene* produces some Passages taken out of Two of his Letters, whereof one was address'd to the *Suadrenses*, and the other to *Seleucus.* There is also a Fragment and a Question concerning the Flesh of Jesus Christ, which is thought to have been extracted by *Photius*, and another Fragment of a Letter written to the Deacon *Pancarius.* *Barlaam* has also collected some Passages taken out of the Letter to *Seleucus*, out of the First Sermon upon these Words, *No Man knows either the day or the hour of Judgment*; out of another upon these Words, *The Child Jesus grew*; out of another upon these Words, *Destroy this Temple.* These Fragments have almost all been collected together by Father *Combefis*, who has also publish'd the entire Works, as many as could be found, under the Name of *Amphilochius*, and printed them at *Paris* in 1644.

These are Eight Sermons, a Poem upon the Holy Books, and the Life of St. *Basil.*

The 1*st.* Sermon is upon the Nativity of Jesus Christ.

The 2*d.* is upon the Circumcision, wherein he enlarges upon the Praise of St. *Basil.*

The 3*d.* is upon the Purification of the Virgin the Mother of God, upon *Anne* and *Simeon.*

The 4*th.* is a second Sermon upon the Virgin and *Simeon*, which is not written by St. *Amphilochius*, Bishop of *Iconium*, the Friend of St. *Basil*, but by another *Amphilochius* Bishop of *Syda*, who was present at the Council of *Ephesus*; for this Sermon is written directly against *Nestorius*, and is of a Style different from the former.

The 5*th.* is upon *Lazarus.*

The 6*th.* upon the Woman in the Gospel that was a Sinner.

The 7*th.* which had been formerly printed at *Antwerp* in 1598, is of the Holy *Saturday.*

The *Last* is about Penance. This has not the same Style as the others. The Author speaks against the Heresie of the *Iconoclasts*, and relates Fabulous Stories, from whence it appears that this Homily is the Work of some Modern Greek. It cannot be certainly known of any one of these Sermons, that it belongs to St. *Amphilochius* of *Iconium*, rather than *Amphilochius* Bishop of *Syda.*

The Poem to *Seleucus* has the Style of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, whatever Father *Combefis* says to the contrary: and it is very probable that it was written by this Father under the Name of *Amphilochius.* There he makes an Enumeration of the Canonical Books, which is not different from that which is in the 33*d.* Poem: For tho' he speaks of the Book of *Esther* and the *Revelation*, yet he does not put them in the rank of those Books which all the World receives for Canonical; he only observes, that some have admitted them, and others have rejected them.

The Life of St. *Basil* attributed to *Amphilochius*, translated into Latin by Cardinal *Ursus*, whose Translation was printed by *Rosweydus*, publish'd in Greek and Latin by Father *Combefis*, contains many Fables, and many particulars of the Life of St. *Basil* contrary to the Truth of History *(b)* so that it is plainly the Work of a Modern Greek. Father *Combefis*, who endeavours to maintain its Authority against the Opinion of *Possevinus*, *Baronius*, and *Bellarmin*, says, That some places in it are added and

(*b*) *Contrary to the Truth of History.*] The Author of this Life supposes, that St. *Basil* was Bishop in the time of *Julian*, that *Libanius* was of *Julian*'s Retinue, that when this Emperour was kill'd, he was converted in a few Days after, and retired with St. *Basil.* Now 'tis evident that St. *Basil* was not Bishop in the Emperour *Julian*'s time, and that *Libanius* was so far from being converted after his Death, that he wrote a Panegyrick in his praise. All the Histories which are related in this Life are Fabulous, and do no ways agree with what the Ancients have said of St. *Basil.* In a word, No body can read this Piece but they may presently discover its Imposture.

St. *Amphilochius.*

corrupted, but that the Body of the Work is *Amphilochius*'s; which he does not prove at all, nor can it appear probable to thoſe that read it, who will neither find in it the Style, nor the Genius of the Fourth Age of the Church. The Life of St. *Amphilochius*, written by *Metaphraſtes*, is alſo of no great Authority: Wherefore one may ſay, That excepting the Fragments produced by the Councils of *Epheſus* and *Chalcedon*, by *Theodoret* and *Facundus*, all the other Diſcourſes publiſh'd by Father *Combefis* under the Name of *Amphilochius*, are either manifeſtly ſuppoſititious, or at leaſt very doubtful. But we muſt not ſay the ſame of the Letter publiſh'd by *Cotelerius* in his Second Volume of the Monuments of the Greek Church, *p.* 98. It is a Synodical Epiſtle written to the Biſhops of another Province. The Biſhops in whoſe Name St. *Amphilochius* wrote it, declare, That they wiſh'd St. *Baſil* had been preſent at their Synod; but he being detain'd by a grievous Sickneſs, they would be ſatisfied if he would ſend to them his Book of the Holy Spirit. They add, That they receive the Faith of the *Nicene* Council; but that tho' the Fathers of this Council had ſaid, that we muſt believe in the Holy Spirit, as in the Father and the Son, yet they had not explain'd the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, becauſe this Queſtion was not then diſputed. Afterwards they explain themſelves more clearly upon this Subject. They prove the Divinity of the Holy Spirit by Baptiſm; they ſay that we muſt acknowledge in God but one Nature only, and three Hypoſtaſes. At laſt, They exhort thoſe to whom they write to maintain the Faith and the Peace of the Church, and to ſing the Doxology, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt*; and add, That 'tis in vain to reject the Communion of the *Arians*, if they do not believe the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. This Letter has relation to the 403 Letter of St. *Baſil*, wherein he writes to *Amphilochius* to ſend Deputies into *Lycia*, to inquire into the Faith of the Biſhops of that Country, who were for the moſt part Orthodox. Probably *Amphilochius* did as St. *Baſil* deſired him in this Letter, and theſe Deputies brought a Letter from the Biſhops of *Lycia*, to which St. *Amphilochius* anſwers by this.

MAXIMUS.

Maximus.

THis *MAXIMUS* was a Philoſopher of *Alexandria*, who procur'd himſelf to be Ordain'd Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, and did all that he could to force away from thence St. *Gregory Nazianzen*. He wrote a Book *of Faith* againſt the *Arians*, which he preſented to the Emperour *Gratian* at *Milan*; this he did in all probability, when he came into the Weſt after he had been driven away from *Conſtantinople* and *Alexandria*. St. *Gregory Nazianzen* gave him at firſt great Praiſes, but afterwards he blacken'd his Reputation in a wonderful manner. The Weſtern Biſhops protected him, but thoſe of the Eaſt declar'd his Ordination null, and made void all the Ordinations that he had made by the Fifth Canon of the Council of *Conſtantinople*.

EUSEBIUS VERCELLENSIS.

Euſebius Vercellenſis.

EUSEBIUS, born in *Sardinia*, was Reader of the Church of *Rome*, and afterwards Biſhop of *Vercelles*. Pope *Liberius* ſent him Delegate to the Emperour *Conſtantius* after the Fall of *Vincentius* of *Capua*. He was preſent at the Council of *Milan*, from whence he was baniſh'd into the Eaſt, and ſent away into *Scythopolis*, where he ſuffer'd very much from *Patrophilus* the *Arian* Biſhop of that City. He obtain'd his Liberty under the Reign of *Julian*, and was preſent at the Council of *Alexandria* held by St. *Athanaſius*. He was Delegated by this Council for reſtoring Peace to the Church of *Antioch*, but he could not compaſs his Deſign, becauſe of the Ordination of *Paulinus*, which was raſhly made by *Lucifer*; for this was an hinderance to the Reconciliation. And therefore having blam'd the Conduct of *Lucifer*, he return'd into *Italy*, where he took a great deal of Pains to re-eſtabliſh the Faith. He died in the Year 370. St. *Ambroſe* made a Panegyrick upon him. The Title of Martyr is commonly given to him: But St. *Ambroſe*, St. *Jerome*, St. *Gregory* of *Tours*, and all the Ancients give him no other Title but that of Confeſſor; and St. *Ambroſe* ſeems to preferr *Dionyſius* of *Milan* before him, becauſe he died in Baniſhment.

We have a Letter of this Biſhop written in the time of his Exile, and ſent to his own Church, together with a Proteſtation againſt all the Violences of *Patrophilus*. There is alſo among the Fragments of St. *Hilary*, a Letter to *Gregory* Biſhop of *Elvira*, written in 363, and a little Note that he wrote to *Conſtantius* before he went to *Milan*. St. *Jerome* teſtifies, That he tranſlated into Latin the Commentaries of *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea* upon the *Pſalms*. It is probable that he wrote it in his Exile, where he learned the Greek Tongue, and publiſh'd it after his Return.

MELE-

MELETIUS.

Meletius.

MELETIUS was of *Melitine*. He was at first engag'd in the Party of the *Acacians*, and sign'd their Confession of Faith in the Council of *Seleucia*. St. *Jerome*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Theodoret*, say, that he was first Ordain'd Bishop of *Sebastea*, a City of *Armenia*, in the Council of *Constantinople* in the Year 360. After that, if you will believe *Socrates*, he was Translated to *Berœa*, and from thence to *Antioch*: But it is more probable, that he was never Ordain'd Bishop of *Berœa*, and that when he could not be receiv'd at *Sebastea*, he retir'd to *Berœa*, from whence he was call'd to *Antioch*, after *Eudoxus* had quitted that See to go to *Constantinople*. The *Arians* thinking that he would be of their Opinion, propos'd him for Bishop of that City in a Council held at *Antioch* in 361, and the Orthodox knowing him better than the *Arians*, consented to his Election. Some time after the Emperour *Constantius*, who was then at *Antioch*, desir'd those Bishops who were most able, to discourse in Publick, to explain these Words of Scripture; *The Lord created me in the beginning of his Ways for his Works*; and Order'd their Expositions to be written down, that they might be oblig'd to make them the more exact. *George* Bishop of *Laodicea* did first explain those Words, and diffused all the Poison of his Errors. *Acacius* Bishop of *Cesarea*, did next give an Explication, which held the middle way between the Impiety of *Arius* and the Catholick Doctrine. But *Meletius* propos'd the Orthodox Doctrine of the Church. 'Tis also said, that his Arch-Deacon having stopp'd his Mouth, he made known his Doctrine by Signs. The *Arians* assembled immediately to Depose him, and having Ordain'd in his Room an *Arian* named *Euzoïus*, they caus'd *Meletius* to be banish'd to the place of his Birth. Then the sounder part of the People separated themselves from those that were infected with the Error of *Arius*, and assembled in the Church of the Apostles, which was in the old City. But besides the Catholicks, there were at *Antioch* a small number of the ancient Orthodox, who after the Deposition of *Eustathius* continued without Bishops. These would not be re-united to *Meletius* and those of his Party, tho' they had separated themselves from the *Arians*. *Lucifer* coming to *Antioch* after the death of *Constantius*, Ordain'd *Paulinus* for their Bishop; but they were but few in number, and *Meletius*'s Congregation was more numerous. When all the Orthodox Bishops, after the death of *Constantius*, had liberty to return to their Dioceses, *Meletius* return'd to *Antioch*; but *Euzoïus* continued Minister of the Churches, till the *Acacians* were reconcil'd to *Meletius* under the Reign of *Jovian*, and made Profession of the Orthodox Faith in the Council of *Antioch* in the Year 363.

Under the Reign of *Valens*, *Meletius* was persecuted again and sent into Banishment, but he was no less odious to the Orthodox of the West than to the *Arians*. For the Church of *Alexandria*, and the Churches of the West, supported *Paulinus* and those of his Party, and would have no Communion with *Meletius*. We have already seen the trouble and labour that St. *Basil* underwent to reconcile *Meletius* to them, yet he could not compass his Design while he liv'd. But Nine Months after his Death, it was agreed between *Meletius* and *Paulinus*, that whensoever one of them two should die, no Person should be Ordain'd in his Room, but the Surviver should continue sole Bishop of the Place. *Meletius* coming in the Year 380. to the first Council of *Constantinople*, in which he presided, died in that City to the great grief of all the Bishops. After his death the Eastern Bishops, without any regard to the Agreement made with *Paulinus*, chose in his Room *Flavianus*. This Election renew'd the Schism of the Church of *Antioch*, which was not ended even at the death of *Paulinus*, which happen'd in the Year 389, for before he died he Ordain'd *Evagrius* for his Successor. This Difference was carried to the Council of *Capua*, which nam'd *Theophilus* and the Bishops of *Egypt* for Judges in this Cause. But *Flavianus* refusing him, address'd himself to the Emperour, whom he persuaded of the goodness of his Cause. This Conduct of *Flavianus* very much disgusted the Western Bishops, as St. *Ambrose* informs us in the Ninth Letter of his first Book. However he had so much Interest, as to hinder the placing of a Bishop in the Room of *Evagrius* who died in 393, and he reconciled himself to the Western Bishops in 398, by means of St. *Chrysostom* who persuaded *Theophilus* to make up this Peace. Yet there were still some obstinate Persons at *Antioch*, who notwithstanding the Agreement of the whole Church, would keep up a Faction by themselves, and would neither be reconcil'd to *Flavianus* nor to his Successors; so difficult it is to bring those back to the Church, who have gone astray through too much Zeal for Religion, and have made a separation under pretence of Purity of Doctrine, and Strictness of Discipline. St. *Epiphanius* has preserv'd for us in *Hæres.* 73. the Discourse of *Meletius* which contains clearly the Doctrine of the Church, and the proofs of the Eternity and Divinity of the Word. We may attribute to him also the Creed of the Council of *Antioch* in the Year 393, related by *Socrates* Ch. 25. of the 3d. B. of his History. These Monuments are authentick Proofs that *Meletius* was a Catholick, which was acknowledg'd by almost all the Fathers, and even by St. *Athanasius*. Neither can any one blame him for the Holiness of his Life; but his Ordination for some time was encumbred with great Difficulties: First, because it was believ'd, that he was Translated from one Church to another: Secondly, because he was Chosen and Ordain'd by the *Arians*, to whose Party he was addicted. But as to the first Difficulty, besides that we have in Antiquity some Examples of Translations that have been approv'd of when they were made for the Good of the Church, as the Event did plainly show this to be: It cannot be said, properly speaking, that *Meletius* was Translated from one Bishoprick to another. For tho' he had been Ordain'd Bishop of *Sebastea* in *Armenia*, yet the People of that Church not being willing to receive him, he was oblig'd to withdraw immediately to *Berœa*. Now the Canons are so far from forbidding to give Bi-

Meletius.

ſhopricks upon ſuch Occaſions to thoſe who could not take poſſeſſion of that which was deſign'd for them, that on the contrary they Ordain, That if it can be done, another Biſhoprick ſhould be given unto them as ſoon as poſſible. The other Difficulty is of much greater Conſequence, and upon it eſpecially thoſe grounded their Separation who would not Communicate with him. They ſaid that they could not acknowledge, for a lawful Biſhop, one that was Ordain'd by Hereticks. But it muſt be conſider'd that when he was Ordain'd, *Conſtantius* was Maſter of the Empire, and the Church of *Antioch* could have no Biſhop that was Ordain'd by others; that tho' *Acacius* of *Cæſarea* and the other Eaſtern Biſhops were in an Error, yet they were neither Depos'd nor Depriv'd of their Biſhopricks, and therefore they might act in ſuch Matters as concern'd the Government of the Church; that when the Biſhops Ordain'd by Hereticks return'd to the Church, ſhe left them almoſt always in poſſeſſion of their Sees; that the Orthodox had conſented to the Ordination of *Meletius*; that all the Catholick Biſhops of the Eaſt approv'd it; that *Euſebius* of *Samoſata*, and *Euſebius* of *Vercellæ* acknowledg'd his Ordination to be valid; and in ſhort, that the Council of *Conſtantinople* put it paſt all doubt. But if we ought to approve the Ordination of *Meletius*, What can we ſay of that of *Paulinus*, but that it was done with much indiſcretion and raſhneſs? As to that of *Flavianus*, it cannot be altogether approv'd, ſince it was made contrary to an Agreement concluded between *Meletius* and *Paulinus*. Yet the Eaſtern Biſhops may be excus'd, becauſe perhaps they had no hand in this Agreement, and they fore-ſaw that the People of *Antioch* could never agree with *Paulinus*. In a word, the Ordination of *Evagrius* can be approv'd by no body, ſince it tended only to prepetuate the Diviſion and Schiſm in the Church of *Antioch*.

DIODORUS *Biſhop of* Tarſus.

Diodorus Biſhop of Tarſus.

DIODORUS a Prieſt and Monk of *Antioch*, the Scholar of *Silvanus* of *Tarſus*, Maſter of St. *John Chryſoſtom*, and *Theodorus* of *Mopſueſtia*, after he had acquir'd a great Reputation in *Antioch* by his Conduct and Prudence, was Ordain'd Biſhop of *Tarſus* in the Year 375. While he was yet but a Prieſt, he took care of the People of *Antioch*, in the abſence of *Meletius* who was then baniſh'd under the Reign of *Valens*, and maintain'd the Orthodox Faith in this Church. After he was Biſhop, he was preſent at the Council of *Conſtantinople*, and was one of thoſe that were choſen to take care of the Eaſtern Dioceſs. He was very skilful in the Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and wrote Commentaries upon almoſt all the Books of the Bible. He was one of the firſt Commentators that apply'd himſelf to a literal Explication, without amuſing himſelf with *Allegories*. He was highly eſteem'd of by all the great Men of his Age, who wrote very obliging Letters to him, and have given very Authentick Teſtimonies of his Doctrine and his Piety. One part of theſe Letters may be ſeen in *Facundus* Ch. 3. of his 4th. Book. But in the following Ages Men did not give ſo favourable a Judgment of this Man's Doctrine, for he was accus'd of Teaching in his Writings the Errors of *Neſtorius*, as they were afterwards call'd. It may be for this Reaſon that none of his Works are preſerv'd. We have nothing but a very conſiderable Extract out of his Treatiſe *of Deſtiny*, produced by *Photius* in Volume 223 of his *Bibliotheca*, and the Argument of another Treatiſe *of the Holy Spirit* produced by the ſame Perſon in Volume 102. *Theodoret* alſo in his Commentaries upon *Geneſis*, *Queſt.* 20. *p.* 22. and *Queſt.* 21. *p.* 25. produces two other Fragments of this our *Diodorus*.

St. *Baſil* in Letter 167 ſpeaks of Two Books of this Author's Writing againſt the Hereticks, whereof the Second was compos'd by way of Dialogue. St. *Jerome* mentions his Commentary upon St. *Paul*. *Socrates* and *Sozomen* aſſure us, that he made Commentaries upon almoſt all the Books of the Bible. *Leontius* in his Third Book quotes a Book of this Author Written againſt the *Sunouſiaſts*, that is, againſt the *Apollinariſts*. *Suidas* has given us a Catalogue of his Works taken out of *Theodorus*, which is as follows. "An Explication of all the *Old Teſtament*, of *Geneſis*, *Exodus*, and upon the *Pſalms*, "and upon the Four Books of *Kings*, upon the *Chronicles*, upon the *Proverbs*; a Treatiſe of the Dif- "ference between Allegory and Contemplation; a Commentary upon *Eccleſiaſtes*, upon *Canticles*, up- "on the *Prophets*; a Chronicle wherein he has corrected ſome Faults of *Euſebius*; Commentaries "upon the *Four Goſpels*, upon the *Acts*, upon the Epiſtle of St. *John*; a Treatiſe to prove that there is "but One God in the Trinity; a Book againſt the *Melchiſedecians*, a Treatiſe againſt the Jews con- "cerning the Reſurrection of the Dead, one of the Soul againſt ſeveral Errors; a Treatiſe of De- "ſtiny againſt the Aſtrologers, where he ſpeaks of the Globe of the World, and of Providence; and "a Treatiſe wherein he proves that Inviſible things were made at the ſame time with the Elements, "tho' they were not made of them; a Tract to *Euphronius*, by way of Queſtion and Anſwer, againſt "*Ariſtotle*'s Syſtem." He ſays nothing in this Catalogue of the Book of the Trinity, nor of the Treatiſe againſt the *Apollinariſts*.

The Treatiſe *of Deſtiny* was divided into Eight Books and 53 Chapters. There he refutes all the Follies of Judicial Aſtrology, and ſhows that the World had a Beginning and was Created, that Man was endow'd with Free-will, that God was not the Author of Evil, and that the World is govern'd by Divine Providence. *Photius* makes a particular enumeration of the Subject of each Chapter in this Work, wherein he produces ſome part of his Reaſonings. He had reaſon to ridicule the Propoſition which this Author had advanc'd, That the Heaven was not round, ſuppoſing that if it were ſo, the Aſtrologers would have ſome good Ground for their Opinion of Fatality: For as he obſerves, the Figure of the Heaven has nothing in the World to do with this Queſtion.

Photius

Photius obſerves, that the Stile of this Author is pure and clear; but St. *Jerome* ſays, that it is not lofty, and that he could never reach the Eloquence of *Euſebius Emiſenus*, tho' he endeavour'd to imitate it, becauſe he was not skill'd enough in humane Learning. *Facundus*, who quotes this Paſſage of St. *Jerome*, ſays only *Euſebius* without adding *Emiſenus*. Now if one ſhould thus read the Text of St. *Jerome*, it would be more convenient to underſtand the Writings of *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea*, whom *Diodorus* rather imitated than thoſe of the Biſhop of *Emeſa*, becauſe the Works of *Diodorus* have no great relation to his Books, whereas they had a great affinity to thoſe of *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea*, either for the Matters which he treated of, or for the Manner of Stile wherein he treated of them. For the Extracts which *Photius* has produced out of his Treatiſe of Deſtiny, are very like to ſome Books of the Evangelical Preparation or Demonſtration of *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea*. The Judgment which St. *Baſil* has given of this Author's Stile may be ſeen in Letter 167, of which we have given an Abridgement in St. *Baſil's* Life. As to what concerns his Doctrine of the Incarnation, we could better judge of it, if we had his Books; but there is no great probability, that one who was prais'd, eſteem'd, and cheriſh'd by *Meletius*, St. *Baſil*, St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, St. *Epiphanius*, and even by St. *Athanaſius*, and his Succeſſors *Peter* and *Timothy* of *Alixandria*; who was alſo conſider'd in a General Council as one of the moſt Learned and moſt Orthodox Biſhops of all the Eaſt; and in ſhort, who was Maſter to St. *Chryſoſtom*, ſhould be guilty of ſo groſs an Errour as that of *Neſtorius*. 'Tis true that he had for his Scholar *Theodorus* of *Mopſueſtia*, and that he was Accus'd of the ſame Errour with *Neſtorius*; and that he was Condemn'd as Convicted of this Errour after his Death in the 5th. Council. But beſides that there have been ſome Perſons who have undertaken to juſtify him; Yet if it ſhould be granted that he was guilty of this Errour, it would not follow that he Learn'd it of his Maſter, ſince we daily ſee Heretical Diſciples, who have had Orthodox Maſters. Should not the Faith of St. *Chryſoſtom* rather ſerve to juſtify *Diodorus*, than the Errour of *Theodorus* to condemn him?

Diodorus Biſhop of Tarſus.

HILARY *the Deacon.*

HILARY of *Sardinia*, Deacon of the Church of *Rome*, was deputed by Pope *Liberius* together with *Lucifer* Biſhop of *Calaris*, and the Prieſt *Pancratius*, to go to the Emperour *Conſtantius*, after the Synod of *Arles*, in the Year 353. He was baniſh'd after the Council of *Milan*, and afterwards he join'd with *Lucifer's* Party, whereof he was one of the moſt zealous Defenders. 'Tis this *Hillary*, who is call'd in St. *Jerom's* Dialogue againſt the *Luciferians*, *The Deucalion of the World*, becauſe he would Regenerate and Renew by a Second Baptiſm, thoſe that had been baptiz'd by Hereticks.

Hilary the Deacon.

Tho' there has been no Book printed under the Name of this *Hilary*, yet the Learned have attributed to him the Commentary upon the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, which bears the Name of St. *Ambroſe*, and the Queſtions upon the Old and New Teſtament, which are at the end of the 4th. Tome of St. *Auſtin*. Theſe are the Reaſons which have mov'd them to attribute to him the Commentary upon St. *Paul's* Epiſtles. Firſt, St. *Auſtin* in Ch. 4. of the 4th. B. to *Boniface*, cites under the Name of St. *Hilary*, an Explication of this Paſſage of St. *Paul*. *'Twas from him that all Men Sinn'd*, which is taken Word for Word out of this Commentary. Now this *Hilary* whom St. *Auſtin* quotes, could neither be *Hilary* of *Syracuſe*, nor St. *Hilary* of *Arles*, ſince they were after St. *Auſtin*. No more can it be ſaid, that the Author of theſe Commentaries was *Hilary* of *Poictiers*, becauſe the Stile and the Verſion which he makes uſe of, are no ways like to the Stile and Verſion of theſe Commentaries; and there are ſome Opinions in the one, which are different from thoſe in the other. This Commentary therefore cannot be attributed to any but this *Hilary* of *Sardinia*. Beſides, the Time and Circumſtances agree wonderfully to him; for he ſays on Ch. 3. of the 1ſt. to *Timothy*, *That tho' all the World was God's, yet the Church whereof* Damaſus *at preſent was Governour, is call'd his Houſe*: Which plainly ſhows, that this Commentary was written by one Well-affected to the Church of *Rome*, who liv'd in *Damaſus's* time: And therefore it cannot with any Reaſon be attributed to *Remigius* of *Lyons*, but moſt probably was written by this *Hilary* whom we now ſpeak of.

Yet *Petavius* thinks that it cannot be attributed to him for Two Reaſons; Firſt, becauſe this Author ſpeaks in favour of *Damaſus*, and 'tis not likely that a Man engag'd in the *Luciferian* Schiſm, which favour'd *Urſicinus*, ſhould acknowledge *Damaſus* lawful Biſhop of *Rome*. Secondly, becauſe upon Chap. 1. of the 1ſt. Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, he blames the *Novations* and *Donatiſts*, who rebaptiz'd, and ſays, that to believe that the Grace of Baptiſm depended upon the Perſons who gave it, was injurious to the Baptiſm of our Saviour. Now the principal Errour of *Hilary* the Deacon, according to the Teſtimony of St. *Jerome*, conſiſted in this, That he would have thoſe Re-baptiz'd who had been baptiz'd by the *Arians*. This objection cannot be anſwered, but by ſaying, that this *Hilary* did at laſt return into the Boſom of the Church under the Pontificate of *Damaſus*; but this ſuppoſition is contrary to the Teſtimony of St. *Jerome*, who ſays in his Book againſt the *Luciferians*, that this Deacon died out of the Church. *This Man*, ſays he, ſpeaking of *Hilary* the *Luciferian*, *being dead, his Sect ought to dy with him, becauſe he being but a ſimple Deacon, could ordain no Perſon to ſucceed him.* Wherefore it muſt be granted that we have no abſolute certainty, that this Book belong'd to this *Hilary* of *Sardinia*.

The Commentary upon the Two Firſt Chapters of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, is an Extract out of the Commentary of St. *Chryſoſtom*, which is not made by the ſame Author as that upon the other Epiſtles.

'Tis

Hilary the Deacon.

'Tis thought that the Queſtions upon the Old and New Teſtament, which have been formerly printed under St. *Auſtin*'s Name, in his 4th. Tome, were written by the ſame hand as theſe Commentaries. To prove it, 'tis ſaid, firſt, that the Author of theſe Queſtions liv'd at the ſame time as the Author of the Commentary; for he ſays in Qu. 44. that he wrote 300 Years or thereabouts, after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and he ſpeaks of *Photinus* as an Author then living. He ſpeaks alſo of the Devaſtation of *Pannonia* which happen'd in 351, and the Famine of the Year 363, as Calamities which happen'd in his time. Secondly, 'tis thought, that he ſpeaks in Qu. 115 of *Sardinia* as his own Country: And in ſhort, ſome maintain that there is ſo great an agreement both in Stile and Doctrine between theſe Two Treatiſes (*a*), that it cannot be doubted but they are written by the ſame Author. Which muſt be underſtood of the 47 Queſtions upon the Old Teſtament, the 50 upon the New, and the 36 upon the one and the other, which are all written by the ſame Author, and not of the other following Queſtions, which are for the moſt part a repetition of what had been ſaid in thoſe that went before.

But whoever was the Author of theſe Queſtions they are full of Falſities and Errors (*b*), and almoſt all of them are of very little uſe. The Commentary upon the Epiſtle of St. *Paul* is better done, and has more ſenſe in it: It is clear, plain and litteral, and gives the meaning of the Text of St. *Paul* well enough; but it gives very different Explications from St. *Auſtin* (*c*), in theſe places which concern Predeſtination, Provocation, Grace and Free-will.

(*a*) *There is ſo great an Agreement both in Stile and Doctrine,* &c.] Compare Queſt. 7. with the Commentary upon Ch. 6. to the *Epheſians*; Queſt. 13. with Comment. upon Ch. 5. to the *Rom.* Queſt. 18. with Comment. upon Ch. 9. to the *Rom.* Queſt. 21. with Comment. upon Ch. 6 and 11th. of the 1ſt. *Ep.* to the *Corinth.* Queſt. 23. with the Comment. on the 7th. Ch. of the Ep. to the *Rom.* Queſt. 24. with the Comment. upon the 1ſt. Ep. to the *Corinth.* Ch. 11th. Qu. 113. with the Com. upon Ch. 1ſt. of the Ep. to the *Epheſ.* and on Ch. 1ſt. of the Ep. to the *Coloſſ.* Qu. 47. with the Com. upon the 2d. Ch. of the 1ſt. to the *Corinth.* and upon Ch. 5. of the 2d. to the *Corinth.* Qu. 99. with the Com. upon Ch. 10. of the 1ſt. to the *Corinth.* Qu. 102. with the Com. upon Ch. 11. of the Ep. to the *Rom.* and upon Ch. 2d. of the 2d. to *Timothy.* Qu. 108. with the Com. upon Ch. 3. to the *Philipp.* Qu. 109. and 25. with the Com. upon Ch. 8. to the *Rom.* Qu. 112. with the Com. upon theſe Words: *I ſee another Law in my Members,* &c. Qu. 113. with the Com. upon Ch. 2d. of the 2d. Ep. to the *Theſſalonians.* Qu. 134 with the Com. upon Ch. 3. of the Ep. to the *Epheſ.* and Qu. 115. with the 1ſt. Ch. of Com. upon the ſame Ep. Theſe two Authors make often uſe of the ſame Words, and in the ſame Senſe; as, *Diffidentia* to ſignify Incredulity, and the Words, *Prævaricandi, Meliorandi,* &c.

(*b*) *Full of Falſities and Errors.*] A Catalogue of them may be ſeen in the Cenſure which the Doctors of *Lovain* have prefix'd to this Work; one of the chief of them is their Opinion, that *Melchiſedeck* was the Son of God.

(*c*) *Different Explications from St.* Auſtin.] For this one needs only read almoſt all the places of St. *Paul*, which concern Predeſtination or Grace. Particularly the Commentaries upon the 5th and 9th. Chapters of the Ep. to the *Romans*, upon the 2d. of the Ep. to the *Philippians*, and the Queſtions, 13, 24, 47, 115, 223. where he propoſes Maxims which are a little *Pelagian.*

PRISCILLIAN *and* Matronianus, Tiberianus *and* Dictinius *his Diſciples.*

Priſcillian and his Diſciples.

PRISCILLIAN, whom St. *Jerome* places among the Number of Eccleſiaſtical Writters, was the Author of a Sect which was accus'd of many impieties. *Sulpitius Severus*, who knew more of the Hiſtory of the *Priſcillianiſts* than any Eccleſiaſtical Author whatſoever, gives this Account of them: That towards the End of the Fourth Century, one *Mark* originally of *Egypt*, being leaven'd with the Principles of the *Gnoſticks* and *Manichees*, came into *Spain* to ſpread his Errors there; That at Firſt he had for his Diſciples a Woman call'd *Agapa*, and one *Elpidus* a Rhetorician; and that theſe were the Perſons who inſtructed *Priſcillian*; That he was a Perſon of Quality, Rich, Powerful, Quick and Reſtleſs, but very Eloquent and very Learn'd: That he acquir'd much Learning by hard Study, and that he had a wonderful Eaſineſs in ſpeaking and Diſputing. *Happy had he been*, adds *Sulpitius Severus, if he had not corrupted his fine Parts by joining with a wicked Faction. He had many good Qualities of Body and Mind. He endur'd with eaſe, Watchings, Hunger, and Thirſt. He had no deſire to be Rich, and liv'd with much Frugality; but he was proud, and profane Learning had puff'd him up intolerably. 'Tis ſaid that he had formerly exercis'd the Art of Magick. This Man having, as we have ſaid, embrac'd the pernicious Doctrine of* Marcus *and* Elpidus, *drew many Perſons of his own Country after him, either by perſuading them with Reaſons, or flattering them with Careſſes. Women who naturally love Novelty, and have commonly much Curioſity, and but little Steadineſs, flock'd after him in great Multitudes, to be admitted among his Party. In a word, he procured the Love and Reſpect of all the World, by the ſhew of Humility which appear'd in his Clothes and his Countenance.* Spain *began to be infected with the Venom of this Hereſy, and even ſome Biſhops were corrupted with it. There were particularly two of them call'd* Inſtantius *and* Salvianus, *who were engag'd by Oath into the Faction of* Priſcillian. *But* Hyginus *Biſhop of* Corduba, *their Neighbour, underſtanding it, informed againſt them to* Idacius *of* Merida, *who kindled, as one may ſay, the Fire of Diviſion by the rigour which he us'd, and irritated Men's minds without putting a ſtop to the growing Evil. In ſhort, after many Diſputes, the Synod of* Saragoza *was Aſſembled, at which the Biſhops of* Aquitaine *were preſent;*

present; and these Hereticks not daring to appear there were condemn'd for their Contumacy. Sentence was given against the Bishops Instantius, Salvianus, *and against* Elpidus *and* Priscillian. *'Twas also added, That all those who should receive them into Communion, should expect the same Condemnation with them.* Ithacius, *Bishop of* Ossobona, *was entrusted with the Publication of this Sentence, and with the Management of the Excommunication against* Hyginus *the Bishop, who being the first that oppos'd* Priscillian *and his Disciples, was afterwards himself corrupted, and received them into his Communion.* But *Instantius* and *Salvianus*, without any regard to the Judgment of the Council of *Saragoza* Ordain'd *Priscillian* Bishop of *Avila*. Then the Bishops of the other Party had recourse to the Authority of the Emperour, and obtain'd of *Gratian* an Edict, wherein the *Priscillianists* were condemn'd to be driven out of the Churches, and to be banish'd out of the Cities where they dwelt. *Instantius* and *Salvianus* being chac'd away out of their own Countrey, went to *Rome* and *Milan*; but they were rejected by *Damasus*, and St. *Ambrose*. After which they had recourse to the Emperour, and obtain'd of him a Rescript, wherein he permitted them to return to their own Country, and ordain'd, that their Churches should be restor'd unto them. They return'd into *Spain* with this Edict, and having gain'd the Proconsul, they forc'd away *Ithacius*. He fled into *France* and carried his Complaints to the Tyrant *Maximus*, who was entered as a Conquerour into the City of *Triers*: This Prince caus'd *Priscillian* and his chief Disciples to be carried to a Synod held at *Bourdeaux*, in the Year 384, in which *Instantius* was Depos'd; and when they would have proceeded to judge *Priscillian* also, he appeal'd from them to the Emperour *Maximus*, who commited the Judgment of this Affair to the Prefect *Evodius*, who having Convicted *Priscillian* of Witchcraft and Uncleanness, made his Report of the whole Matter to *Maximus*, who condemn'd him and his chief Followers, to have their Heads cut off, which was done in the Year 385. Some have thought that *Priscillian* was Innocent, and that he was unjustly oppress'd by the Faction of *Ithacius*, whose Conduct was disapprov'd by the most Pious Bishops of that time. It seems that St. *Jerome* favours this Opinion in his Catalogue, where he speaks of *Priscillian* in these Words: Priscillian *Bishop of* Avila *was Executed in the City of* Triers *by the Commandment of the Tyrant* Maximus, *having been oppress'd by the Faction of* Hilatius (it must be read, *Ithacius,*) *and* Idacius: *He wrote many Tracts whereof some are come to our Hands. Some accuse him even at this Day of the Heresie of the* Gnosticks, *of* Basilides *and* Marcion; *but others vindicate him, and maintain that he held none of those Errors that are charg'd upon him.* 'Tis true, that the same St. *Jerome* in a Letter to *Ctesiphon* speaks of *Priscillian* as a notable Heretick, which made Monsieur *Quesnel* think, that this place of St. *Jerome*'s Book of Ecclesiastical Writters was interpolated. This Conjecture, which is not founded upon the Authority of any Manuscript, would be of some moment if it were not known that St. *Jerome* does often speak differently of one and the same Person. Perhaps St. *Jerome*'s way of speaking of him in his Catalogue, gave occasion to put *Priscillian* and his Disciple *Matronianus* into some Martyrologies, and to rank them among the Holy Martyrs.

Priscillian and his Disciples.

St. *Jerome* speaks of this last after this manner: Matronianus *of* Spain, *a learned Man, and one that was comparable to the Ancients for Poetry, was also put to Death with* Priscillian, Feliciſſimus, Julianus *and* Euchrotia, *who were all of the same Party. We have some of his Works in Verse, which are Evidences of his Wit and Parts. Sulpitius Severus* call'd this Disciple of *Priscillian*, *Latronianus*, for *Matronianus.*

Tiberianus of *Batica* was also an Author of this Sect, *who wrote*, says St. *Jerome*, *an Apology to vindicate himself from the Suspicion of Heresie, whereof he was accus'd together with* Priscillian. *His Stile is swelling and affected. After the Death of those of his Party, being overcome by the tediousness of a long Exile, he married a Virgin consecrated to Jesus Christ.*

Dictinius was a Priest, who had been accus'd of the same Error, and condemn'd for it in the Council of *Langres*. St. *Ambrose* wrote Letters in his favour to procure his Restauration; *But upon condition that he should condemn what he had done, and that he should continue Priest without being capable of rising to a higher Dignity.* Nevertheless he did not perform these Conditions, for he continued still in his ancient Error, and got himself Ordain'd Bishop of *Asturica Augusta*. Being cited upon this Account to the First Council of *Toledo* in the Year 390, together with *Symphosius* who Ordain'd him, he did not appear before the Synod; but appearing afterwards at a Second Synod held about the Year 400, there *Symphosius* declar'd, That he was forc'd by the People to Ordain *Dictinius*, and *Dictinius* himself made a Solemn Recantation of his Errors, whereupon they were both absolv'd. He wrote some Treatises for the Error of the *Priscillianists*, which are mention'd by St. *Leo*, in a Letter to *Turribius*. What we have said of the Restauration of *Dictinius*, seems to be contrary to the Testimony of *Idacius*, who says, that *Turribius* was plac'd in the room of *Dictinius* after he was Depos'd for his Heresie; but St. *Leo* declares very plainly in the Letter which we just now cited, that *Dictinius* died a Catholick. From whence it appears, that *Idacius*, (the Author of the Chronicle, who lived in the Fifth Age of the Church, and is different from him of whom we have now spoken) was deceived, and that *Turribius* succeeded *Dictinius* after his Death, and not after his Deposition. For to say, as Monsieur *Quesnel* does, that the Acts of the Council of *Toledo* are falsified, or that *Dictinius* relaps'd a second time after his Retractation, is to alledge that which has no Foundation, which is contrary to the Testimony of St. *Leo*, who affirms that this Bishop died a Catholick, and that we may have a Veneration for his Memory after his Retractation.

ITHA-

ITHACIUS, or IDACIUS.

Ithacius or *Idacius.*

THis *IDACIUS* or *ITHACIUS*, Sirnam'd *Clarus*, Bishop of *Ossobona*, a City in the Province of *Bætica*, was, as we have already said, one of the greatest Enemies of the *Priscillianists*. St. *Isidore* of *Sevil* observes in his Book of Eccleſiastical Writers, That he wrote a Book by way of Apology, against the Detestable Doctrines of *Priscillian*, wherein he discovers the Witchcraft and Infamous Crimes of those Sectaries, and shews, That a certain Magician call'd *Mark*, a Native of *Memphis* in *Egypt*, was the Disciple of *Manichæus*, and Master of *Priscillian*. The same Author adds, That this *Idacius* was depriv'd of the Communion of the Church, together with the Bishop *Ursacius*, upon the account of the Death of *Priscillian*, whose Accusers they had been; and that he being sent into Banishment, ended his Days there under the Reign of *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*. St. *Isidore* makes no mention of the Books against *Varimadus*, which bear the Name of *Idacius*; and indeed they do not belong to this Author, but to *Vigilius Tapsensis*, as we shall shew when we come to speak of *Vigilius*: This Apologetick of *Idacius* is lost. St. *Isidore* observes that it was well written. [*Idacius* and *Ithacius* are not two different Names for the same Person, as here seems to be implied; for in *Sulpitius Severus* they are constantly divided.]

FAUSTINUS.

Faustinus.

Gennadius assures us, that *Faustinus* a Priest (or a Deacon according to others) wrote to the Empress *Flaccilla* Seven Books against the *Arians* and *Macedonians*, wherein he refutes and confounds them by the very same Passages that the Hereticks use to establish their Blasphemies. This Work was a long time attributed to *Gregory* of *Bætica*; but at last the True Author of it was own'd, and it was printed under the Name of *Faustinus*, with a Letter to *Flaccilla*.

The same *Gennadius* says also, That this same *Faustinus*, wrote a Petition, which he presented with the Priest *Marcellinus*, (or rather *Marcellianus*) to the Emperours *Valentinian* and *Theodosius*, which shows evidently that he was engag'd in the Schism of the *Luciferians*. *Sirmondus* publish'd this little Piece in the Year 1656. Before the Petition there is a Preface written by the same *Faustinus*, wherein he gives a little Historical Abridgment in favour of his own Party. There he relates, That under the Reign of *Constantius*, almost all the Bishops attempted to condemn St. *Athanasius*; That *Liberius* of *Rome*, *Eusebius* of *Verseilles*, *Lucifer* of *Calaris*, and St. *Hilary* of *Poictiers*, refusing to approve this unjust Condemnation, were sent into Banishment; That *Damasus* who was then Deacon of *Rome*, pretended he would accompany *Liberius*, but returned again immediately; That the Clergy of *Rome*, in the presence of the People took an Oath, not to receive another Bishop while *Liberius* liv'd; That notwithstanding this, in a little time after, the Clergy chose the Archdeacon *Felix* to fill his Place; That *Liberius* having consented to Impiety, [by subscribing an *Arian* Confession of Faith] return'd about three Years after, and was restor'd to the Possession of his See, and that *Felix* was driven away from *Rome*; Upon whose Death, which happen'd Eight Years after *Liberius* came back, he received into Communion those of the Clergy that had been of *Felix*'s Party; That he died also in a little while after, and then the Priests and Deacons who had been faithful to *Liberius* in his Banishment, chose *Ursicinus* in his room; but the perfidious Party chose *Damasus* an ambitious Man, who had always aspir'd to the Episcopal Chair; That this Man had committed all sorts of Cruelties and Outrages against those who adhered to *Ursicinus*, and at last had driven them all out of the City. That since this time those of the Orthodox Party had been abus'd, dispers'd, and banish'd, and that two of them call'd *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus* presented this Petition to the Emperours *Valentinian*, *Theodosius*, and *Arcadius*.

They complain in this Petition of the Persecutions and Cruelties which they say they still suffer from their Enemies; They affirm, That no Error nor Heresie can be charg'd upon them, and then accused their Adversaries of having been formerly Hereticks, or of having consented to the Condemnation of the Faith of the Church. They describe the Miserable End of *Arius*, to beget a Horror of his Impiety; and they say, That God hath by this visible Judgment approv'd all that was done in the Council of *Nice*. They relate afterwards what pas'd in the Councils of *Seleucia* and *Ariminum*, and how the Bishops were forc'd to Sign the Heretical Confessions of Faith: They bewail their Unhappiness, and praise the Faith and Constancy of *Paulinus* of *Triers*, of *Eusebius* of *Verseilles*, of *Lucifer* of *Calaris*, and a very small number of Bishops, who chose rather to suffer all things than do any thing against their Conscience. They describe the Defection of *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba*, and say, That he died by a visible Judgment of God, for pronouncing Sentence against *Gregory* of *Bæticæ*, who had always boldly defended the Faith. They say, That the same thing happen'd to *Potamius* of *Ossobona*. They add, That these visible Judgments of God do plainly shew, that those who would not communicate with the Bishops that were defil'd with these Crimes, are so far from being guilty of Impiety, that they do great Service to the Church; That the great number of those who communicate with them, ought to be no Prejudice to others, since this Conduct is contrary to Scripture; That the Pretence of promoting Peace ought not to make us own Apostates for Lawful Bishops; That the Inconstancy of the Catholicks, has given occasion to *Valens* to embrace the *Arian* Faction.

Faction. They repreſent afterwards in a moſt Odious manner, the Cruelties which they ſay were committed againſt their Party in different places of the World, and they conjure the Emperour to put a ſtop to this Perſecution by his Edicts, *Not*, add they, *that we are afraid to Suffer, or to Die, being perſuaded, that when we Die for a good Cauſe, we ſhall enjoy after our Death great Tranquility, and have a perfect certainty of our Bleſſedneſs. But we give you Notice of this Diſorder, for fear leſt the Blood of Chriſtians, if it ſtill continue to be ſhed, bring down the Wrath of God upon your Government.* Tho' the Complaints of theſe Two Prieſts were injurious to the Church, yet *Theodoſius* was mov'd by them, and granted a Reſcript in their Favour, addreſs'd to *Cynegius* the Prætorian Prefect, wherein he teſtifies his Indignation againſt the manner of treating them, and ordains, That the Biſhops *Gregory* of *Spain*, and *Heraclides* of the Eaſt, who are mentioned in their Petition, and all thoſe who communicate with them be ſuffered to live in quiet. This Petition muſt have been preſented after the Year 383, becauſe *Arcadius* to whom it is addreſs'd, was not admitted a Partner of the Empire till that Year, and the Reſcript muſt be before 388, which was the Year wherein *Cynegius* died. It ſeems to have been preſented while *Damaſus* lived, who died in the Year 384. *Fauſtinus.*

There is ſome probability that *Fauſtinus* preſented the Confeſſion of Faith, which goes under his Name in the Roman Code, publiſh'd by Monſieur *Queſnel* at the End of the Works of St. *Leo*, along with this Petition. I know very well that this Learned Man pretends, that this Confeſſion of Faith was made about the Year 379, before the Council of *Conſtantinople*; but his Conjectures are not convincing: He attributes to the Prieſt *Marcellinus*, the Confeſſion of Faith which precedes this in the New Code; but this alſo is a Conjecture that is not abſolutely certain.

The Style of *Fauſtinus*, in his Treatiſe of the Trinity, is very plain and ſimple: He contents himſelf with producing Paſſages of Scripture, from which he draws Conſequences to prove the Doctrine of the Church, and with anſwering the Objections of the *Arians*; but the Style of his Petition is ſwelling and pathetical. In it you may ſee the Humour and Genius of all Reformers, who Glory in their ſmall Number, who blame the Multitude, who rend in pieces the Reputation of thoſe who are promoted to Dignities, who teſtifie their Indignation againſt the Higher Powers, who make a ſhow of much Firmneſs and Conſtancy, of a great contempt of this Life, of Honours and Riches; who look upon themſelves as unblameable, and attribute to the Divine Vengeance all the Fatal Accidents which happen to thoſe that are not their Friends; who are always complaining of being Perſecuted and ill uſed; who exaggerate the Evils which they juſtly ſuffer, and effect to ſhow a great Zeal for Piety and Religion.

[Every Reader muſt needs ſee that theſe Reflections were inſerted here more for the ſake of the Proteſtants, than of the Luciferians: Either all Abuſes ought always to be tolerated, or a Reformer is not to be blamed upon the ſcore of his Office: And when Men ſet up for *Reformers*, the Cauſe only is to be conſidered, not the Pretences; which if it be juſt, they have no reaſon to be aſhamed of any of theſe things here urged againſt them as Marks of Obloquy; if their Numbers are ſmall; they ought to ſhew by a proportionable firmneſs of Mind, that they place their Confidence in a Being that is Superiour to any Powers here below; and if they find Fault with the Multitude, who do not joyn with them, they act according to their own Principles, ſince all Men who think themſelves to be in the Right, muſt believe that their Adverſaries are miſtaken; their ſtanding to their own Aſſertions cannot reaſonably be interpreted to be injurious to Men in eminent Places: Conſtancy, Contempt of the World, of Life, Riches and Honours, are Vertues, which, when ſupported by a good Cauſe, are glorious Ingredients in the Characters of the greateſt Saints; and therefore are favourable Prejudices for all thoſe *Reformers* in whom they are to be found; if they are too apt to attribute the ill Succeſſes of their Enemies to Divine Vengeance, they are not Singular, ſince all Parties, and even all Religions conſtantly practiſe it; if they are hardly uſed they may reaſonably complain of their Uſage; and Mr. *du Pin* knows that his Church has always taken very particular Care that her Adverſaries ſhould never complain againſt her for Perſecuting without juſt Cauſe, whilſt they believe themſelves to be in the Right: *Reformers*, as all Men naturally do, will aggravate their Sufferings, that they may lay load upon their Perſecutors; and laſt of all, every Man is tempted to think his Adverſary's Zeal for Religion to be only Hypocritical.

If we conſider what good Succeſs theſe Two Luciferian Prieſts had in their Buſineſs, we ought not haſtily to condemn them: *Theodoſius* the Great always ſhew'd an unſhaken Zeal for the Orthodox Faith; and his Carriage towards St. *Ambroſe*, who cenſured him for his haſty and cruel Orders againſt the *Theſſalonians*, was an Evidence how very much he Reverenc'd the Orders and Diſcipline of the Church; and beſides, if we reflect upon the Accounts which *Ammianus Marcellinus* gives us of the Differences between *Damaſus* and *Urſicinus*, they will ſeem to plead for *Urſicinus*'s Party. His being a Heathen, is no prejudice againſt him in this Matter, becauſe he was not a Bigot againſt the Chriſtian Religion; ſo that it rather gave him the Advantage which all Neuters have of judging impartially of both ſides.]

PHILASTRIUS.

PHILASTRIUS Biſhop of *Breſcia*, flouriſh'd under the Elder *Theodoſius*, and was one of the Biſhops in the Council of *Aquileia*. St. *Auſtin* ſays, That he had ſeen him ſometimes with St. *Ambroſe*. We have his Life written, as is thought, by St. *Gaudentius* his Succeſſor. He died before St. *Ambroſe* about the Year 387 (*a*). *Philaſtrius*

(*a*) *About the Year* 387.] The Author of this Life, ſays, That he died before St. *Ambroſe*. In Hereſie 63 'tis ſaid, That he wrote in the Year 430, but 'tis plain that this was the Miſtake of a Figure, and that they put a C for an L, which would make it juſt 380.

Philastrius He wrote a Treatise of Heresies, wherein he reckons 20 Heresies before the Birth of Jesus Christ, and 128 afterwards to the Year 380, in which he wrote, and tells in a few Words the principal Errors of each of them. St. *Austin* observes at the beginning of his Book about Heresies, that it was a surprizing thing that *Philastrius*, who was much less learned and less exact than St. *Epiphanius*, should reckon up many more Heresies than he did; from whence he concludes, that these two Authors could not have the same Notions of Heresie, because indeed it is very difficult to give a just Definition of it. Wherefore, adds St. *Austin*, in giving the Catalogue of Heresies, we must carefully avoid these two opposite extremes, whereof one is to make those Heresies that are not, and the other is to omit those Heresies which really are such. 'Tis a rare thing for those who make the Catalogues of Heresies to fall into this last Fault; but the first is very common, and *Philastrius* was more subject to it than any body. For he feigns a multitude of Heresies that never were (*b*,) and sometimes he puts in the number of Heresies those Opinions that are true, or at least problematically disputed (*c*.) And therefore we need not wonder, that he made so numerous a Catalogue of Heresies, which he also multiplied, by mentioning one and the same Heresie many times.

The Style of this Author is mean and flat; he had no great Learning, and has committed many gross Faults (*d*) in this little Tract, which is not written with any exactness: Yet there are some remarkable things in it (*e*.)

This Treatise was printed at *Basle* in 1528; and at *Helmstadt* in 1611, and in 1614, and with St. *Austin*'s Book of Heresies, in several places, and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

(*b*) *Heresies that never were.*] As the *Nazareans*, the *Heliognosts*, the Adorers of Mice, the *Muscaronnites*, the *Troglodites* in the Old Testament, the *Fortunatians*, the *Baalites*, the *Celebites*, the *Molochites*, the *Tophites*; making several Sects of Hereticks, of the Abominations committed by the Jews, and the Sacrifices of the People that were their Neighbours. But nothing is more pleasant than his Invention of the Heresie of the *Puteorites*, which he founds upon that passage of *Jeremy*. *They have forsaken me the Fountain of Living Water, to make to themselves broken Cisterns.* That which he founds upon the 8*th*. Ch. of *Ezekiel* is not better grounded. Never any but he mentioned the Heresies of *Judas*, of the *Passalorinchites*, the *Rhelorians*, the *Discalceati*, and some others: Of one and the same Heresie, he many times makes many; and in a word, he reckons the number of Heresies, not by the Sects, but by every particular Opinion. In our days, he might have multiplied at a much greater rate the number of Heresies, by counting as many Errors as have been invented by one or other.

(*c*) *He puts in the number of Heresies those Opinions that are true, or at least problematical.*] As in *Heresie* 26, that the Soul of *Samuel* was brought back by the Witch of *Endor*; in the 59th. the Error of the *Millenaries*; in the 79th. that the Elements shall not perish; in the 88th. that the Epistle to the *Hebrews* may be St. *Luke*'s, or St. *Barnabas*'s; in the 63d. that there are more than 7 Heavens; in 94, that there is no other Earth but this; in 96, that the likeness of Man to God may be explain'd with relation to his Body; in 97, that the Breath which God inspir'd into Man was his Soul; in 101, that Earthquakes are natural Effects; in 102, and 111, that the Names of prophane Gods may be given to the Stars; in 119, that the number of years since the Creation is not certain; in 126, that *David* was not the Author of all the *Psalms*; in 129, that the Stars are fasten'd to Heaven; in 137, and those that follow, that we may follow another Version besides that of the Seventy and some others; in the 56th. he condemns those that admit *Ecclesiasticus* as a Canonical Book.

(*d*) *Many gross Faults.*] There are an infinite number of them in this Book; take some few of them. He places the *Ophites*, the *Gaianites*, and the *Troglodites* among the Hereticks which were before Jesus Christ, which is an Error in Chronology. He says, the *Samaritans* came from a King call'd *Samarius*, the Son of *Canaan*. What a strange Mistake is here! He says that *Mercurius Trismegistus* came to the *Celtæ*, and taught them to adore the Sun. He affirms, that the God *Accaron* was a Fly. He supposes that not only *Simon Magus*, *Basilides*, &c. but also *Cerdon*, *Marcion*, and many other Hereticks, publish'd their Errors while the Apostles were alive; a wonderful Mistake in Chronology. There are many more in it of this Nature.

(*e*) *There are some remarkable things in it.*] He confirms in many places the Immortality and Spirituality of the Soul, and chiefly in Heresie 122. In *Hæres.* 87. he admits as Canonical the Two Epistles of St. *Peter*, that of St. *Jude*, and the Three Epistles of St. *John*. He explains the Mystery of the Trinity in *Hæres.* 91, 92. He discourses of Grace in *Hæres.* 97. He says very curious things about the Diversity and Gift of Tongues in *Hæres.* 103, 104. He rejects in 105, the Opinion of those who thought that the Day of Judgment should happen 363 Years after Jesus Christ. In 106 he rejects the Opinion of those who imagin'd, that the Sons of Men spoken of in *Genesis*, were Angels. In the 112 he laughs at those that say there are many Worlds. In *Hæres.* 116. he plainly admits Original Sin. In 121, he rejects the Opinion of those, who believ'd that Jesus Christ descended into Hell, and preach'd the Gospel there to all the Damned, and that those of them who believ'd in him were sav'd. In 129, he explains the Eternal Generation of the World. In 124, he teaches that Men ought to run in the Ways of Vertue, and to desire what is Good, but they ought not to do it with Pride and Haughtiness, for they should acknowledge that they cannot deserve Salvation by their own Works, but by the Mercy of Jesus Christ; that it is indeed in our Power to run, but we ought to hope for greater things from God; and therefore we ought not to magnifie our selves, and say, *I can be a Martyr, I can be an Apostle*, but we must add, *If Jesus Christ will*: Because it is from him that we obtain these Graces, and they are not to be acquir'd by a vain Presumption. In *Heresie* 144, he observes that the Church celebrates Four Solemn Fasts, before *Christmas*, before *Epiphany*, before *Easter*, and before *Whitsunday*. I leave the other Observations to those who will take the pains to read this little Tract, whose brevity is one of its best Qualities.

TIMO-

TIMOTHY *of* Alexandria.

Timothy of Alexandria.

TIMOTHY the Succeſſor of *Peter* of *Alexandria*, who was preſent at the Second Council of *Conſtantinople*, wrote the Lives of the Monks of *Egypt*, which is mention'd by *Sozomen*, Ch. 29. of B. VI. of his Hiſtory. *Facundus* in Ch. 2. of B. IV. cites a Letter of the ſame *Timothy*, addreſs'd to *Diodorus* of *Tarſus*.

We have now the Reſponſes or Canon-Laws of this Biſhop, upon which *Balſamon* has written Commentaries. The Queſtions that were propos'd to him, were Queſtions about Cuſtoms and Practices of the Church, and his Anſwers are very Judicious.

In the Firſt he ſays, That thoſe young Catechumens ought to be Baptiz'd, who being preſent in the Church, with the Faithful, had received the Euchariſt.

The Second and Third concern thoſe that are poſſeſs'd by an Evil Spirit; he ſays, That thoſe Catechumens ought not to be Baptiz'd who are afflicted with this Evil, until the point of Death. As to the Faithful, he would have them permitted from time to time to approach the Holy Myſteries, provided the Devil do not ſeduce them to diſcover theſe Myſteries, or to blaſpheme them.

In the 4th. he ſays, That thoſe Catechumens may be Baptiz'd, who have loſt their Wits by Sickneſs.

In the 5th. He counſels married Perſons to abſtain from the uſe of Marriage, on that day in which they intended to receive the Communion.

In the 6th. and 7th. He would not have Women Baptiz'd, nor receive the Communion, but at certain times.

In the 8th. He exempts Women newly brought to Bed from the Faſt of *Lent*: *Becauſe*, ſays he, *Faſting was not appointed but to afflict the Body, and therefore where the Body is already afflicted, they may take what is neceſſary for it.*

In the 9th. he ſays, That the Clergy ought not to uſe the Publick Prayers in the preſence of the *Arians* and *Hereticks*, if they have a deſign to forſake their Hereſie: He takes notice, That the Deacon was wont to ſay with a loud Voice, before he ſaluted the People, *Let thoſe who do not Communicate withdraw.*

In the 10th. He exempts ſick Perſons from the Faſt of *Lent*, and permits them to eat Oyl in that time.

In the 11th. he ſays, That a Clergy-man ought not to marry Perſons contrary to Law.

In the 12th. He excuſes Nocturnal Illuſions, when they do not proceed from a voluntary Cauſe.

In the 13th. He would have Perſons that are Married abſtain from the uſe of Marriage on *Saturday* and *Sunday*, that they may be capable of receiving the Communion.

In the 14th. he ſays, That an Oblation may be offer'd for thoſe that kill themſelves through Madneſs, having loſt the uſe of their Reaſon; but becauſe this Pretence is often alledg'd to procure an Offering for thoſe that kill themſelves knowingly, therefore the Matter ſhould be well examin'd.

The 15th. Queſtion is of great Conſequence. It was ask'd, ſuppoſing a Wife to be perfectly Fooliſh and Mad, ſo that ſhe muſt be bound, Whether an Husband, who, ſays he, cannot contain himſelf, may lawfully marry another Wife? He anſwers, That this Action would be Adultery in him; and that nothing elſe is to be ſaid upon the Queſtion.

In the 16th. 'twas ask'd, Whether a Perſon that faſted in order to Communicate, having by chance ſwallow'd down a drop of Water, either in bathing himſelf, or in waſhing his Mouth, ought to Communicate or no? He anſwers, That he ought to do it ſo much the rather, becauſe 'tis the Devil that uſes this Artifice to hinder his receiving the Communion.

In the 17th. he ſays, That thoſe who hear the Word of God and do it not, are in ſome meaſure excuſable, if they be angry with themſelves for their Omiſſion, and accuſe themſelves of it.

In the Laſt, he ſays, That Men begin to ſin, when they come to the uſe of Reaſon, and ſo ſome begin to ſin at Ten Years of Age; ſome ſooner and ſome later.

NECTARIUS.

Nectarius

NECTARIUS who was choſen Arch-biſhop of *Conſtantinople* in the Year 382, after St. *Gregory Nazianzen* withdrew, paſſes for the Author of a Homily upon the Feſtival of the Martyr *Theodorus*, printed at *Paris* by *Nivelle* in 1554, together with ſome Homilies of St. *Chryſoſtom*. He diſcourſes in this Homily of Alms-giving and Faſting. *Nectarius* died in 397. He could not be very skilful in Divinity, having ſpent all his Life at Court, and being only a Catechumen when he was choſen to be Biſhop.

Geſius of Cæſarea.

GELASIUS *of* Cæſarea.

ST. *Jerome* places *Gelaſius* Succeſſor to *Euzoïus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Palæſtine*, amongſt the Eccleſiaſtical Writers. He aſſures us, That he had an exact and polite Style, but that he would not publiſh his Works. *Photius* in Vol. 89. aſſures us, That he read the Continuation of the Hiſtory of *Euſebius*, written by *Ruffinus*, tranſlated into Greek by this Author. He obſerves, That he was the Nephew of St. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, and that this Father was his Fellow-labourer in the Tranſlation of this Hiſtory. *Theodoret* in his firſt Dialogue quotes with commendation a Paſſage of this Author, taken out of a Homily upon the Apparition of Jeſus Chriſt, which proves the diſtinction of the Two Natures in Chriſt.

SIRICIUS.

Siricius.

SIRICIUS ſucceeded Pope *Damaſus* in the Year 385, and govern'd the Church of *Rome* till the Year 398. The Letters of this Pope, are the Firſt Decretals which are truly the Pope's whoſe Name they bear.

The Firſt Letter he wrote ſoon after he was promoted to the Pontifical Dignity, in anſwer to *Himerius* Biſhop of *Tarracon*, upon ſome Queſtions which he had propos'd to *Damaſus* Predeceſſor to *Siricius*.

The Firſt Queſtion was, Whether the *Arians* muſt be Re-baptized who were re-admitted into the Church. *Siricius* anſwers, That this was by no means to be permitted, becauſe the Apoſtle forbids it, becauſe the Canons condemn it, and becauſe it was forbidden by the Conſtitutions of his Predeceſſor *Liberius*, which were ſent to all the Churches of the World, after the annulling of the Council of *Ariminum*. " Wherefore, adds he, in obedience to what was Ordain'd, by a Synod, We re-" concile them to the Church, as well as the *Novatians*, and other Hereticks by Invocation of the Ho-" ly Spirit, and by impoſition of Hands made by the Biſhops: This is the Method which all the Eaſt " and all the Weſt obſerves, and you cannot vary from this Practice, but you will deſerve to be ſepa-" rated from our Society by a Synodical Sentence.

The Second Queſtion propos'd by *Himerius*, was about the time wherein Baptiſm ought to be Adminiſtred. *Siricius* thinks, that in this we ſhould follow the Cuſtom of the Church of *Rome*, that this Sacrament ſhould not be Adminiſtred but at *Eaſter* and *Whitſontide*; yet he excepts Infants and ſuch as are in danger of their Life, who ſhould be reliev'd with all ſpeed. " For fear, ſays he, leſt " we be guilty before God of the loſs of thoſe to whom we have refus'd Baptiſm. He would have " this Law obſerv'd by all the Biſhops, and threatens thoſe who ſhall not obſerve it, to ſeparate them " from the Apoſtolick Rock, upon which Chriſt has built his Univerſal Church. Yet this Law was never punctually obſerv'd, neither in the Eaſt nor in the Weſt; and nevertheleſs the Biſhops who did not obſerve it, were never upon this Account ſeparated from the Apoſtolick Rock upon which Chriſt built his Univerſal Church.

The Third Queſtion is concerning thoſe who having receiv'd Baptiſm had faln into Apoſtacy. *Siricius* ordains, that if they acknowledge their Fault, they ſhould do Penance for the reſt of their Life; but that the favour of Reconciliation ſhould be granted them at the point of Death.

The Fourth Queſtion was, Whether a Man could marry a Woman that was promis'd to another. *Siricius* Anſwers, that we muſt not ſuffer it to be done, becauſe it was a kind of Sacrilege to violate the Bleſſing which the Prieſt or Biſhop gave to her that was to be married.

The Fifth concerns Penitents, who have relaps'd into the Sins of the Fleſh, after they had compleated their Penance, and were reconcil'd to the Church. *Siricius* ſays, that ſince they have no further the benefit of Penance, he thinks it convenient to give them leave to be preſent at the Prayers of the Church; but upon condition that they ſhall be kept back from the Holy Table, that is, from the participation of the Sacrament of the Euchariſt; yet he would have this *Viaticum* granted them at the point of Death. He Ordains that the ſame Method ſhall be obſerved towards Women that fall into Sins of this Nature. And in fine, as to Monks and Religious Perſons guilty of Uncleanneſs, he Ordains, that thoſe deteſtable Perſons ſhall be ſeparated not only from the Aſſemblies of the Church, but alſo from the Society of Monks, and that being ſhut up in Priſon, they ſhall bewail their Sin all the remainder of their Life, that ſo they may be capable of deſerving the Communion of the Church at the Hour of Death.

After this, he ſpeaks in the 7th. Canon againſt thoſe Perſons, who being in Orders do not obſerve Celebacy. And he declares, That if for the future any Biſhop, Prieſt, or Deacon ſhall not continue unmarried, he is to hope for no more Pardon, becauſe it was neceſſary to cut off with the Knife thoſe Sores that could not be cur'd by other Remedies.

The Eighth Canon is againſt thoſe who get themſelves Ordain'd after they have had ſeveral Wives.

In the Ninth, *Siricius* obſerves the ſeveral Degrees through which one muſt paſs before he arrives at the Prieſthood. He ſays, That he who devotes himſelf to the Service of the Church, ſhould be baptiz'd very Young, and plac'd among the number of Readers; that if he behaves himſelf diſcreetly till he be 30 Years Old, he may during that time be made an Acolyth and Sub-deacon, provided that he

he does not marry above once, and then he does not marry a Widow; that after he should be Ordain'd Deacon, if he obliges himself to live unmarried; Five Years after the Order of Priesthood may be conferr'd upon him; and that in fine at the end of Ten Years, he may be made Bishop. Thus *Siricius* disposes of their time who are design'd for the Clergy, from the First Years of their Life: But for those that would enter into Holy Orders when they are already come to Years, he says, in the Tenth Canon, that immediately after their Baptism, they should be plac'd in the Rank of Readers or Exorists, and Two Years after they should be made Acolyths and Subdeacons, at the end of Five Years Deacons, and some time after Priests, and aferwards Bishops, if the People and the Clergy should choose them. These Rules are very fine in speculation, but it was never seen that they were exactly observ'd, and indeed it had been very difficult to do it. *Siricius.*

In the 7th. he declares, that every Clergy-man who shall marry a Second Wife or a Widow, shall be turn'd out of Holy Orders, and reduc'd to Lay-Communion.

In The 12th. he observes, that no other Woman must be suffer'd to dwell with the Clergy, but those whom the Council of *Nice* has allow'd.

In the 13th. he speaks of the Ordination of Monks. "We wish, says he, and desire, that those "among the Monks who are recommended by the Holiness of their Lives and the Purity of their "Faith, may enter into the Clergy, upon Condition that they pass through the Inferior Orders, that "they be not Ordain'd Deacons or Priests till they come to a good Age, and that they do not ascend "all of the sudden into the Episcopal Chair, but only after they have continued the time prescrib'd "in each of the Sacred Orders.

In the 14th. he says, that as a Clergy-man is not permitted to do publick Penance, so neither should a Lay-man be allow'd, after he has done publick Penance, to enter into the Clergy. At last, he Ordains in the last Canon, that considering the greater part excuse themselves as not knowing these Laws, that their Ignorance be pardon'd; but upon condition that the Penitents and Bigamists, who have been Ordain'd, shall continue in that Order wherein they are, without being capable of ascending higher. He concludes these Canons with threatning the Condemnation of the Holy See to all Metropolitans who did not observe these Laws; and ends his whole Letter with exhorting *Himerius*, to observe the Canons and the Holy Decrees, and to publish them in *Spain*.

The Second Letter of Pope *Siricius* furnishes us with a good Example of the ancient manner of Judging us'd by the Holy Apostolick See: There he acquaints the Church of *Milan*, that having Assembled all his Clergy, he had condemn'd *Jovinian* and his followers, with the Advice and Consent of the Priests, Deacons, and all the Clergy. *Omnium nostrum tam Presbyterorum & Diaconorum, quam etiam totius Cleri una sententia.*

The Third Letter of the Pope *Siricius* is address'd to all the Orthodox; he exhorts them to observe the Canons of the Council of *Nice* in the Election of Bishops; he recommends to them, not to give Bishopricks to Persons unknown, nor to Novices, nor to Lay-men, but to Clergy-men, whose Life was unblamable.

The Fourth Letter of *Siricius*, which is adress'd to the Bishops of *Africa*, is suspected of Forgery by the most able Criticks, who prove it by very strong Conjectures (*a*) and it contains nothing remarkable.

The last Letter written to *Anysius* of *Thessalonica*, and other Bishops of *Illyricum*, was for a long time attributed to St. *Ambrose*, though he speaks there of this Father in the Third Person, and was restor'd to *Siricius* by *Holstenius*. The Bishops to whom he writes had consulted him about the Cause of *Bonosus*, who was accus'd of saying rashly, That the Virgin *Mary* had Children. *Siricius* answers *Anysius* and those Bishops, that the Synod of *Capua* having ordain'd that the neighbouring Bishops to *Bonosus*, and chiefly those of *Macedonia*, should take cognizance of the Charge that was drawn up against him, it did no longer belong to him to judge of this Cause; that it belong'd to

(*a*) *By very strong Conjectures.*] *Blondel* had before rejected this Letter, but with some Doubt, and without giving any convincing Reason; but Monsieur *Quesnel* has perfectly destroyed the Credit of it, by sapping the foundation upon which it was built, which was the Council of *Telepta*, wherein this Letter is quoted, and by alledging many new Conjectures against this Letter. These that follow are the chief. 1. The first Canon of this Letter has no sense in what ever manner it be read or explain'd; for according to some it must be read, *ut sine Conscientia sedis Apostolicæ Primatis, nemo audeat ordinare*, according to others, *ut extra conscientiam sedis Apostolicæ, i.e. Primatis, nemo audeat ordinare*. The first is rediculous: First, because the Popes never pretended to take cognizance of the ordinations of all the Metropolitans. Secondly, because in *Africk* there was but one Primate only, all the other Ecclesiastical Metropolitans were the most ancient Bishops of the Province. The Second is equally ridiculous: For what probability is there, that a Pope should give to all the Metropolitan Churches the Title of the Apostolick See, which Pope *Leo* in Ep. 78. said, could not be granted to the Bishop of *Constantinople*? Secondly this Letter is copied from that of *Innocent* to *Victricius*. Thirdly, the Author of this Letter says impertinently, That the Bishops of *Africk* would have come to the Synod of *Rome*, if they had not been hindred by old Age or Sickness from coming thither. Fourthly, he makes *Siricius* speak to the *Africans* with too much Authority. Fifthly, he only advises Priests and Deacons to Celibacy, as a thing that they were not oblig'd to; whereas 'tis certain that *Siricius* lookt upon it as an indispensable Law. Sixthly, what this Author has not copied from the Letter of St. *Innocent* is barbarous and ill turn'd. Seventhly, the Subscription of this Letter is singular, *Data Romæ in Concilio Episcoporum* 80. This is always put at the bginning and never at the end of Synodical Letters. In fine this Letter was never quoted in the *African* Councils, which have treated of the Continency of the Clergy, no more than that Council of *Telepta*, wherein it is pretended that it was quoted. 'Tis true that *Ferrandus* the Deacon has inserted the Canons of this Council, as well as those of this Letter, into his Collection; but he may be mistaken as Father *Quesnel* proves in this Dissertation, which is the 15th. of his Learned Dissertations upon St. *Leo*.

them.

Siricius. them to whom this Judgment was committed to give their Sentence, and that neither the Accuſed, nor the Accuſers could avoid it; That the Synod of *Capua* having choſen them to judge it, the Judgment which they ſhould give was to be lookt upon as the Judgment of the Council; That *Bonoſus* having conſulted St. *Ambroſe*, whether he could be readmitted to his Church, he had anſwer'd him, that he muſt attempt nothing unſeaſonably; but muſt wait for the Judgment of thoſe to whom the Synod of *Capua* had given Authority to determine this Affair: Yet in the following part of this Letter he does not omit to aquaint them with his thoughts of this Queſtion, and to refute the Opinion of *Bonoſus*; but he does it as a private Doctor and not as a Judge, declaring at the end of this Letter, that he waited for their Judgment upon this Affair: that he might follow it as his Rule. This is a very authentick Teſtimony of the Reverence which the Ancient Popes had for the Deciſions of Councils.

SABINUS.

Sabinus. SABINUS Biſhop of the *Macedonians* at *Heraclea* in *Thracia*, liv'd about the end of the Reign of *Theodoſius* the Great. He collected together the Acts of ſeveral Councils of the Fourth Century, which *Socrates* quotes ſeveral times; (*a*) tho' he wrote very ſpitefully againſt the Church, yet his Memoirs had been very uſeful for clearing up the Hiſtory of the Councils of that time, if they had come to our hands.

(*a*) *Quotes ſeveral times.*] *Socrat. lib.* 1. *c.* 8. and 9. *lib.* 2. *c.* 15, 17, 39. *lib.* 3. *c.* 10. 24.

AMBROSE *of* Alexandria.

Ambroſe of Alexandria. ST. *Jerome* ſpeaks of this Author in his Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers after this manner: "*Ambroſe* of *Alexandria* the Scholar of *Didymus*, wrote a great Dogmatical Treatiſe againſt "*Apollinarius*, and Commentaries upon *Job*, of which ſome ſpoke to me not long ago: This Author "is ſtill alive;" which ſhews that he died not till after the Year 392. And this is all that we have to ſay of this Author.

THEOTIMUS.

Theotimus. THEOTIMUS Biſhop of *Tomi* in *Scythia*, has written, according to the Teſtimony of the ſame St. *Jerome*, ſhort and ſententious Tracts by way of Dialogue, according to the ancient manner of Writing. This Biſhop was one of the defenders of St. *Chryſoſtom*. He was preſent at *Conſtantinople* when St. *Epiphanius* came thither, and ſpoke to him briefly in defence of *Origen*'s Books. *Socrates* produces his words Ch. 12. of the VIth. B. of his Hiſtory. *Sozomen* commends in Ch. 26. of the VIth. B. of his Hiſtory, and mentions ſome Miracles which he wrought.

EVAGRIUS *of* Antioch.

Evagrius of Antioch. ST. *Jerome* aſſures us that *Evagrius*, who was ordain'd in 386, Biſhop of *Paulinus*'s Party at *Antioch*, was a Man of a briſk and fervent Spirit; that when he was Prieſt, he wrote many Treatiſes upon different Subjects which he had read to himſelf, but that they had not yet ſeen the light; and that he had Tranſlated into Latin the Life of St. *Anthony* written by St. *Athanaſius*. This ſhows, that they are to blame, who attribute the Tranſlation of this Life to St. *Jerome*. This Author died in the Year 393.

St. AMBROSE Biſhop *of* Milan.

St. Ambroſe THE Father of St. *Ambroſe* was Prætorian Præfect of *Gaul* when this Saint was born, which was about the Year 340 (*a*), and was Nurs'd in his Father's Palace (*b*). 'Tis reported, that while he was ſleeping one day with his Mouth open in the Court of this Palace, a Swarm of Bees came and

(*a*) *About the Year* 340.] The date of St. *Ambroſe*'s Birth, depends upon the date of that Letter which was formerly the 32d. and is now the 60th. addreſs'd to *Severus*; for there he ſays, That he was 53 Years old, and that he wrote in a time of War. *Tot objecti barbaricis moribus, & bellorum procellis, in medio verſamur omnium moleſtiarum freto.* This may relate either to the War of *Maximus* in 387, or to that of *Eugenius* in 393; if it referrs to the firſt, he was born in 334, if to the ſecond, in 340. 'Tis hard to ſay whether it referrs to the one or to the other.

(*b*) *Was Nurs'd in his Father's Palace.*] *Paulinus* the Author of St. *Ambroſe*'s Life ſays plainly, that he was born in his Father's Palace, who was then the Prætorian Præfect

flew

flew about his Cradle, and having many times crept in and out to rest themselves upon his Mouth, at last they mounted up into the Air so high, till they quite vanish'd out of sight; which was look'd upon by his Father as a Prodigy, and a Presage of the future Greatness of this Infant. Profane Antiquity relates the same thing of *Plato*, and affirms, That it was a Presage of the Sweetness of his Eloquence; but there is more Reason to believe what the Author of the Life of our Saint says, That this swarm of Bees form'd those Hony-combs in his Mouth, which should one Day make us relish the sweetness of heavenly Gifts, and raise our Hearts up to Heaven. St. *Ambrose*

The Father of St. *Ambrose* dying somtime after, his Widow left *Gaul*, whether she was come to dwell only upon the account of her Husband's Office, and return'd to *Rome* which was their Country. Thither she carried St. *Ambrose*, who was yet very Young, together with *Marcellina* his Sister, and *Satyrus* his Eldest Brother; and she took special Care of the Education of her Children. Her Daughter profess'd Virginity, and received the Veil from the Hands of Pope *Liberius*; St. *Ambrose* profited very much by the Domestick Examples of the Piety and vertue of his Mother, his Sister, and the Virgins that were with them; they inspir'd into him from his tender Youth, the love of Vertue, and secured him from the Corruptions of the Age, and he joyn'd Learning to his Piety. His Works discover how vigorously he applied himself to humane Learning. Having finish'd his Studies, he acquir'd by his Merits the Friendship of *Anicius Probus*, and of *Symmachus*, to very Honest and Learned Men, tho' of different Religions. The First was the Prætorian Præfect of *Italy*, in whose Court St. *Ambrose* pleaded Causes with so much renown, that *Probus* made choice of him to be his Assessor. Afterwards he made him Governour of *Liguria* and *Emilia*, that is, of all that Country, which comprehends at this Day, the Archbishopricks of *Milan*, *Liguria*, *Turin*, *Genoa* and *Bolonia*. 'Tis reported that *Probus* said to him at parting, *Go thy way, and Govern more like a Bishop than a Judge*; which Words were a Prediction of what happened afterwards. For a little while after, *Auxentius* Bishop of *Milan*, who was of the *Arian* Faction, being dead, the Bishops of the Province of *Italy* assembled to place one in his room, according to the Orders of the Emperour *Valentinian*, who would not himself interpose in the Election; and upon this Occasion there arose a great Contention among the People, because the *Arians* and the Orthodox on each side, did all that laid in their Power to choose a Bishop of their own Party. This Quarrel being like to raise a Tumult, St. *Ambrose* thought it the Duty of his Office to come into the Church and prevent it, whither being come, he made an Oration to the People with much Discretion and Mildness, exhorting them to proceed in their Choice with the Spirit of Peace and without Tumult. While he was yet speaking, the People

of *Gaul*. *Posito in administratione præfecturæ Galliarum Patre ejus Ambrosio natus est Ambrosius, qui infans in Area Prætoris in Cunabulis positus*, &c. This plainly enough discovers the place of his Birth and Education, for the Dwelling-House and Palace of the Præfect of the *Gauls* was certainly in *Gaul*: 'Tis true that the same *Paulinus* speaking afterwards of St. *Ambrose*'s Journey to *Rome*, says, That he went to his own Country, *proprium solum*, and that St. *Basil* writing to St. *Ambrose*, says, He was of the Emperial City: But on these Occasions, the Place of his Parents abode, the Origin of the Family, and the common Residence of St. *Ambrose*, was consider'd as the Place of his Country. And indeed so it was according to the Roman Laws; and the Children born in a place where their Parents were by chance about their Affairs, were esteem'd to be of that Place, which was the ordinary Residence of their Fathers and Mothers. See *L. retro. ff. de captiv. & L. filios C. de municip. & L. cives C. de incolis.* 'Tis more difficult to assign precisely that City of the *Gaules*, where the Prætorian Præfect then resided, which is not certainly known. Some are of Opinion that it was at *Triers*, which St. *Athanasius* and *Theodoret* call the Metropolis of *Gaul*, as *Milan* was the Metropolis of *Italy*: For the Residence of the Prætorian Præfect of *Italy* was at *Milan*. *Ammian. Marcellinus* calls the City of *Triers*, the Dwelling-Place of Princes; to which we may add, the Praises which many Authors have given of this City; but this proves nothing. In the time of the Tyrant *Maximus*, *Evodius* the Prætorian Præfect of the *Gauls* resided at *Triers*, as appears by the History of the *Priscillianists* related by *Sulpitius Severus*. But it does not follow from hence, that this City was the Ordinary Residence of others, because that *Maximus* a Tyrant, who was newly raised to the Empire, dwelt at *Triers*. Some have thought that the ordinary Residence of the Prætorian Præfect of the *Gauls* was at *Arles*. The Conjectures for this Opinion are these, That the Emperour *Constantine* resided in this City, that he honour'd it with many Privileges, and particularly to be the Place for the meeting of a Council; That there is a Law of *Honorius* and *Theodosius*, which Ordains that every year an Assembly of the Seven Provinces should be held in the City of *Arles*, in the presence of the Præfect, *sub Illustri præsentia Præfecturæ*; That *Agricolaus* the Prætorian Præfect of the *Gauls*, to whom this Law was address'd, received it at *Arles*; That in the Petition which those Countries presented to Pope *Leo*, they establish the Dignity of the Ecclesiastical Metropolis of *Arles* upon the Privileges which had been granted to this City by *Valentinian* and *Honorius*, which made it be look'd upon as the Mother of all the other Cities, and upon the Honour which it had to serve for the Residence of the Prætorian Præfect. 'Tis added, That *Honoratus* writes in the Life of *Hilary* of *Arles*, That the Prætorian Præfect came to see this Bishop when he was reduc'd to Extremity; That St. *Prosper* in his Chronicle speaks of a Prætorian Præfect call'd *Exuperantius*, who resided at *Arles*; That *Liberius* Prætorian Præfect of *Gaul*, who confirm'd the Second Council of *Orange*, dwelt at *Arles*; That *Faustus Rhedonensis* writing to *Felix* the Præfect of *Gaul*, says, That he resided in a City where he profited by the Instructions of *Eonius*, and this Man was Bishop of *Arles*. All these Proofs plainly shew, that in the Fifth Age the ordinary Residence of the Prætorian Præfects of *Gaul* was in the City of *Arles*; but they do not prove, that it was also in the time of St. *Ambrose*. One may rather believe, that it was the City of *Lyons*, which at first was the ordinary Residence of the Prætorian Præfect of *Gaul*. For, First, This City was look'd upon as the Chief City of *Gaul*. Secondly, *Strabo*, assures us, That the Præfects and Governours of *Gaul* commonly resided there, and coyn'd Money there of Gold and Silver: Now there is no probability, neither is there any Proof that *Constantine* changed this Custom in favour of the City of *Arles*: And therefore there is nothing very certain upon this Subject.

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unanimouſly proclaim'd him Biſhop of *Milan*. This unexpected Choice ſurpriz'd him; he preſently withdrew, and made uſe of all the Artifices he could to ſhun this Biſhoprick. He aſcended the Bench of Juſtice, and affecting to ſeem cruel and unworthy of the Prieſthood, he cauſed the Criminals to be brought before him loaded with Chains, and commanded them to be rack'd with great ſeverity. This Artifice failing, he contrived another, by making Women of lewd Lives come into his Houſe. But the People perceiving all this to be affected, continued ſtill in their Choice: Whereupon he ſtole out of the City by Night, with a deſign to retire to *Ticinum*; but miſſing his way, he wandred up and down all Night, and found himſelf next Morning at the Gates of *Milan*. His Flight being known, a Guard was ſet about him, and a Relation of all that had paſs'd, was ſent to the Emperour: St. *Ambroſe* wrote alſo to him on his own behalf, that he might be excus'd from that Office. But the Emperour being wonderfully pleas'd with this Choice of the People, did not only confirm the Election, but gave Order to the Lieutenant of *Italy* to ſee the thing effectually done. In the mean time St. *Ambroſe* once more made his eſcape, and hid himſelf in the Houſe of one *Leontius*: But the Lieutenant of *Italy* having publiſhed the Order againſt all thoſe that knew where he was, and did not diſcover him, *Leontius* by an Innocent kind of Treachery declared where he was, and then St. *Ambroſe* finding it was in vain to reſiſt any longer, was firſt Baptiz'd, and ſome time after made Biſhop of *Milan*, at the End of the Year 374, or the Beginning of 375 (*c*.) Immediately after his Ordination he diſtributed to the Poor, or gave to the Church, all the Money that he had. He ſettled his Lands alſo upon the Church, reſerving only the Profits of them for Life. He committed the Care of his Affairs to his Brother *Satyrus*, who being gone to *Rome* by Sea in purſuit of a man who had unjuſtly poſſeſs'd himſelf of ſome part of their Eſtate, was like to have periſhed in a Shipwrack, which made him reſolve to be baptiz'd: Nevertheleſs he eſcaped the danger and returned ſafe to *Milan*, where he died in 379. Thus St. *Ambroſe* having renounc'd all Care of Secular Affairs, applyed himſelf wholly to the worthy diſcharge of his Epiſcopal Function. Tho' he was but newly baptiz'd, and never had time to Study Religion before his Ordination, yet by his great Induſtry he attained to that Perfection, that at the ſame time he both learned and taught the Truths of the Chriſtian Religion. He did every Day celebrate the Holy Myſteries; there paſs'd not a Sunday but he preached to his People. He hearkened to all Men with Meekneſs and Charity, he relieved the Poor, he comforted the Afflicted, ſo that all his People loved and admired him. He applied himſelf vigorouſly to root out the remnants of Arianiſm that were yet in the Church of *Milan*. He convicted *Secundianus* and *Palladius*, and procured their Condemnation in the Council of *Aquileia* held in the Year 381. The Death of *Gratian* changed the face of Affairs in the Weſtern Empire. The Tyrant *Maximus* who had put him to Death, having Uſurped *Gaul*, was become formidable to all *Italy*. It was feared, that he would paſs the *Alps*, and carry *Italy* by force from *Valentinian* the Younger, who was then but Twelve or Thirteen Years Old. St. *Ambroſe* was ſent Embaſſador to this Tyrant in the Year 384, and by his Prudence and Boldneſs diverted his Deſign of paſſing then into *Italy*. The Empreſs *Juſtina*, Mother to *Valentinian*, who was an *Arian*, having a Deſign to reſtore Arianiſm after its Extirpation in the Church of *Milan*, did at firſt deſire of St. *Ambroſe*, one of the Churches call'd the *Portian* Church, which St. *Ambroſe* refus'd to grant her; and ſo great was the Aſſembly of the People round about the Palace, that ſhe was forc'd to leave St. *Ambroſe* in the Poſſeſſion of his Church, and to entreat him alſo to appeaſe the People. Sometime after the Empreſs ſent to him to demand in the Emperour's Name, not only that Church, but alſo the *New*-Church. Our Saint oppoſed them with wonderful Boldneſs, and anſwered them with ſuch a fearleſs Courage, as aſtoniſhed the Perſons who brought the Emperour's Orders to him. This happened at the Beginning of the Year 385. On *Palm-Sunday* in the ſame Year, Officers were ſent to ſeize upon the *Portian*-Church, when St. *Ambroſe* was Officiating in the *New*-Church. This irritated the People, who run to that Church, and having apprehended one *Caſtulus* an *Arian* Prieſt, would have made a Riot, if St. *Ambroſe* had not ſent ſome Prieſts and Deacons to appeaſe them. The Emperour cauſed many of the Seditious to be Arreſted, and ſent armed Souldiers to take Poſſeſſion of the Church, which for all that was not put in Execution. On *Wedneſday* in Paſſion Week the Souldiers were ſent to ſeize upon the *New*-Church, but the People flocking thither in great Multitudes, the Souldiers never entred it; but the People within it ſpent the whole Night and Day, in ſinging of Pſalms; and the next day after, the Emperour being prevailed upon by the Boldneſs and Wiſdom of St. *Ambroſe*'s Carriage, who had put a ſtop to the Sedition, and yet had yielded nothing of what was demanded of him, ordered the Souldiers who ſurrounded the Church to retire.

St. *Ambroſe*

In the Year following the Perſecution was renew'd againſt the Catholicks and St. *Ambroſe*, by an Edict of the Emperour in favour of the Council of *Ariminum*. A deſign alſo was laid to take from the Catholicks the *Portian*-Church. Orders were given to apprehend St. *Ambroſe*, and ſent him into baniſhment; but he was ſtill ſecur'd by the affection of the People of *Milan*, who Guarded him in his Church, where he ſpent many Days and Nights in ſinging Pſalms and Hymns continually with his People. He was challenged to Diſpute in the Palace with *Auxentius* the *Arian* Biſhop; but he refuſed to do it, becauſe Lay-men and Pagans were choſen to be Judges of their Conference. He offered to referr the Difference to the Judgment of a Council, tho' it was not reaſonable to trouble the Peace of the Church for one Man only, nor to call that in Queſtion which had been already deter-

(*c*) *Ordain'd Biſhop of* Milan *about the Year* 374, *or* 375.] *In Euſebius's Chronicon*, his Ordination is plac'd in the Year 375. But ſince it is certain that *Valentinian* died *November* 10th. 375. and that his Ordination was made the 10th. of *December* under this Emperour, we muſt of neceſſity place it in the preceding Year.

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mined. After this he spoke an Oration against *Auxentius*, which provok'd the Empress *Justina* yet more against him: But at last she gave over the further Persecution of this Bishop, seeing it was to no purpose, because his own Wisdom and Courage, and the Affections of his People, cover'd him from all her Designs. 'Tis believ'd, That the Discovery of the Relicks of St. *Gervasius* and St. *Protasius*, and the Miracles that were then done by them, contributed to the Peace of the Church. But 'tis very probable that the true Reason which hindred *Justina* and *Valentinian* from pushing things to extremity, was the State of the Affairs of the Empire at that time. *Maximus* had prepar'd to pass over into *Italy*, a Sedition was also to be fear'd in this Juncture, and they stood in need of St. *Ambrose*. In Effect the Emperour found no Person fitter than he to treat with *Maximus*, whom he sent Embassador to this Tyrant, who resided at *Triers*: St. *Ambrose* spoke to him with much boldness, but he could obtain nothing of him; on the contrary, this Tyrant march'd immediately into *Italy*; and thereby made himself Master of all the Western Empire, so that *Valentinian* was forc'd to retire into the East, and desire Aid of *Theodosius*, who re-establish'd him, after he had defeated, taken and be-headed *Maximus*. This Revolution happened in 387. St. *Ambrose* continued during this time in his Bishoprick. When *Theodosius* came into the West, he showed no less Courage with reference to him, than before he had done to *Valentinian*. He opposed the re-establishment of the Jewish Synagogue which *Theodosius* would have done, and *of the Altar of Victory*, which *Symmachus* had already endeavour'd in vain to restore because of the Opposition of St. *Ambrose*. 'Tis well enough known, with what freedom he reproved the Emperour *Theodosius* for the Massacre at *Thessalonica*, which he gave a Warrant for putting in Execution, and after what manner he obliged him to do publick Penance for it. The Death of *Valentinian* and the Advancement of *Eugenius* for some time disturbed the the Repose of St. *Ambrose*. He was obliged to retire from *Milan* in the Year 393, but he returned in the Year 394, and finished his Course as he had begun it. He died in the Year 396, aged 57 Years. St. *Ambrose*

The Works of St. *Ambrose* above all the other Fathers, have been most corrupted in the ordinary Editions. The Roman Edition from which those that follow'd after were made, instead of restoring the Text of this Father, hath render'd it more Faulty in many places, by the Liberty which the Supervisors of that Edition took, of making Alterations in it by their own Authority. In this Edition the Works were in great Confusion, without Order, and without any distinction of what were Genuine, and what were Suppositious; which induc'd the Benedictins of the Abby of St. *Germain de Prez* to undertake a New Edition of this Father's Works, wherein they have restor'd the Text from many Manuscripts; and ranged the Discourses in very good Order. In it they are divided into Two Volumes. The First which is already published, contains the Treatises of St. *Ambrose* upon the Scripture. The Second which will quickly come forth, and which they have allow'd me to make use of, contains the other Works of this Father. The Fifth begins with the Treatise upon the Creation of the World, compos'd of Nine Discourses of St. *Ambrose* to his People, preach'd in one of the last Weeks of Lent. 'Tis probable, that he reduc'd them afterwards into the form of a Treatise. 'Tis divided into Six Books, which answer to the Six Days of the Creation. This Work contains many Questions of Controversie, and many Moral and Mystical Considerations upon the Text of the Bible. There are many of them, particularly in the last Books which are very extraordinary, and far fetch'd. St. *Ambrose* made this Treatise about the Year 389. He has imitated St. *Basil* in it, whose Method he followed, and he has taken many things from him as also from *Hippolitus* and *Origen*.

The Treatise *of Paradise* is one of the first Books of St. *Ambrose*. He Wrote it as he says in his Letter to *Sabinus*, soon after he was made Bishop. He does not dive very deep into the Historical Questions which may be made upon this Subject, but for the most part acquiesces in the Allegorical Explications, which he draws out of *Philo* and other Authors, or which he invents himself: There he refutes the Hereticks of *Apelles*'s Sect, and occasionally speaks against the Jews.

St. *Ambrose* continues the Explication of the Text of *Genesis* in the Treatise of the History of *Abel* and *Cain*, upon which he makes abundance of long Allegories wherewith he intermixes some Moral Thoughts. He enlarges particularly upon the Sacrifices of these Two Brethren. Upon occasion of the saying that *the Blood of* Abel *crys*, he says, That God hears the Just even after their Death, because they are even then living before God and enjoy Eternal Light.

The History *of the Deluge and the Life of* Noah, furnished St. *Ambrose* with very fit matter for the Continuation of his Mystical and Moral Explications. This is the Subject of the Book *of the Ark and of* Noah, or *of the Ark of* Noah, as St. *Austin* calls it. This Treatise is not perfect, for St. *Austin* quotes a Passage out of it, which is not to be found there now.

There are Two Books of St. *Ambrose* upon *the Life of* Abraham. In the First he prescribes the Life and Action of this Patriarch, and represents his Submission to the Will of God, and his other Vertues. In the Second Book he discourses on the First Actions of this Patriarch, to draw from them a more sublime and spiritual Sence, by applying them to the different Degrees of a spiritual Life, and to the Ways by which we tend to Perfection.

He treats also of the same Subject, tho' in a more compendious way, in the Book *of* Isaac *and the Soul*, where he explains the Union of the Soul with the Word, which was figur'd by the Marriage of *Isaac* and *Rebecca*. There he distinguishes Four Degrees through which the Soul must pass, that it may be delivered from all earthly Affections, and arrive at a State of perfect Union with God. By this Union he explains the *Canticles*, on which he makes a kind of a Mystical Paraphrase, and therefore this Treatise may pass for a Commentary upon this Book of Scripture.

St. *Ambroſe* having diſcourſed of the Soul at the End of the preceding Treatiſe, found himſelf inſenſibly engag'd to treat of Death in the following Book. 'Tis entitled, *Of the Benefits or Advantages of Death.* There St. *Ambroſe* firſt diſtinguiſhes three kinds of Death; The Death of Sin, which kills the Soul; The Myſtical Death, by which we die to Sin; and the Natural Death, by which the Soul is ſeparated from the Body. All the World conſiders the firſt as a great Miſery, and the Second as a great Happineſs; but their Opinions are divided about the laſt: Some wiſh for it as a great Advantage, and others dread it as a great Puniſhment. St. *Ambroſe* declares for thoſe who hold it to be a great Benefit, he makes the Advantages of it appear, and oppoſes to them the Troubles of this preſent Life from which Death delivers us. He exhorts Chriſtians, not to ſet their Affections upon this Life nor the Pleaſures of this World; he makes them ſenſible of the bitterneſs which accompanies them; he repreſents the Dangers to which we are continually expoſed, the Temptations to which we are ſubject in all ſorts of Occurences, and the Sins into which we fall every moment. Afterwards he diſcourſes of the State of departed Souls; he ſuppoſes that till the Day of Judgment, they are in Places or Habitations: where they expect Eternal Glory or Damnation, tho' they enjoy already by anticipation ſome kind of Happineſs or Miſery. *All Souls wait,* ſays he, *for what they have deſerved; ſome expect Damnation and others Glory; but in this waiting, the former are not without Pain, nor the later without ſome Reward.*] St. *Ambroſe* inſiſts particularly upon the Joy which the latter enjoy, and diſtinguiſhes Seven Degrees of their Happineſs, whereof the laſt is to rejoyce in the aſſurance they have of ſeeing God face to face. He concludes with exhorting the Faithful to die without Fear, "Let us go on, "ſays he, without fear in the way to Jeſus Chriſt; Let us march without anxiety to the Aſſembly "of the Patriarchs and Saints; Let us enter in with Confidence into *Abraham*'s Boſom. Yes, O Holy "Patriarch, open to us your Boſom, extend your Arms to theſe poor Faithful. Jeſus is gone before "us to prepare Habitations, where we are to be received; he promiſed to do it before we asked it "of him. We deſire to follow thee, O Lord, but call thou us unto thee, that ſo we may effectually follow thee, becauſe without thee no Man can aſcend unto thee. Thou art the Way, the "Truth and the Life, thou giveſt us the Power, the Faith, and the Reward; receive us, ſince thou "art the Way; confirm us, ſince thou art the Truth; Grant us Life, ſince thou art the Author of "Life; make us to enjoy that good thing which *David* deſired; ſhow us that Eternal, that Immutable "Bliſs, which we ſhall enjoy for all Eternity." This Treatiſe of St. *Ambroſe* has another ſort of a reliſh than the foregoing; 'tis full of uſeful and ſolid Reflections, and of juſt and natural Reaſonings. He founds all that he ſays upon Paſſages of the Holy Scripture, which he applies very pertinently and very naturally. He builds very much upon the Fourth Book of *Eſdras* which he cites as Canonical. This Treatiſe was Written about the Year 387. The Book *of forſaking the World* was written ſoon after this, of which we have already ſpoken: the Title of it ſufficiently diſcovers the Subject. There St. *Ambroſe* makes uſe of ſeveral Allegories taken out of the Old Teſtament, to exhort the Faithful to flee from this World, that they may be wholly united to God.

The Books of *Jacob* and a *Happy Life*, treat of the Happineſs of the Righteous. In the Firſt, he diſcovers the means of arriving at Happineſs; the Chief whereof is, to follow the Light of Right Reaſon, which can command our Paſſions, and repreſs the Motions of Luſt: For tho' we cannot wholly extinguiſh our Paſſions, yet we may reſtrain their Violence by practiſing the Vertue of Moderation; for he maintains that we do Good or Evil freely. Jeſus Chriſt, he ſays, will have none for his Servants which are not free, and the Devil has none for Slaves, but thoſe that are voluntarily ſold to him by their Sins. But becauſe of Man's Weakneſs the Divine Aſſiſtance is neceſſary. The Law which God has given him does clearly diſcover to him his Sins; but it has not ſufficient Virtue to deliver him from Sin and Death; there is nothing but Grace could ſet us at Liberty, which Jeſus Chriſt by his Death hath merited for all Men. This Grace is ſo powerful, that provided we be willing to follow its Motions, nothing ſhall ever be able to ſeparate us from Jeſus Chriſt. Whatever befals us we ſhall be happy; a juſt Man is above all the Miſeries of this Life; 'tis true indeed, he ſuffers Loſſes, Afflictions, Diſeaſes, Pains, Captivity, &c. but he does not think himſelf leſs happy for being ſubject to theſe Accidents. There is nothing wanting to him that poſſeſſes Vertue; he fears nothing, he hopes nothing, he deſires nothing; tho' he be weak, he is ſtrong enough; tho' he appear to be poor, he is rich; tho' he is deſpiſed, he believes himſelf the more honoured; tho' he is alone, yet he is not forſaken; whatſoever Diſeaſe he has he enjoys a perfect Health.

Theſe Maxims are confirm'd in the Second Book by the Example of *Jacob*. St. *Ambroſe* there deſcribes the Life and Actions of this Patriarch, and ſhews, that the Afflictions and Croſſes which befell him did not hinder him from being happy. He concluds with the Example of *Eleazar* and the *Maccabees*, on whom he makes a very lively and Eloquent Panegyrick.

After he has diſcours'd of the Patriarchs, *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, and treated, as he ſays himſelf, *of ſubmiſſion to the Will of God*, upon the occaſion of *Abraham*, *of Purity of Spirit* from *Iſaac*, *of Patience under Miſeries* from the Hiſtoy of *Jacob*; he treats *of Chaſtity* in explaining the Hiſtory of *Joſeph*, who has given an Illuſtrious, Example of the practice of this vertue, in reſiſting the Solicitations of *Potiphar*'s Wife. This Action of *Joſeph* is ſo much the more Glorious, by how much the Charms of this Woman were harder to be overcome; which St. *Ambroſe* ſtudies to ſet off to the beſt Advantage, that the Vertue of *Joſeph* may the better appear. After this he purſues the Hiſtory of this Patriarch, and diſcourſes of all the Circumſtances of his Life, which he referrs to Jeſus Chriſt, of whom *Joſeph* was a Figure. He lays open this Myſtical Senſe with much Art and Probability, by comparing what is ſaid of *Joſeph* in *Geneſis*, with what is ſaid of Jeſus Chriſt in the Goſpel.

St. *Ambroſe*

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The Commentary upon *the Benedictions of the Patriarchs*, follows naturally after the Book of the Life of *Joseph*. St. *Ambrose* there gives Mystical Sences to the Blessings, which *Jacob* when he was dying gave to his Children, and referrs the greatest part of them to Jesus Christ. This Book and the preceding, are Sermons preach'd by St. *Ambrose* at *Milan* about the Year 387, which he afterwards reduced into a Treatise, St. *Ambrose*

The Book of *Elias* and of *Fasting*, contains many Sermons preach'd at *Milan* in *Lent*. Having formerly spoken of the Actions of *Elias* upon other Occasions, he here enlarges upon the Morals of them. The Person of whom, and the Time when he preach'd, do both conspire to invite him to treat of Fasting; and so this is the subject of the First and Principal Part of this Work. He maintains that Fasting is a Duty as old as the World, and pretends that the Law by which God forbid *Adam* to Eat of the Tree of Life, was a kind of Command for Fasting. He alledges afterwards the Examples of *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Moses*, *Elisha*, *Daniel*, and many others, to authorize the Practice of Fasting. He discovers at last the Advantages of it, and shews how Intemperance and Excess are pernicious and inconvenient. This leads him insensibly to discourse against the Debauchery, the Drunkenness, and the other Disorders of Mens Tables, which were very common in St. *Ambrose*'s Time: He adds, That these Excesses draw along with them all other vices, and particularly the Desire of gathering Riches, to furnish the excessive Expences which were necessary to support their Luxury. He exhorts Christians to apply themselves to God who is the Sovereign Physician of these Evils; and proposes the Day of Judgment as a Dissuasive from these Excesses. Addressing himself afterwards to the Catechumens, he presses them to purify themselves from their Sins by receiving Baptism He reproves those sharply who delay to receive this Sacrament, and exhorts them rather to imitate the forwardness of *Abel* than the Negligence of *Cain*. 'Tis easie to perceive, that this Treatise was compos'd of many Pieces collected together. St. *Ambrose* has taken a great part of it out of St. *Basil*, and in it there are many excellent Passages, and some things very remarkable about the Discipline of the Church. He says in Ch. 10. that they prepar'd themselves by Fasting to approach to the Holy Table, that they fasted at *Milan* all the time of *Lent*, except *Sundays* and *Saurdays*; that on *Easter*-day the Fast ended; that on that Day those among the Catechumens, who were call'd Elect, were baptiz'd; that they approach'd to the Altar, and receiv'd the Sacrament. In short, St. *Ambrose* in this Treatise gives very Lively and Moral Descriptions of the Excesses and Debauchery of his Age: One needs only read the 12th. and 13th. Chapters, to be possess'd with a horrour of them. Even the Women were given to Wine, and did many Actions unbecoming the Modesty of their Sex, of which St. *Ambrose* makes them asham'd in Chap. 18.

The Treatise of *Naboth and the Poor*, (for so it ought to be call'd, according to the ancient Manuscripts, and according to the Custom of St. *Ambrose*) is a Discourse full of Zeal against the Rich and Powerful who oppress the Poor, preach'd by St. *Ambrose* upon the History of the Oppression of *Naboth* by King *Ahab*. This Saint there shews, that there are *Ahabs* and *Naboths* at all times. "The "History of *Naboth*, says he, at the beginning of his Discourse, is ancient, if we consider the time "wherein it was Transacted, but in Practice it happens daily; *tempore vetus est usu quotidiana*: For "who is the Rich man that does not desire other Mens Goods? Is it not daily seen, that the Rich "would take from the Poor the little Estate that they have, and drive them away from the Inheri"tance of their Ancestors? Where is there one found that is content with what he has? There "has not been one *Ahab* only in the World, he is born in it every day; there has not been one *Naboth* "only kill'd, there are some such every day oppress'd. Every day the Poor are over-whelm'd, driven "away, persecuted, and reduc'd to die by Famine, by the Injustice of the Rich." He declaims afterwards against this Barbarity, and shews the Rich, by the Example of *Ahab*, that they are more unhappy with all their Riches, than the most Miserable and the most Poor in their wants. He cries out against those sumptuous Feasts and needless expences which they make, by which they waste the Blood and Substance of the Poor. Here he relates a frightful Story of a Rich Man, who to procure good Wine to his Table, forc'd a Poor Man to sell his Son; and then he brings the Parable of the Rich Man mention'd in the Gospel of St. *Luke* Ch. 12. who purposed to pull down his Barns, that he might build larger, and shews from hence how far the Slavery, Blindness, and Misery of Rich Men extends. Afterwards he returns to his History of *Ahab*, and having represented the horribleness of the Action of *Ahab* and *Jezabel*, he exhorts Rich Men not to imitate it, by teaching them the use they ought to make of their Riches, which is described in *Psalm* 75. He coucludes with this Remark, that God pardon'd *Ahab* for this Crime, but this miserable Man brought upon himself Destruction by new Crimes. 'Tis thought, that this Treatise was compos'd about the Year 395.

The Book of *Tobit* is chiefly written against *Usury*, which St. *Ambrose* condemns most severely. There he describes the Miseries to which Usurers reduce the Poor, and the Artifices they use to ensnare young Heirs. Usury according to him, is all that is receiv'd above the principal. It is condemn'd by the Divine Law in the Old and New Testament: If it was permitted to the *Israelites* with respect to Strangers, it was only with reference to them whom they might lawfully kill. He refutes those by Name, who restrain the Prohibition of Usury only to the Poor, and rejects the Reasons of Interest which may be alledg'd to excuse it. *Erasmus* doubted whether this Book were St. *Ambrose*'s or no, but it was a Doubt very ill grounded, for St. *Austin* cites it. It has St. *Ambrose*'s Stile, it contains his Doctrine, which is also to be found in short in his 23d. Letter to *Vigilius*, and it contains many Passages translated out of St. *Basil*, according to the Custom of St. *Ambrose*. This Book was written about the Year 386.

The Four Books *of the Intercession of Job and David*, (that is, of the Complaints which *Job* and *David* made for the Miseries and Weakness of Mankind) are in this Edition replac'd here in their natural

tural Order. In the two Firſt Books he enlarges upon the Complaints contain'd in the Firſt Chapters of the Book of *Job*, and in the *Pſalms*, particularly in the 72d. and 42d. In the Two laſt he anſwers the Complaints of thoſe who tax Providence, becauſe the Wicked are happy in this Life, and the Juſt miſerable. He proves that the Happineſs of the Wicked is not true happineſs, and that the Calamities, Miſeries and Misfortunes of the Good, do not at all render them unhappy. St. *Ambroſe*

In the Book entituled *the Apology of* David, he ſaves the Honour of this Holy King, not by juſtifying his Crimes of Adultery and Murder, which are uſed to render him odious; but by ſhewing, that he roſe again from his Fall by a quick and ſincere Repentance; that it was for our Inſtruction that God permited him to fall into Sin, and that he made amends for his Fault by a great number of good Actions. And therefore he explains the 5th. *Pſalm*, that it may ſerve as an Apology for this Holy King. Theſe Sermons were preach'd ſoon after the Death of *Gratian*, in the Year 385.

The *Benedictines* have plac'd here among theſe works of St. *Ambroſe* which are the Genuine, the Second *Apology for* David; but it is confeſs'd in the Preface, that it has been queſtion'd, and that there is reaſon for doing ſo: Indeed it is obſerv'd, that in all the Manuſcripts that have been ſeen, this Book goes under the name of St. *Ambroſe*, and the Conjectures which ſome Criticks have alledg'd to ſhow its impoſture, are rejected. But then they find the Stile is different from St. *Ambroſe*'s, and the Author uſes a different Verſion of Scripture, and ſometimes the Vulgar Latin, and he ſpeaks of Two ſorts of Wills and Operations in Jeſus Chriſt, in ſuch a manner as favours very much of the Times of the *Monothelites*. They add, that this Author only Copies and Enlarges upon what St. *Ambroſe* had ſaid before. The Second Apology contains a great part of what is in the Firſt; And what probability is there that St. *Ambroſe* ſhould twice repeat the ſame thing? The Subject of both is the ſame. The Author undertakes to ſhow, that no Man ought to be offended with any thing that is related in Scripture; and that *David* fell into the Crimes of Murder and Adultery. His Defence is divided into Three Parts. In the Firſt he ſhows that the Fall of *David* muſt be attributed to the Infirmity of Humane Nature, and that his Amendment was the effect of his Vertue. In the Second he ſays, that *David* fell, to inſtruct the *Jews* that they ſhould continue no longer in their blindneſs. In the laſt, Chriſtians are inſtructed in the Myſtery which is typify'd by *David*'s Fall. The Author enlarges upon common places, and employs part of his Diſcourſe in refutation of the Hereticks, and chiefly of the *Arians* and *Manichees*. This Treatiſe is compoſed of popular Harangues.

The Expoſitions of ſome particular *Pſalms* are not a formal Commentary upon them, but a Collection of Homilies upon the *Pſalms* preach'd or compos'd upon ſeveral Occaſions. However it appears by the Preface to the Commentary upon the Firſt *Pſalm*, that St. *Ambroſe* had a Deſign to Expound all the *Pſalms*. The Homily upon the Firſt *Pſalm*, was preach'd about the Year 390, after the Inſtitution of ſinging in the Church of *Milan*. The Explcations of the 35th. and the Five following *Pſalms* are alſo a Collection of Homilies preach'd one after another about the Year 393. The Preface ſhews that it is a Collection of Sermons, and there are Two or Three Places in the Explication of *Pſal.* 36. which ſerve to denote this Epocha.

As to the Expoſition of *Pſal.* 43. he dictated it himſelf a little before his Death to his Deacon *Paulinus*, as he ſays, in the Life of his Maſter.

The Explications of *Pſalms* 45, 47, 48, 61. are ſeparate Homilies. In theſe Expoſitions St. *Ambroſe* follows the Text of the *Septuagint*, but he ſometimes takes notice of the Differences of the Verſions of *Theodotion*, *Symmachus* and *Aquila*. Yet he does not confine himſelf to a literal Expoſition, but often gives Myſtical Sences of them. Sometimes he lays down Principles of Morality, and upon certain Occaſions he oppoſes the Hereticks. In many places he copies from St. *Baſil*, and in others from *Origen*, ſome of whoſe Errors have crept into his Expoſitions.

The work upon *Pſalm* 119. is a Collection of many Sermons, wherein St. *Ambroſe* rather confines himſelf to the Moral than the Spiritual Sence; which gave him occaſion to reprove the Vices of ſome Perſons in his time, and he ſpares not even the Diſorders of the Clergy-men. He explains the Letters of the Hebrew Alphabet, which ſerve to diſtinguiſh the Parts of this *Pſalm*. But as he knew but little of Hebrew, ſo what he ſays about it is not very ſolid; and 'tis probable that he took his from the Etymologies of *Phylo*, which were full of Faults as St. *Jerome* aſſures us. Theſe Sermons were preach'd about the Year 386, after the Diſcovery of the Relicks of St. *Gervaſius* and St. *Protaſius*. There are as many Sermons, as there are Letters of the Hebrew Alphabet which make the Diviſions of this *Pſalm*, each Sermon anſwers to a Section contain'd under each Letter. There he explains alſo part of the *Canticles*.

In the Commentary upon St. *Luke*, St. *Ambroſe* confines himſelf more cloſely to the Hiſtorical and Literal Sence, than in his other Commentaries. In explaining the Text of St. *Luke*, he clears ſome places of the other Goſpels, and reconciles the apparent Contradictions which may occurr between them. He obſerves in the Preface to this Work, that the Goſpel of St. *John* is more ſublime, but St. *Luke* follows the order of Hiſtory more ſtrictly, and relates many more particulars. He adds, that St. *Matthew* is chiefly employ'd in deſcribing the Birth of Jeſus Chriſt, and informing Men of his Manners; that St. *Mark* dwells longer in the deſcription of his Strength and Power: That St. *Luke* repreſents him as a High-Prieſt and a Sacrifice; And that St. *John* inſiſts more than any other upon the Miracles of his Reſurrection. In the begining of this Commentary he mentions the many Apochryphal Goſpels, as that of the Twelve, the Goſpel of St. *Thomas*, and that of St. *Matthias*, and aſſures us, that the Church never receiv'd any but thoſe Four Goſpels which were written by the Inſpiration of the Holy Spirit. Theſe are St. *Ambroſe*'s general Remarks upon the Four Goſpels. It were too long to mention particularly all things that are in this Commentary. He confines himſelf for

for the most part, as we have already said, to the Letter and History of the Gospel, but yet he cannot refrain from having recourse oft-times to the Mystical Sence, and draws from it Moral Precepts. These are the Homilies which make up the body of this Commentary, which is divided into Ten Books or Parts. He wrote it after the Persecution of the Empress *Justina* about the Year 386. St. *Ambrose*

This Tome ends with a Commentary upon the *Canticles*, extracted out of the Works of St. *Ambrose*, collected by *William* Abbot of St. *Thierry*, who lived about the Year 1142. We have already observ'd that St. *Ambrose* explain'd some considerable parts of it in many places. This gave occasion to many Persons to extract these Places, and make up a Commentary upon the *Canticles*. *Cartorius* caus'd one of his Collecting to be printed at *Louvain* in the Year 1558. Ten Years after *Gillotius* publish'd another which is attributed to *Democharес* a Doctor of *Paris*, who probably did nothing else but augment one that was shorter, which is in a Manuscript in the College of *Navarr*, and in another Manuscript of the Abby of *Vendesme* that is 600 Years old. *Chesletius* had also a Manuscript of it more ancient by 200 Years, and he found it quoted by *Florus Magister* of *Lyons*, who liv'd about the Year 855, in a Commentary upon St. *Paul*, which was never printed. The Collection which is bublish'd here by the *Benedictines*, was never printed before. It is publish'd from a Manuscript by the same hand of *William* Abbot of St. *Thierry*, and afterwrads Monk of *Signi*.

The First Book contain'd in the Second Tome of St. *Ambrose's* Works, is his excellent Treatise *concerning the Office of Ministers*, or the Duties of Clergy-men. For tho' the name of Ministers be cut out in the *Roman* Edition, and in those that follow'd it; yet it is to be found in all the Manuscripts; and 'tis plain by the Book it self, that St. *Ambrose* compos'd it for his Clergy. But tho' he addresses himself particulary to them, yet he does not forget to treat of the Duties of all Christians, of which he makes a particular Application to the Clergy.

He had been several Years Bishop when he compos'd this Work, for there he speaks to the Clergy whom he had Chosen and Ordain'd himself: He must therefore have been Bishop for some time, since he had already Ordain'd a considerable number of Clergy-men. He there takes notice, that he had endur'd several Shocks from the Civil Powers, because he would not deliver up the *Depositæ* which were entrusted with the Church. He says, that Two Persons of whom he had a bad Opinion, had abjur'd the Catholick Faith in the time of the *Arian* Persecution, *Arianæ infestationis*; which is to be understood of the Persecution of the Empress *Justina*.

He says also, that he sold the sacred Vessels to redeem Captives and Slaves, whose number was so great, that they would fill a whole Province.

This may have reference either to the War of *Maximus* in the Year 387, or to the Inundation of the *Barbarians*, who having kill'd the Emperour *Valens* ravag'd the Countries of *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, and came over into *Italy*, where they made a great number of Captives, which happen'd in the Year 379. He speaks also of a Famine which afflicted the City of *Rome* under *Damasus* in the Year 383.

Lastly speaking of a *Depositum* entrusted with the Bishop of *Pavia*, he says, that the Emperour did all that he could to wrest it out of the hand of this Bishop, that he might give it to one of his Courtiers. And we find a Law of *Valentinian* publish'd at *Pavia*, *January* the 2d. 386. All these Transactions do clearly demonstrate, that the Books of Offices were not written by St. *Ambrose* at the beginning of his Bishoprick, and that 'tis very probable they were not written till about the Year 390, or 391, when Peace was restor'd to the Church after the Death of the Tyrant *Maximus*. He follow'd and imitated in these Three Books the Design and Method of *Tully's* Offices. He confirms those good Maxims which this Orator had laid down, and corrects those that are imperfect, refutes those that are false, and adds several others which are infinitley more excellent, more pure, and more sublime.

The first Six Chapters of the First Book of St. *Ambrose's* Offices, are a Preface to the whole Work, wherein he enquires, when and how it is seasonable to Speak or to be Silent. The Bishops are oblig'd by their Office to explain the Word of God; but they ought to discharge this Duty with Humility; they must learn by teaching, and that they may teach. This is what St. *Ambrose* applies to himself. "For, says he, being remov'd all of the sudden from the Civil Bench, and from the Office of "a Judge, that I might be promoted to the Priesthood, I have taught what I had not then learn'd, "and was oblig'd to Learn and Teach at the same time. After this he discovers the Advantages of being Silent, and the Dangers to which a Man exposes himself by speaking; but yet he would not have Men always to continue in silence. On the contrary, he says, that it is useful and necessary to speak, provided it be done with Humility and Moderation, provided that one weighs his Words in the balance of the Sanctuary, and does not follow the Motions of his Lusts, but Reason and Justice; and provided that he does not employ his Voice to retaliate Reproaches by Reproaches

After this Preface he enters upon the Matter, and undertakes to treat of *Offices*. He affirms that this Name was not only in use among the Philosophers, but that it is in the Holy Scripture. He quotes one single Passage taken out of the Gospel of St. *Luke*, Ch. 1. P. 23. Where there is mention made of the Ministry of *Zacharias*, and he translates the Greek Word by *Office*. This Example does, not prove very strongly what he had affirm'd. After this he gives two Etymologies of the Word *Officium*; the First is *ab efficiendo, quasi efficium*; and the Second *ab officiendo*. The Philosophers distinguish'd Three Sorts of Offices, of *Honesty*, of *Profit*, and of *Pleasure*. St. *Ambrose* says, that the Christians know no other but that of *Honesty*, because they referr all to the Happiness of Heaven, being persuaded, that the *Profits* and *Pleasures* of this Life, are neither *true Profits* nor *true Pleasures*. And therfore he treats only of the Offices which have reference to Honesty. He affirms that this Term of Honesty and Decency was known to *David* before the Philosopher used it; and for proof

of this, he quotes *Pſal.*64.2. *Praiſe becomes thee, O Lord, in* Zion, *Te decet hymnus, Deus, in Sion.* He adds ſome Paſſages of St. *Paul*, where he ſpeaks of *Decency and Honeſty*. He affirms that *Pythagoras* follow'd *David* in impoſing the Law of Silence upon his Diſciples. But he puts a very great difference between their Precepts, in that *Pythagoras* wholly forbade his Scholars to ſpeak, whereas *David* teaches us to ſpeak with moderation, and to hold our Peace when it is convenient to do ſo. He diſtinguiſhes Two Sorts of Offices, the leſs perfect which he calls *medium*, and the moſt perfect. He explains this by the Words of Jeſus Chriſt to the young Man, who ask'd him what he muſt do to inherit Eternal Life. Jeſus Chriſt anſwer'd him at firſt, *Keep the Commandments, Do not commit Murder nor Adultery*, &c. Theſe, ſays St. *Ambroſe*, are the leſs perfect Offices, to which there is ſtill ſomething wanting. Thoſe that are perfect are deſign'd by what Jeſus Chriſt ſaid afterwards to the young Man, when he had anſwer'd him that he had obſerv'd all theſe things. *If you would be perfect, go and ſell all your Goods, and give them to the Poor, and you ſhall have Treaſure in Heaven, and come and follow me.* This gave occaſion to St. *Ambroſe* to recommend Alms-giving as one of the principal Duties of the Chriſtian Life.

St. *Ambroſe*

Here he treats very largely of the Providence of God, and proves againſt the Philoſophers, that it extends to all Creatures. Why then do the Wicked here enjoy Plenty? This is the common Objection: To which St. *Ambroſe* anſwers, Firſt, that this Abundance does not make them happy in this Life, becauſe the remorſe of their Conſcience torments them.

He adds in the Second place, that we muſt not wonder, if the Wicked ſeem to be happy in in this Life, and on the contrary the Good ſeem to be miſerable, becauſe this is not the Place of Reward or Puniſhment. That we muſt wait till the other Life, when every one ſhall receive according to his Works, that here we are in a place of Combate, that the Juſt are to endure continual Aſſaults, that they may obtain one day the Reward of their Victory; whereas the Wicked here enjoy Repoſe who deſerve no Reward, after which ſhall follow the Puniſhments which their Sins deſerve. That in ſhort, God has granted to thoſe the good Things and Advantages of this Life, that they might be without Excuſe in the Day of Judgement, for not obſerving the Commandments of God.

St. *Ambroſe* having thus eſtabliſh'd theſe general Maxims, enters upon the particular conſideration of the Duties of every State.

He begins with thoſe which belong to young Men: He recommends to them above all things Shamefac'dneſs and Modeſty; he gives a wonderful deſcription of this Vertue, and proves how neceſſary it is to Clergy-men. He ſays that he had hindred one from entring into Holy Orders, becauſe his Countenance was not modeſt enough, and that he had forbid another to walk before him becauſe he had too confident a Gate. He counſels them not to be preſent at Feaſts, and to ſhun the Converſation of Women; he recommends to them to ſtay at home, and to apply themſelves to the Duties of Piety which are agreeable to their Miniſtry. Afterwards he gives Precepts for reſtraining the Motions of Anger and of other Paſſions. He deſcribes the Diſcourſes of Clergy-men. He does not think it fit that they ſhould uſe Railery. He gives them Three Rules for the good Conduct of their Actions. The Firſt is, to hold their Paſſions in ſubjection to Reaſon; The Second is to obſerve Moderation; The Third is to do all things ſeaſonably and in order. He illuſtrates theſe Maxims by the Examples of many Saints in the Old Teſtament.

After he has laid down theſe general Rules, he diſcourſes of Vertues in particular, comparing the *Idea's* which Chriſtians have of them with thoſe which the Pagan Philoſophers had; and ſhews, that thoſe of the Chriſtians are much more ſublime. As for Example, Juſtice among Chriſtians does not allow, that they ſhould render Evil for Evil; it acknowledges no particular Intereſt, and it takes place, not only with reſpect to Friends, but alſo to declared Enemies. Likewiſe Chriſtians are not only to do good to their Friends and their Relations, but alſo to their Enemies. It is not Vanity, but Charity, which is the foundation of their Liberality; they do not only give of their Superfluities, but alſo of their Neceſſaries. Their ſtrength conſiſts chiefly in ſuffering with Courage and Conſtancy, in keeping off the Violence which is offer'd to the Weak, in over-coming their Paſſions, in deſpiſing the Riches of this World, and ſeeking after, loving and valuing nothing but Vertue. They preſerve an evenneſs of Soul and wonderful Tranquility of Mind in the midſt of Croſſes: Yet they do not raſhly expoſe themſelves, and are not aſham'd to fly, when they find themſeves too weak to reſiſt Perſecutions. In ſhort, their Moderation conſiſts in Tranquility of Mind, in the love of Mildneſs, in compleat Meekneſs and perfect Honeſty. St. *Ambroſe* explains particularly all the parts of theſe Vertues, gives excellent Precepts for obſerving them, and propoſes admirable Examples of them taken out of the Holy Scripture. He produces alſo ſome Examples of them taken out of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; that of St. *Lawrence* is very remarkable. St. *Ambroſe* propoſes him as an illuſtrious Pattern of Conſtancy. He ſays, "That this holy Deacon, ſeeing *Xyſtus* his Biſhop dragg'd away to Martyr-"dom, he fell a weeping, not that the Martyrdom of his Maſter griev'd him, but becauſe he was left "behind him in the World; upon which account he addreſſes to him in theſe Words: *Whither go "you, my Father, without your Son? Whither run you, O holy Biſhop, without being accompanied by "your Deacon? You never us'd to offer Sacrifice without a Miniſter; what is it then that has diſpleas'd "you in me? Is it becauſe you have found that I have not well diſcharg'd my Office? Try now, whether "you have choſen a good Miniſter: Why do you refuſe him with whom you have conſecrated, and who "has conſecrated the Holy Sacraments with you? Why do you refuſe him, ſay I, to mingle his Blood with "yours?* St. *Xyſtus* anſwers in theſe words, and others like them. *I do not deſert you, my Son, I do "not abandon you, but you are reſerv'd for greater Combates: Mourn not, you ſhall quickly follow me, "within Three Days you ſhall be where I am.* Such, ſays St. *Ambroſe*, was the glorious conteſt of thoſe

"two

"tw oIlluſtrious Martyrs, who ſtrove who ſhould firſt ſuffer for Jeſus Chriſt. The Hiſtory of *Oreſtes* and *Pylades* meets with applauſe, when it is repreſented how each of them endeavoured with all his might to die for one another. Theſe two would both have died, the one having committed Parricide, and the other being a Complice in it; but there was nothing that obliged St. *Lawrence* to offer himſelf to Death, his own Zeal only induc'd him to it; and three Days after, as he was roaſting upon a Grid-Iron, he ſtill mock'd the Tyrant, ſaying, *I am roaſted enough, turn me and eat me*, and ſo he overcame the Violence of Fire by the Strength of his Courage. We muſt not forget the Example of St. *Agnes* which St. *Ambroſe* relates before this. "This Holy Virgin, ſays he, being in "danger of loſing either her Chaſtity or her Life, ſecur'd her Virginity, by yielding up this Mortal "Life to purchaſe an Eternal one. St. *Ambroſe*

About the End of this Book St. *Ambroſe* inſiſts upon the principal Vertues of Clergy-men; he recommends to them above all things Diſintereſſedneſs and Purity. It appears by this place, That St. *Ambroſe* thought that Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, were obliged to live in Celibacy, and that thoſe could not be received into the Clergy who had been twice married, tho' they had been married the firſt time before their Baptiſm.

He concludes with ſpeaking of the Truſt committed to us, and of the Fidelity we ſhould ſhow in keeping that which is entruſted to us. He recommends to the Clergy-men who take Care of the Veſtry, to diſcharge their Duty with Faithfulneſs and Modeſty.

He begins the Second Book with enquiring, wherein conſiſts true Happineſs, and he ſhows, That it conſiſts in the Knowledge of God, and in Innocency of Life; That all other good things, do not only fall ſhort of our ſupreme Happineſs, but they do not ſo much as render us more happy; as on the contrary, the Croſſes and Miſeries of this Life do not render us more unhappy; That the good things of this World, ſuch as Riches, Abundance, Joy, *&c.* are truly Evils, becauſe they hinder us from working out our Salvation; whereas thoſe things which are believed to be evil, as Pain, Affliction, *&c.* are good for us, becauſe they give us Opportunities of practiſing Vertue.

Afterwards he treats of the Good that is Profitable; and having ſhown that there is no true Profit without Honeſty, he diſcourſes of the ſeveral ſorts of Good Things that are truly profitable, of Friendſhip, of Advice, of Fidelity, of Liberality, of Good-will, of Civility, of the Protection of the Poor and Afflicted, of Hoſpitality, and the other Vertues neceſſary for maintaining Society and Commerce among Men. The Advices which he gives about theſe things, are very Judicious: Some of them are as follows. Nothing is more profitable than to be lov'd; nothing is more diſadvantageous than not to be loved. Mildneſs, Civility and Modeſty, cauſe us to be lov'd of all the World. Theſe Vertues are very becoming to Kings and Princes as well as to private Perſons; they maintain Peace and Charity. A Man is more eaſily truſted, who is lov'd by many. When Counſel is to be ask'd, we ſhould addreſs our ſelves to a Perſon who is equally Juſt and Wiſe. Theſe Two Vertues are inſeparable. We muſt not only aſſiſt the Poor who have nothing to live upon, but it is a Piece of Prudence and Charity to help alſo thoſe who are unfortunate in their Affairs, chiefly, when it is not by their Debauchery that they are reduc'd to this Condition, but by ſome unforeſeen Misfortune. 'Tis alſo a Duty of Charity to redeem Captives, and reſcue them out of the Hands of their Enemies, to ſave Women from Diſgrace; this is, to reſtore Children to their Fathers, and Fathers to their Children, and Citizens to their own Country. There are ſome alſo that do a Work of Charity, by marrying Orphan Daughters. When we cannot help others by giving them Money, it is good to aſſiſt them by our Counſel and Labours. We muſt do Works of Charity with Prudence, and not give Alms to thoſe that are unworthy. There are ſome that feign Debts, and others that deplore their Miſery; we muſt examine whether theſe things be true or no; and we are not only to employ our Hands to give, but alſo to make uſe of our Eyes to conſider the Perſons to whom we give. We muſt look upon him who does not ſee us, and ſeek after him who is aſham'd to be found. Yet we muſt not retrench our Alms, under a pretence that many ask them who do not deſerve to receive them. I omit many other fine Maxims which he propoſes concerning Alms, and contempt of Riches; but I cannot forget that place, where he ſays, That he broke in pieces the Sacred Veſſels to redeem Captives, He juſtifies himſelf in this Action, or rather he draws from it a great deal of Glory. "The "Church, ſays he, was founded without Gold, if ſhe has it now, 'tis to give it and not to keep it; "'tis for aſſiſting the Poor with it in their great Neceſſities. What would be ſaid of a Biſhop, who "to preſerve the lifeleſs Veſſels, would ſuffer the living Members of Chriſt to periſh? Would he ſay, "I am afraid leſt the Temple of the Lord ſhould be ſpoil'd of its Ornaments? Might it not be an-"ſwered to him, That 'tis not neceſſary that the Sacraments of the Altar ſhould be adminiſtred in "Gold or Silver; That the Redemption of Captives was an Ornament much more pleaſing in the "ſight of God; That thoſe Veſſels could not be put to a nobler Uſe than when they are employ'd "to redeem the Lives of Chriſtians; That the true Treaſure of the Lord is that which has the ſame "effect with his Blood; That then a Veſſel is known to be truly the Lord's when there is a double "Redemption to be obſerv'd in it; that is, when the exteriour Veſſel redeems from the Enemy, "thoſe whom the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt hath redeem'd from Sin.

He juſtifies alſo this Conduct by the Example of St. *Lawrence* who ſhow'd the Poor when the Treaſures of the Church were demanded of him. At laſt, He concludes, That tho' it be a Crime to break the Veſſels of the Church, to turn them to our own Profit; yet on the contrary, it is an Act of Charity and Vertue to do it, to diſtribute them to the Poor, to redeem Captives, to build a Church, when ſuch things are neceſſary. He adds, That he uſed that Precaution, as to take firſt the Veſſels which were not Conſecrated, and afterwards to break and melt thoſe that were, leſt any ſhould turn the Sacred Chalices to profane Uſes. He concludes this Book with recommending to the Clergy,

Clergy, to keep with Faithfulness and Courage what is deposited in the Churches by Widows, and St. *Ambrose* relates some Examples of the Boldness wherewith some have defended these things against those who came to invade them.

And here I must resume the 24. Ch. of which I have said nothing. St. *Ambrose* there describes the chief Duties of Clergy-men towards others in a few Words. "We must, says he, prepare our selves "by good Actions and by a good Intention to receive Offices, and chiefly those of the Clergy. We "must not carry our selves proudly in them, nor estrange our selves from them by negligence; we must "equally shun Ambition and the Affectation of refusing them. Simplicity and Uprightness compre- "hends all, and these are of themselves commendable enough: In the Exercise of his Ministry he must "neither be too severe nor too remiss, lest he should seem either to exercise his Authority with Domi- "nion over the Flock, or else to neglect the Duties of his Ministry; he must endeavour to oblige all "the World. A Bishop should consider and protect the Priests and the other Clergy-men, he should "not be offended if they purchase Esteem either by their Charity, or their Fasting, or their Piety, or "their Learning: But these ought not to exalt themselves, much less employ their own Merits to "diminish the Reputation of their Bishop. The Wicked must not be defended, nor Holy Things "given to those that are unworthy of them; but neither are we to reprove and condemn any Person "till he be convicted of a Fault. For if Injustice be otherwise above all things offensive, it is insup- "portable in the Church, where every thing should be regulated according to Equity, where Impar- "tiallity should be observed. The Powerful and Rich ought to have no more Authority than the "Poor, because the Rich and Poor are all one in Jesus Christ. The most Holy should attribute no- "thing more to himself than others; for the more Holy he is, the more Humble he ought to be. "When we Judge, we ought not to have any respect of Persons. Favour should have no place in our "Judgments, but only the Justice of the Cause. Nothing does more wound the Reputation and Cre- "dit which we may have, than to betray the Cause of the weak in Favour of those that are more "Powerful; to reprove a Poor Man that is Innocent severely, and to excuse a Rich Man that is Guilty. "'Tis true that we are naturally inclin'd to favour Great Persons, lest they find that Injustice has been "done them, and afterwards revenge themselves upon us. But, First, if you be afraid of making "your selves Enemies, do not meddle with judging or oppoſing. You can say nothing when a Matter "of Interest is under debate, tho' it were better done to protect Justice; but when the Cause of God "lies at stake, or it is to be fear'd that the Impious will be admitted to the Communion of the "Church, then it is a very heinous Sin for Clergy-men to use Dissimulation.

In the First Chapter of the Third Book St. *Ambrose* shows, That this Maxim of *Scipio, That he was never more busy nor less alone, than when he was by himself*, was ancienter than *Scipio*; and that it was verified in a more Illustrious manner in *Moses, Elias, Elisha*, and the Apostles, who did so many wonderful things, when they seem'd to mind nothing. He adds, That a Just man is never alone, because he is always with God; That he is never idle, because he is always meditating: That he seems to be unknown, and yet is Famous; That when he is thought to be Dead, he then enjoys a more happy Life; That he is never more joyful than when others think him to be under Affliction; That he is never richer than when he is poor, because he places all his Happiness in Justice and Honesty. He observes afterwards, That the Comparison which the Philosophers make between the Good of Honesty and of Profit, has no place among Christians, because they acknowledge nothing Profitable to be Good which is not also Honest. He distinguishes two sorts of Good and of Duty, that which is more, and that which is less perfect. In short, he maintains, That a Just Man ought never to seek his own Profit by doing Injury to others; but on the contrary, that he ought to seek the Good of others above his own. He enlarges upon this Maxim, and proves, that for any Man to do Injury to his Neighbour for his own Profit, is contrary to the Example, and to the Law of Jesus Christ, to the Law of Nature, to the Dictates of Conscience, and to the Civil Laws. Pursuant to this Principle he determines, that a Christian in a Ship-wrack ought not to snatch from his Brother the Plank which he has taken to save himself; and that he ought not to fight against a Robber who would set upon him, and lays it down for a General Maxim, *That 'tis never lawful to preserve our own Life by putting another to Death.* The Philosophers were so far in the right when they affirm'd, That a Wise-man, tho' he were secur'd for ever from any Discovery, should do nothing against his Duty; but finding no Example to prove it, they had recourse to the Fable of *Gyges*'s Ring: St. *Ambrose* confirms this Truth by the Example of *David* and St. *John* Baptist.

In a Word, St. *Ambrose* proves that in all Cases we ought to preferr Honesty to Profit. He grounds upon this Principle his Assertion, That one who has gathered together much Corn, ought not to keep it up in his Barns untill a time of Famine that he may Sell it very dear. He condemns this Practice as a sort of Usury, or Robbery. He would not have Strangers hindred from coming into Cities in a time of Famine, and blames the ancient Romans for the practice of this Rigour; but praises an Old Man, who in his time was of a contrary Opinion. Having related many Examples taken out of Scripture, to show that we ought to preferr Honesty to Profit, he reproves the Conduct of those who are always intent upon forbid Gain, who use all manner of Tricks to Cheat others of their Goods, and leave no means unessay'd to possess themselves of their Neighbours Inheritance. He adds, That his Covetousness is very much to be blam'd in all sorts of Persons; but it is insupportable in Clergy-men, who ought to allow dying Men their Liberty to make their Last Will with Discretion and Freedom: That a Clergy-man ought never to alienate the Goods which belong to another for his own Profit, because it is his Duty to do Good to all the World, and to do no Injury to any Man. From hence he concludes, that when we cannot help one Man, but we must do Injury to another, it

is

more convenient to deny our Assistance to the former, than by doing him Good to Prejudice the latter. For this cause he would not have Clergy-men meddle in Pecuniary Causes, because in gaining from one they injure another. St. *Ambrose*

At last he collects several Examples taken out of The Old Testament, which he alledges to prove, That Honesty is to be preferr'd before any Interest and Advantage whatsoever. He concludes this Book with some Excellent Precepts which he gives concerning Honest and Christian Friendship. I shall set down some of them. Friendship it self ought to give place to Honesty. No Man ought to favour his Friend when he is in the wrong, nor to deal unjustly by him when he is in the right: As we ought to vindicate him when he is Innocent, so we ought to reprove him when he is Guilty: we ought to speak to him with sincerity, to open our Heart to him, to reprove him with Freedom, to suffer for him when it is necessary, and to relieve him in his wants. The Foundation of Friendship is Faith in God, and no Man can be a true Friend to another, who is an Infidel towards God. Piety preserves Friendship, and makes Friends equal. There can be no Friendship between Persons of different Principles. One Friend ought to admonish another without bitterness, and rebuke him without reproaches. Our Friendships ought not to be founded upon Interest, for Friendship is a Vertue, and not a Matter of Traffick. There is no true Friendship where there is Flattery. Thus I have given an Abridgement of St. *Ambrose*'s Offices, which is a very useful Book to teach all Christians the Principles, Maxims, and Rules of that most Holy Morality which they profess: And this made it so common in former Ages; every one would have it, every one would read it with attention, and those who had leisure made Abridgments of it, which are still extant. It were to be wish'd that Christians, and chiefly Clergy-men, would do the same still, and that they would draw from this pure Fountain the Morality which they teach and which they practice. The French Translation which has been made of it may render it useful to all Men. But let us proceed to the other Treatises of St. *Ambrose*.

The Books *of Virginity* were written by St. *Ambrose* at the Request of his Sister *Marcellina*, who having heard some speak of the Sermons which he had made about Virginity, desir'd him to send her in writing what he had preach'd, since she could not be so happy as to hear him. Whereupon he put his Sermons in the Form of a Treatise, and divided them into Three Books, which he address'd to his Sister *Marcellina*, in the Third Year of his Bishoprick, that is to say in the Year 377.

After a very humble Preface, he begins his Treatise with a Discourse in praise of St. *Agnes*. He sets off the Glorious Martyrdom of that Illustrious Virgin with inimitable Elegance. "To Day, says he, "is the Feast of a Virgin, let us imitate her Purity: It is the Holy-day of a Martyr, let us offer up "Sacrifices: 'Tis the Festival of St. *Agnes*, let Men admire her, and Young Children entertain blessed "Hopes of her; let Married Women wonder, and Virgins endeavour to imitate her. But what can "we say worthy of a Person whose very Name is a sufficient commendation. Her Zeal was above "her Age, and her Vertue exceeded the Powers of Nature.... This Holy Virgin suffer'd Martyrdom at Twelve Years of Age. By how much the Cruelty of those who did not spare such tender Years is to be detested, by so much is the Vertue of that Faith to be admir'd, which could "make a Martyr at that Age..... Here is a New kind of Martyrdom. She was not yet of an Age "fit to suffer, and yet she was already able to Conquer. She went to Death with more gaiety than "a young Bride to the Nuptial Bed. All People mourn for her, and yet she shed not one Tear "for her self. It was Matter of admiration, to see her prodigally throw away that Life, which she "had scare yet tasted, with as much Ease as if she were arriv'd at the end of her Course. In short, "what she did was so incredible of humane Nature, that it was believ'd to be from God; for whatsoever transcends the Power of Nature, must proceed from the Author of it. What Threatnings "did not her Executioner use to frighten her? What Artifices did he not employ to persuade her? "By what various Solicitations did he attempt her to yield to Marry? That were, said she, an Injury to my Divine Spouse, to entertain any hopes of being able to please others? I am only his "who has chosen me first: Why do you delay, Executioner, to do your Office? Let this Body of "mine perish, seeing it is so unhappy as to be pleasant in the Eyes of those whom I would not have "it to please. Having spoken these Words she put her self into a Posture to receive the Fatal Blow; "she pray'd and then submitted her Neck. You see here a double Sacrifice in one Victim. She is "a Martyr both for Religion and Virginity; she remains a Virgin, and obtains a Crown of Martyrdom.

St. *Ambrose*, having proposed this Illustrious Example, treats at large of the Excellency of Virginity. He shews, That this Vertue comes from Heaven, and that God is the Author of it; That the Heathens neither knew it, nor practis'd it as they ought; That the Jews themselves did not esteem it, and that it was not common amongst Men till Jesus Christ came into the World. Afterward he gives a Catalogue of the Advantages which Virginity has above the married State, by comparing these Two Conditions. "I do not condem Marriage, says he, but I will prove that Virginity is more Excel-"lent. Let us compare, if you please, the more considerable Advantages of married Women with "the least Happiness of Virgins: The married Woman may boast of her Fruitfulness, which makes "her happy in Children, but the more she brings into the World, the more Pain she suffers. She "may reckon upon the Comfort and Support she shall have from her Children; but with this let "her balance the troubles they bring upon her. What might I not say of the troubles which Mothers must undergo both in Nursing Children and bringing them up, and then in marrying of "them? What is more harish than that Subjection, or rather Slavery, to which Wives are reduc'd? "What is more uneasy than those perpetual Complaisances which they must always use towards "their Husbands? Fears and Jealousies and a Thousand other Cares render them unhappy. The Ne-"cessity and Slavery they undergo in dressing and adorning themselves is a perpetual Punishment. But

St. *Ambroſe* "you, O bleſſed Virgins, know not what all this attiring means, you have no other Ornament but "Modeſty and Chaſtity; you court no other Beauty than that of Vertue, a Beauty which cannot be "ſhat'd with others, nor taken away by Death, nor defac'd by any Sickneſs; you have none to pleaſe "but God who loveth beautiful Souls, tho' they be ſhut up in deform'd Bodies; you are not troubled "with the Inconveniences of Child-bearing, and of bringing forth Children, and yet you have a very "numerous Spiritual Off-ſpring.

St. *Ambroſe* complains that there were ſo few Perſons at *Milan* who profited by his Inſtructions, whilſt a great many Virgins, not only from *Bologna* and *Placentia*, but even from *Mauritania*, came to receive the Veil at *Milan*. He reproves Mothers who hindered their Daughters from coming to his Sermons, leſt they ſhould embrace Virginity. At laſt, he commends thoſe Virgins who devoted themſelves to God without their Parents leave, and relates the Example of a young Gentlewoman, who being preſs'd by her Mother and Relations to Marry, threw her ſelf down before the Altars, and would not ſtir from thence till ſhe had obtained the Conſent of her Parents to her profeſſing Virginity. 'Tis obſervable, that St. *Ambroſe* ſays, That at length her Relations approv'd her Deſign, and ſo ſhe was not depriv'd of her Eſtate.

In the Second Book he undertakes to Inſtruct Virgins by ſome Examples which he propoſes to them: And becauſe the Virgin *Mary* was undoubtedly the moſt perfect of all Virgins, her Example is the Firſt and moſt Illuſtrious. St. *Ambroſe* here propoſes her Life as a Pattern which Virgins ought to imitate, and repreſents her Vertues in a moſt Excellent manner. *From this Father Preachers and Devoto's may learn how to praiſe the Virgin in ſuch a manner as is worthy of her, without ſtuffing their Diſcourſes with Apocryphal Stories, Exceſſive Praiſes, and Falſe Notions. The Picture which he draws of her, repreſents her as ſhe was, and ſets before our Eyes her Natural Beauty; whereas ſome of the Devoto's of the latter Ages, have changed and diſfigured her by vain Ornaments, which are no ways agreeable to her, neither could ſhe her ſelf endure them.*

St. *Ambroſe* having propos'd to Virgins the Example of the bleſſed *Mary*, as the Pattern of their Life; ſets before them alſo the Example of St. *Thecla* the Martyr, to Inſtruct them how to die well He ſubjoyns the Example of a Chriſtian Virgin of *Antioch*, who being carried to the Stews becauſe ſhe would not Sacrifice to Idols, was deliver'd from the Danger ſhe was in by a Souldier, who chang'd Clothes with her and ſav'd her. But when this came to be known, the Souldier was carried to the place of Puniſhment, where the Virgin alſo rendred her ſelf. and they both receiv'd the Crown of Martyrdom. St. *Ambroſe* deſcribes this Hiſtory in very lively and eloquent Figures, and comparing it with the Fable of *Damon* and *Pythias*, he proves that this Action was much nobler and greater, than that which is related of thoſe two famous Friends. Towards the End, he excuſes himſelf for uſing ſo many Flowers and Figures of Rhetorick in relating theſe Examples of Virgins, which he ſays he did not do to ſhow his Eloquence, but to win the Affections of Virgins by the Sweetneſs and Smoothneſs of his Diſcourſe, and to render their Condition the more Amiable by the Beauty of the Examples which he propos'd to them, before he proceeded to the Precepts and Advices which might be leſs agreeable.

The Third Book begins with an Exhortation which Pope *Liberius* made to *Marcellina* St. *Ambroſe*'s Siſter, when he gave her the Veil at *Rome* in the Church of the Apoſtles on *Chriſtmas-Day*. There is no probability that this very Diſcourſe ſhould be *Liberius*'s, but it was certainly made by St. *Ambroſe*, and contains very uſeful Advices to Virgins conſecrated to God. After he has exhorted them to love their Divine Spouſe, he preſcribes Rules concerning their principal Duties; he enjoyns them to be very Sober, to ſhun Viſits from the People of the World, to keep Silence, and to be very Modeſt and Reſerv'd in all their Actions. When he has given theſe Precepts under the Name of *Liberius*, he praiſes the Vertues of his Siſter, and chiefly her Faſtings, but he Counſels her to moderate them, that ſhe may apply her ſelf more to other Spiritual Exerciſes, and eſpecially to Prayer. He ſays, That ſhe ſhould pray in the Morning when ſhe awakes, before ſhe goes out, before and after Meals, towards Night, and when ſhe goes to Bed. He adviſes her alſo to repeat in her Bed the Lord's Prayer and the Pſalms, either before ſhe fals aſleep, or when ſhe awakes. And he thinks that ſhe ought to repeat every Morning the Creed as the Seal of our Faith. He adds, That ſhe ought to weep, and ſhun exceſſive Mirth, the Pleaſures of this World, and particularly Dancing. And to diſſuade Chriſtian Virgins from it, he relates the Example of the Dancing of *Herodias*'s Daughter, and deſcribes the fatal Conſequences of it: A fit Example, ſays he to teach Wiſe and Chriſtian Ladies, that they ought not to ſuffer their Daughters to practiſe Dancing.

Laſtly, St. *Ambroſe* anſwers the Queſtion which *Marcellina* had put to him, to know what was to be thought of Virgins who kill'd themſeves or threw themſelves head-long to ſhun falling into the hands of their Perſecutors, who ſought to deprive them of their Faith and their Virginity. He relates the Example of St. *Pelagia* who kill'd her ſelf, and of the Mother and Siſters of that Saint, who threw themſelves headlong into the River. He ſubjoyns the Example of St. *Sotera* who was of his own Kindred, and concludes from theſe Examples, that this Zeal is no ways forbidden. Here the Third Book of Virgins ends in all the Manuſcripts, tho' in the printed Editions there are many Pages added, that have no relation to this Treatiſe, which St. *Ambroſe* concludes with theſe Examples, as appears by the beginning of this laſt Chapter.

The Treatiſe *of Widows* was written ſoon after that of Virgins, as St. *Ambroſe* declares at the beginning of it. It was the Inconſtancy of a Widow which made him undertake this Work. St. *Ambroſe* had Comforted her after the Death of her Husband, and had Exhorted her to lay aſide her Mourning, but ſhe abuſing his Advices, had made uſe of them to gain Authority to her Deſign of marrying again. The Holy Father being unwilling that it ſhould be thought he had counſell'd her to do ſo,

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wrote this Treatise *of Widows*, wherein he exalts the State of Widows as approaching near to the Perfection of Virgins. For proof of this he not only alledges the Testimony of the Apostle St. *Paul*, but he relates also the Examples of many Widows of the Old and New Testament. He exhorts Widows to continue in their Widow-hood, and in his Address to this Widow who had occasion'd his writing this Book, he shows her, That all the Reasons which she alledg'd for proceeding to a Second Marriage, were weak; yet he does not condemn either First or Second Marriages; on the contrary, he rejects the Opinion of the Hereticks who had forbidden them; but he preferrs the State of Virgins and Widows before that of Married Women, and refutes with sharpness the Reasons which Women use for running into Second Marriages. Altho' he would not openly declare his Opinion of their Conduct, who use the Knife and Fire to Check the Motions of the Flesh, yet he speaks of it after such a manner as plainly discovers that he did not approve it, and observes that it is contrary to the ancient Canons. This Treatise is cited by St. *Ambrose* in his Commentary upon St. *Luke*, by St. *Jerom* in Letter Fifty to *Pammachius*, and so there can be no doubt but it is this Father's. St. *Ambrose*

There is in this Edition a little Treatise of Virginity, which in the former Editions had been plac'd at the end of the Second Book about Virgins, but it is parted from it in all the Manuscripts, and is evidently a distinct Treatise. The Treatise of Widows, which is there cited, was written after the Two Books of Virgins.

This little Piece is not very coherent. In it he praises the famous Judgment of *Solomon*, he blames the Action of *Jephtha*; and then he defends himself against those who accus'd him of giving excessive Praises to the State of Virginity, and demonstrates the Excellency and Advantages of it. He occasionally answers those who said, That the great numbers of Virgins would lessen the Race of Mankind, and he maintains that there are no places more populous than those where there are most Virgins: For Proof of which he observes, that tho' at *Alexandria* in the East, and in *Africa*, thereare an infinite number of Virgins, yet these Countries are very well peopled. He adds, that if this Reason were good, they must also advise Women to be lewd, because so they would have more Children

After this, he examines the Reasons of those who find no fault with the Consecration of Virgins, but only say, That we should wait till they be of sufficient Age before they receive the Veil. He confesses, that a Bishop ought to beware of giving the Veil with too much precipitation, but then he ought not so much to regard their Age, as the ripeness of their Parts, nor to consider so much the number of their Years as the Disposition of their Hearts; that every Age can follow Jesus Christ, and embrace the perfection of a Christian Life. This gives him occasion to speak of the way which Virgins ought to hold in following of Jesus Christ, and of the Life they ought to lead to imitate him. He concludes with comparing the Instructions of the Ministers of Jesus Christ, who exhort Virgins and Widows to live in Continence, to the miraculous Fishing of St. *Peter*; and he prays the Lord, that he would make his own fishing successful to the catching of many. This Piece was compos'd of many Sermons, and was made soon after the Treatise of Widows.

The following Treatise is entituled in the printed Copies, *Of the Instruction of a Virgin*, address'd to *Eusebius*, but in the Manuscripts its Title is, *A Discourse of the perpetual Virginity of the Virgin* Mary. And indeed the principal part of this Treatise is against the Errour of *Bonosus*, who had oppos'd the perpetual Virginity of *Mary*. But that which gave occasion to St. *Ambrose* to compose this Discourse, was the Profession of a Maid call'd *Ambrosia*, Niece to *Eusebius* a Citizen of *Bolonia*, to whom St. *Ambrose* had made an Exhortation when he gave her the Veil. He committed the same to Writing afterwards according to his custom, and address'd it to *Eusebius* with a Preface, wherein he discourses of the chief Duties of Virgins that are consecrated to God, which are in Silence and Prayer. After this he gives an account of a Discourse which he made when he gave the Veil to *Ambrosia*: There he says many things in praise of Women, and undertakes the Defence of that Sex against those who blam'd it. He proves that they are unjustly accus'd as being the cause of Man's Falling and Offending; and he extolls their Piety by proposing the Vertues of many women. He shows, that if *Eve* gave occasion to the Condemnation of Mankind, this Loss was fully compensated by *Mary*, who is the Honour of her Sex and of the Church. St. *Ambrose* wonders, that there have been Christians, who durst oppose her perpetual Virginity. He adds, that this Error deserv'd to be buried in Eternal Silence; but because it had been maintain'd by a Bishop (he means *Bonosus*) he thought himself oblig'd to discover and refute it; which he does in the following part of this Discourse, where he establishes the Perpetual Virginity of the Virgin *Mary*, and refutes the Objections of *Bonosus*, which were the same with those of *Helvidius*.

The First Objection which he proposes is taken from the Word *Mulier* or Woman, which is attributed in the Holy Scripture to the Virgin. St. *Ambrose* shews, that this Word is general, and is given to Virgins as well as Married Women and Widows.

The Second Objection is founded upon this Passage of the Gospel, *Before they came together*; and upon that other, *He knew her not before she had brought forth her first-born Son.* He answers, that these ways of speaking do not intimate that St. *Joseph* had afterwards any Carnal Knowledge of the Virgin, but only that he had not before; and that the Design of the Evangelist is to discover the principal Mystery, *viz.* That a Virgin conceiv'd Jesus Christ by the Operation of the Holy Spirit, and not to determine an incidental Question. This Answer is much better than the Second, wherein he pretends, that the Word, *cognovit*, *he knew*, is to be understood only of the Mystery, which was yet hid from *Joseph*.

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The Third Objection is taken from the Title of *Joſeph*'s Wife, which is given to *Mary*. St. *Ambroſe* St. *Ambroſe* anſwers, That this Title might be given her tho' ſhe were a Virgin, becauſe it is not the loſs of Virginity that makes Marriage, but the actual Conſent of the Parties, tho' it were never Conſummated. Wherfore he makes no Scruple to conclude, That there was a true Marriage between *Joſeph* and *Mary*.

St. *Auſtin* and St. *Jerom* are of the ſame Opinion; *Gratian* and the Maſter of the Sentences follow'd them; and ſince that time it hath paſs'd for a Maxim among Canoniſts and Divines.

St. *Ambroſe* produces alſo an Objection taken from the Mention which is made of the Brethren of Jeſus Chriſt, but he does not think that it deſerves to be inſiſted on, ſince the Word, *Brother*, is a general Word which has many ſignifications, and agrees to others beſides thoſe who are born of the ſame Father and the ſame Mother.

St. *Ambroſe* proceeds afterwards to the Proofs of the perpetual Virginity of *Mary*.

He ſays Firſt, that ſince Jeſus Chriſt was able to preſeve the Virginity of his Mother, it is very improbable that he ſhould permit her to be depriv'd of that perfection.

The Second Argument is, that if *Mary* had not always been a Virgin, ſhe ſhould not have been Propos'd as a Pattern and Example to Virgins.

The Third is, that the Virgin was deſigned to be a Perſon of the greateſt Merits and Perfections, but there is none greater than Virginity.

The Fourth is, that *Joſeph* durſt not come near her, whom he knew to be the Mother of God.

The Fifth, upon which he inſiſts more largely, is, That Jeſus Chriſt ſufficiently teſtified it, by recommending her to his beloved Diſciple when he was upon the Croſs: For how, ſays he, could he remove her from her Husband, and give her to another, if ſhe had known a Husband; How could this Diſciple take her to his own houſe, if ſhe had to do with another as her Husband? Jeſus Chriſt would never have divorc'd them, and *Mary* would never have forſaken a Husband. This ſuppoſes, that St. *Joſeph* was yet alive, when Jeſus Chriſt upon the Croſs ſpoke thus to his Mother. If this Matter of Fact be not certain, the Argument is nothing worth. Beſides, ſuppoſing there was a true Marriage between St. *Joſeph* and the Virgin, as St. *Ambroſe* had already ſaid, they ought not to have been parted; 'Tis true St. *Ambroſe* anſwers, That this Marriage, being deſign'd only for the accompliſhment of the Myſtery, was to ceaſe aſſoon as the Myſtery was perfectly fulfill'd by the death of Jeſus Chriſt. But I doubt this Anſwer has more Wit than Solidity.

[Itis plain from the Second Chapter of St. *Luke*, that our Saviour lived with *Joſeph* when he was 12 Years old; for not only *Joſeph* and *Mary* then lived together, but he went with them again to *Nazareth*, after he had Diſputed with the Doctors in the Temple, and was ſubject unto *Them*: Afterwards ween he entred upon the Miniſtry, the *Galileans* took offence at his Preaching becauſe of his being (as they thought) only the Carpenter's Son, which had been a groundleſs Suggeſtion, if *Joſeph* and *Mary* had not Cohabited together; it does not indeed weaken the Opinion of the perpetual Virginity of the Bleſſed Virgin, tho' takes off the force of this Argument by which St. *Ambroſe* went about to prove it.]

The Sixth proof which St. *Ambroſe* alledges for the perpetual Virginity of *Mary*, is grounded upon Ch. 44. of the Prophet *Ezekiel*. He explains what is ſaid in this place of a Gate ſhut, through which the Lord of *Iſrael* had paſs'd, and thinks it ought to be underſtood of *Mary*, who is that Gate through which the Lord paſs'd without opening it, and which afterwards continued ſhut: Which ſhows that ſhe loſt not her Virginity, neither by bringing forth Chriſt into the World, nor after ſhe became the Mother of God.

St. *Ambroſe* having thus prov'd the Perpetual Virginity of *Mary*, exhorts the Virgins to follow her. He propoſes to them alſo another moſt powerful Motive to engage them to keep their Virginity; and that is the Love of Jeſus Chriſt, their Celeſtial Spouſe, who is extremely jealous of their Purity. The Majeſty of this Spouſe ſhould make thoſe tremble who had any thoughts of being unfaithful to him. He is God, the Son of God, his Eternal Word, conſubſtantial to his Father. Hence St. *Ambroſe* takes an occaſion to make a Digreſſion about the Divinity of the Word, and to diſpute againſt thoſe Hereticks that denied it. 'Tis probable that they were alſo the followers of *Bonoſus*, whom he attacks in this place, ſince we learn from the Canon of the Counſel of *Arles*, that theſe Hereticks follow'd the Error of the *Photinians* and *Paulianiſts*; from whence in *Gennadius*'s time the *Photinians* were call'd *Bonoſiacks*, as this Author obſerves in his Book of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, Ch. 14. The *Benedictines* who ſet out St. *Ambroſe*, whoſe exactneſs nothing has eſcaped, have not forgot to make this Obſervation.

After he has occaſionally anſwer'd Two Objections of thoſe Hereticks, he returns to his firſt Subject of the Virginity of *Mary*, and continues to exhort the Virgins to imitate her. He applies to this purpoſe many Paſſages of the *Canticles*; in particular he addreſſes himſelf to *Ambroſia*, and gives her excellent Inſtructions about the Vertues ſhe ſhould practice. He concludes with praying the Lord to receive her into the number of his Spouſes, and to pour upon her abundance of his Grace.

It appears by the Preface of this Book, that *Ambroſia* was ſtill to continue in her Fathers's Houſe, though ſhe had receiv'd the Veil, which plainly ſhows, that all the Virgins conſecrated to God were not yet ſhut up in Monaſteries, though there were already ſome Monaſteries ſet up.

Towards the end, the Ceremonies of a Virgin's making Profeſſion, are deſcribed. She preſented her ſelf at the feet of the Altar, where ſhe made Profeſſion before the People; the Biſhop preach'd to her

her, and gave her the Veil which distinguish'd her from other Virgins, but her hair was not cut. St. *Ambrose* says in this Treatise, that he had already written many other Books concerning Virgins; St. *Ambrose* and in it he recites many things which are in his Commentary upon St. *Luke* compos'd in 386. At last he speaks of the Error of *Bonosus* as a Heresy publish'd not long before, which shows that this Treatise was written in the Year 392. For the Affair of *Bonosus* being carried into the Counsel of *Capua*, held in the Year 391, they sent it back to the Bishops of *Macedonia*.

When St. *Ambrose* fled from the Tyrant *Eugenius* he retir'd to *Bolonia*, where he discover'd the Reliques of St. *Vitalis* and St. *Agricola*, who had suffer'd Martyrdom under the Persecution of *Diocletian* and *Maximilian*, and made a solemn Translation of them. From *Bolonia* he went to *Florence*, whither he carried the Reliques of these Saints, which he plac'd in a Church built by a holy Widow call'd *Juliana*, which he was entreated to Dedicate. 'Twas at the Dedication of this Church, that he made the Discourse entituled, *An Exhortation to Virginity*. *Juliana* having lost her Husband, was not only consecrated to God her self, but by her Example and Instructions she so order'd the matter that she gave all her Children to God also: Her Son *Laurentius* was made Reader, and her Three Daughters profes's'd Virginity. St. *Ambrose* upon this occasion relates the Exhortation of this holy Widow to her Children. She told her Son, that his Father and she had given him that Name which he had, because they had obtain'd a Son by the Intercession of St. *Laurence*; That they had design'd him from that time for the Clergy, and that in this he ought to comply with their Desires, and fulfil their Vows. Afterwards addressing her Speech to her Daughters, she discribes the Troubles of Marriage, the excellency of Virginity, and exhorts them to consecrate themselves to God. She concludes with pressing her Son and her Daughters to accomplish the Vows which she and their Father had made in their behalf. St. *Ambrose* pursues this Exhortation, by adding Instructions to teach the Virgins after what manner they should live, and Examples to serve them for a Pattern. The Example of St. *Sothera*. the Kinswoman of St. *Ambrose*, is not here forgotten. Afterwards he promises to *Juliana* the Reward of her Piety. Lastly, he prays the Lord to accept graciously of that Church which he was consecrating, and to receive favourbly the Prayers, and Sacrifies of the Body of Jesus Christ, which should be offer'd there, and particularly the Oblation of all the Family of *Juliana*. This Treatise was written when St. *Ambrose* retir'd upon the Account of the coming of *Eugenius* the Tyrant, in the Year 393, towards *Easter*.

The Treatise *of the fall of a Virgin consecrated to God*, is here found under the name of St. *Ambrose*. It is also among St. *Jerom*'s Works, but certainly it is not his; for it is notorious that the Author of this Treatise was a Bishop, but St. *Jerom* was only a Priest. *Gennadius* assures us also, that *Niceas* Bishop of *Aquileia* wrote a Discourse address'd to a Virgin who had faln into Sin, very proper to persuade all those who should fall into the like Faults, to return from their Evil ways. This gave occasion to the Conjecture of many, that this Bishop was the Author of this Treatise. But the Title alone is not a sufficient proof, since St. *Basil* wrote a Book upon the same Subject, which has the same Title. The *Benedictines* observe that all the Manuscripts which they have seen, attribute this Work to St. *Ambrose*, except one only, wherein it is attributed to St. *Chrysostom*. They maintain also, That there is nothing in this Book which may not very well be St. *Ambrose*'s: But they confess that it has not the Stile of this Saint; and indeed there is neither that sharpness of Wit, nor the lively and spiritual Thoughts which are in his Works: This is more languid and less sublime. Whosoever be the Author of it, he is Ancient, for one may find there Traces of the ancient Discipline, one sees that Publick Penance was administred but once: Nay, even this Author obliges this faln Virgin to do Penance all her life, and he seems also to take from her the hopes of receiving Absolution in this Life. It appears, that there were yet Idolaters in his time, and that the Adult were baptiz'd on *Easter*-day. He admits a middle State between the Damn'd and the Happy; he describes the Ceremonies of the Profession of Virgins, almost as St. *Ambrose* does. He says, that she to whom he writes, who was a young Woman of Quality, call'd *Susanna*, having resolv'd against the Will of her Kindred to embrace Virginity, profes's'd it on *Easter*-day at Night in the great Church, where she was accompained by those that were newly baptiz'd, holding lighted Torches in their hands; That there she pronounc'd her Vows publickly before the People, and then receiv'd the Veil, and entred into a Monastery; that presently after Reports were spread about which wounded her Reputation, and they were found to be false, and the Authors of them could not be discover'd; but that Three Years after she committed the Crime whereof she had been falsly suspected before, suffering a young Man to lie with her many times, by whom she was gotten with Child. She was accus'd also of having destroy'd her Child, which Murder she endeavour'd by all means possible to conceal, and would never confess; but being convicted of it before the Bishop, she was put under publick Penance. The Author of this Treatise represents to her the monstrous heniousness of her Crime, and the Scandal she had given; he exhorts her to do Penance all the rest of her Life; he Orders her to repeat every day the 51st. *Psalm*, and to pass her Life in Sorrow and Grief, that at least she might avoid the punishment of Hell-fire. He excites her also to the Acts of Penance and Compunction, which he deduces from many places of Scripture. There is also a Chapter against him who had abus'd this Virgin, whom he exhorts to do Penance. The Author of this Treatise is accus'd of being a *Novatian*, because he tells this Virgin, that she ought not to expect Absolution of her Sin in this Life; and that those who promis'd her pardon of her Sin in this Life deceiv'd her. 'Tis true, that this Rigour was practis'd in some Churches in the First Ages of the Church. But he who speaks thus in the Fourth Century, appears to be much inclin'd to the *Novatians*. St. *Ambrose* was the Man of all the Fathers who did most vigorously oppose this Maxim in his Books *of Penance*, and therefore 'tis no wise probable that he should affirm the same in this Treatise, without giving any Explication of his Words. But here it may be said, that this Author exhorts

this young Woman to do publick Penance; Why ſhould he exhort her to do Penance, if ſhe was un-
St. *Ambroſe* capable of Abſolution? This is what St. *Ambroſe* and the other Fathers juſtly object againſt the *Novatians*, That they put Sinners under Penance, and exhort and force them to do it, but yet afterwards they deprive them of the fruit of Penanace by refuſing them Abſolution. The Language of the Author of this Exhortation is perfectly like that of the *Novatians*. He exhorts this young Woman to do Penance, but he gives her no hopes of obtaining Remiſſion in this Life: On the contrary, he tells her expreſly, that this ſhall not be, and that thoſe who promiſe it to her, do but deceive her; but that ſhe ought always to do Penance, to ſhun Eternal Torments. He even dares not Promiſe her Glory, but only the Privation of Torments. Theſe are Doctrines contrary to thoſe which St. *Ambroſe* eſtabliſh'd in his Book *of Penance*, or rather that is the only Doctrine which he oppoſes there. It is no ways probable therefore, that this Treatiſe ſhould be his, and we muſt ſtill continue in as great uncertainties as ever concerning its Author.

The Book *of Myſteries or Sacraments* is an Inſtruction to the New-baptiz'd, wherein St. *Ambroſe* explains to them the Significations and Vertue of the Sacraments which they had receiv'd. Here is an Abridgment of what is moſt remarkable in this Inſtruction.

"After we have ſpoken every day of Morality, and propos'd to you the Examples of the Patri-
"archs and Prophets, while the Proverbs were reading, that you might be accuſtom'd to follow th e
"Examples of the Saints, and to lead a Life becoming thoſe Perſons who are purified by Baptiſm;
"'Tis now time to diſcourſe to you of the Myſteries and to explain the Sacraments; for if we had
"explain'd them to you before you were initiated, we ſhould have thought that we had profan'd, ra-
"ther than diſcover'd them: Beſides that the Light of the Myſteries themſelves, which you did not
"expect, has now aſtoniſh'd you more than if we had inſtructed you about them before. Open
"therefore now your Ears to receive the ſweet word of Eternal Life, which we ſignified to you when
"we celebrated the Ceremony, by which we wiſh'd that they might be open'd, by ſaying *Ephatha*,
"that ſo all thoſe who were to come to Baptiſm might know what was demanded of them, and
"what they anſwer'd. At laſt you are introduc'd into the place where the Sacrament of Baptiſm is
"Adminiſtred; you are oblig'd to renounce the Devil and his Works, the World and its Pomps and
"Pleaſures. You found in this place the Waters and a Prieſt who conſecrated them; the Body was
"plung'd into this Water to waſh away Sins; the Holy Spirit deſcended upon this Water; you ought
"not to fix your mind upon the External part of it, but to conſider in it a Divine Vertue. Do
"not imagine therefore, that it is this Water which purifies you, 'tis the Holy Spirit. There are
"Three things in Baptiſm, the Water, the Blood and the Spirit, and without theſe Three Things,
"the Sacrament is not compleat; neither the Remiſſion of Sins, nor Grace is receiv'd, unleſs it be in the
"Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt. The Baptiſm of Jews and Infidels does not
"purify at all; 'tis the Holy Spirit, which deſcended formerly under the Figure of a Dove, which ſan-
"ctifies theſe Waters. We muſt not conſider the merit of the Prieſt, for it is our Lord Jeſus Chriſt
"who baptizes. You made Profeſſion of believing in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt. After
"this you drew near unto the Prieſt, he anointed you, and your Feet were waſhed. This Sacrament
"blots out your hereditary Sins, and the Baptiſm blots out the Sins contracted by your own Will.
"After this you receiv'd white Garments, to ſignifie that your were ſtript of Sin and clothed with In-
"nocence. You received the Seal of the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Wiſdom, of Power, *&c.* The Fa-
"ther hath mark'd you out, the Son hath confirm'd you, and the Holy Spirit hath given you aſſu-
"rance of your Salvation. Afterwards you run to the Heavenly Feaſt, and ſee the Altar prepar'd,
"where you receive a nouriſhment infinitely exceeding that of *Manna*, a Bread more excellent than
"that of Angels. 'Tis the Fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt, the Body of Life, 'tis the incorruptable *Manna*, 'tis
"the Truth whereof the *Manna* was only the Figure. Perhaps you will tell me, But I ſee another
"thing? How do you aſſure me, that it is the Body of Jeſus Chriſt which I receive? That we
"muſt prove. We muſt ſhow that it is not the Body which Nature hath form'd, but that which
"the Benediction hath Conſecrated: Which St. *Ambroſe* confirms by an infinite number of the like
"Miracles; and laſtly, by the Myſtery of the Incarnation which he compares to that of the Eucha-
"riſt. A Virgin, ſays he, brought forth. This is againſt the Order of Nature. The Body which we
"conſecrate came forth of a Virgin. Why do you ſeek for the Order of Nature in the Body of Jeſus
"Chriſt, ſince Jeſus Chriſt was born of a Virgin contrary to the Order of Nature? Jeſus Chriſt
"had real Fleſh which was faſtened to the Croſs, and laid in the Sepulchre. So the Euchariſt is the
"true Sacrament of this Fleſh. Jeſus Chriſt himſelf aſſures us of it: *This is*, ſays he, *my Body*; before
"the Benediction of theſe Heavenly Words it is of another Nature, after the Conſecration it is the
"Body. So likewiſe of the Blood: Before Conſecration it is call'd by another Name, after Conſe-
"cration it is call'd the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, and ye Anſwer, *Amen*, that's to ſay, 'Tis true. Let
"the Mind acknowledge inwardly that which the Mouth brings forth; let the Heart be of that Judg-
"ment which the Words expreſs. The Church exhorts her Children to Receive theſe Sacraments
"which contain the Body of Jeſus Chriſt. This is not Bodily but Spiritual Food; for the Body
"of the Lord is Spiritual. Laſtly, this Heavenly Meat gives us ſtrength, this Divine Drink rejoyces
"us Having therefore receiv'd theſe Sacraments, let us be perſuaded that we are regenerated, and
"let us not ſay, How can this be? 'Tis not by Nature, but by the Holy Spirit.

From hence we may learn the chief Ceremonies which were obſerved in the Church of *Milan*. As to the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, theſe which follow are remark'd. The Ears of the Catechumens were touch'd, ſaying *Ephatha*, and after that they were bidden enter into the place where they were to be baptiz'd. There they were oblig'd to renounce the Devil, the World and its Pomps; the Biſhop bleſſed the Water of Baptiſm, the Creed was repeated to the Catechumens, they were anoin-

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ted with Holy Chrisms, there Feet were wash'd, they were plung'd into the Water, and at the same time the Three Divine Persons were invocated; afterwards they were clothed with White Garments, the Sacrament of Confirmation was given them, and the Holy Spirit was called upon for them: From thence they were conducted to the Altar, where they were present at the Consecration of the Eucharist, and received the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, answering, *Amen.* St. *Ambrose*

Since these Ceremonies and the Doctrine of this Treatise do not agree with the Opinions of Protestants, some among them have done what they could to raise Doubts about this Book, whether it were St. *Ambrose's*. But the Reasons which they alledge are so weak, that the ablest Men among them have sincerely acknowledg'd that it is really his. There are very strong Proofs that it is this Father's; the beginning alone discovers that it is his; for there he speaks plainly of the Sermons he had made to the Catechumens upon the Lives of the Patriarchs and Prophets. This does not agree to any other Author but St. *Ambrose*; 'tis the Stile of this Father, tho' he treats of things more particularly than in his other Books. 'Tis his Doctrine, and no body doubts but it is his Work: It has always been cited under his Name, and is attributed to him in all the Manuscripts. This Discourse was spoken by St. *Ambrose*, after his Sermons upon the Lives of *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, toward the Year 387.

The Opinions of Criticks are very much divided concerning the Author *of the Book of the Sacraments*. The *Benedictines* produce in their Preface what has been said upon this Subject, and after having given a very Wise and Equitable Judgment about the different Opinions, they give their own Thoughts of it, and build their Judgment upon good Reason. First of all, they observe, That 'tis indifferent to the Members of the Church of *Rome*, to whom this Work be attributed, since St. *Ambrose* teaches the same Doctrine in his Treatise of Mysteries; and so, tho' it were supposed with *Aubertine*, that the Author of the Book about the Sacraments is of the Seventh Age, or with *Daillee*, that he is of the Eighth, the Cause of the Church would be so much the stronger, because it would have two different Testimonies of the Judgment of the Church; and indifferent Ages, *viz.* St. *Ambrose* in the Fourth Age, and this Author in the Seventh or Eighth. Tho' this were not so, and the Church might draw some Advantage from supposing that St. *Ambrose* was the Author of the Book *about the Sacraments*, yet if it should appear that the contrary Opinion is more probable, we must undoubtedly follow it. We must judge of these kind of Matters without Prejudice and Affection, and we must not consider what would be most advantageous to our selves, but what comes neerest to the Truth. This is what the *Benedictines* do; they profess to Examine this Question with all possible sincerity, as if it had never been canvassed before, and without addicting themselves to the Prejudices of any Party. They immediately disapprove the Reproaches which the Protestant Criticks have thrown upon this Author, they cannot endure that they should make him pass for an Ignorant and Ridiculous Person, for an Impostor and a Liar; They vindicate him from some Mistakes and Absurdities, which *Cook*, *Rivet*, and *Daillee* had fasten'd upon him. They shew, That this Expression, *For this cause at* Rome *the Name of the Faithful is given to the Baptiz'd*, is not so ridiculous as these Criticks imagine; because tho' it were true, that the baptiz'd were call'd by the same Name in other Churches, yet it were no unprofitable Observation, that in the Church of *Rome* they were call'd so also. They observe, That some Manuscripts have *Rectè*, instead of *Romæ*, but they do not think that we are obliged to follow this Correction. They shew also, That the manner wherein this Author relates the last Words of the *Pater Noster*, *Ne patiaris nos induci in tentationem*, instead of *Ne nos inducas in tentationem*; that this manner, I say, of ending the Lord's Prayer was not peculiar to him, and that St. *Cyprian* read and repeated thus the last Words of the Lord's Prayer. Lastly, They defend him against the Accusations of Barbarism, of false Subtilty, of vain Allegories, which are chag'd upon him by the Criticks whom we have mentioned.

After this the *Benedictines* produce the Reasons which are alledg'd by Catholick Authors, to shew that the Books of the Sacraments were St. *Ambrose's*, and at the same time prove that they are not very convincing.

The First is drawn from the Authority of many ancient Manuscripts, where this Treatise is found under the Name of St. *Ambrose*. To these is added the Authority of all the Editions which have been made of it, and the Testimony of a great number of Authors of the Ninth Age, and those that followed it, *viz.* of *Hincmarus* Bishop of *Rheims*, of *Deoduinus* of *Liege*, of *Paschasius Ratbertus*, of *Ratramnus* a Monk of *Corbie*, of *Florus* a Deacon of the Church of *Lyons*, of *Lanfranc*, of *Berengarius*, of *Algerus*, of *Guitmondus*, of *Durandus Troarnensis*, of *Ivo Carnutensis*, of *Gratian*, of the Master of the Sentences, and of other later Authors, who have all cited the Book of the Sacraments under the Name of St. *Ambrose*: This Argument appears plausible enough, yet the *Benedictine* Fathers maintain, that it is not fully convincing: For how often has it happened, say they, that Books have been, and every Day are taken from those Authors under whose Names they had always passed? It is not very well known that the greatest part of those who cited the Works of the Fathers in the latter Ages, did not carefully examine, whether the Books which they cited were theirs, but trusted to the common Title of them? As to the Manuscripts, the *Benedictines* assure us, that the most ancient have not the Name of the Author, and that it is probable the Name of St. *Ambrose* was added in those which are more Modern, either because it was known, that St. *Ambrose* had treated of this Subject, or because these Books were found together with that about the Mysteries which treats of the same matter, and the first bearing the Name of St. *Ambrose*, whose it was indeed, they thought that the last were this Father's also.

The Second Proof which is alledg'd to shew, That the Books of the Sacraments are St. *Ambrose's*, is taken from the Agreement of the Stile of this Work, with that of the Book *of Mysteries*. The

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Benedictines ſay, That 'tis true this Author does ſo imitate St. *Ambroſe*, that he Copies out the ſame which he had ſaid; but they obſerve, that in Copying it out he corrupts it, and accommodates it to his own Stile, which is much below that of St. *Ambroſe*. Wherefore this Argument is more proper to raiſe a doubt, whether theſe Books of the Sacraments be St. *Ambroſe*'s or no, than to confirm them in the Poſſeſſion of the Title which they bear.

The Third Argument produces alſo the ſame Effect. 'Tis ſaid that St. *Auſtin* affirms, That St. *Ambroſe* wrote a Book about the Secraments; but 'tis evident that the Book which St. *Auſtin* cites under this Title, had quite another Subject than this Book. It was a Book of Philoſophy againſt the Platoniſts, as appears by what this Father ſays of it in the Second Book againſt *Julian*, Ch. 5 and in the Second of his Retractations, Ch. 4.

The *Benedictines* produce alſo ſome places drawn out of this Book, which are thought to agree to St. *Ambroſe*, as the Complaint which he made that he had not a ſtrong Voice, and the Explication of the Lord's Prayer, which St. *Ambroſe* probably would not have omitted in his other Treatiſes, but that it was in this; but at the ſame time they ſhew how weak theſe Arguments are.

After having thus diſcuſs'd what is ſaid on both ſides about the Author of theſe Books, they endeavour to diſcover him by the Work it ſelf, and for that end they enquire into theſe three Things; what Rank he held in the Church, at what time he lived, and of what Country he was.

As to the Firſt Point they ſay, That it plainly appears he was a Biſhop, who Inſtructed the Catechumens.

Upon the Second, they ſay that the Teſtimony of the Authors which have quoted him, ſhew that he was older than the Eighth Century, and there is a Manuſcript in the Abby of St. *Gal* written in great Letters, which *Mabillon* believed might be about 1000 Years old, whoſe Antiquity ſhows that this Author liv'd before the Seventh Century: Beſides that it appears by the Work it ſelf, that it is more ancient: For there he ſpeaks of a great Number of Adult Catechumens, which proves that he liv'd at a time, when the practice of Baptizing all Infants was not ſo general. He obſerves alſo, That there were yet in his time ſome Remainders of Idolatry. And in a ſhort, he refutes no other Hereticks but the *Arians*, and he makes uſe of a Verſion of the Bible different from that of St. *Jerom*, which yet is not that which St. *Ambroſe* uſed.

As to the laſt Head which concerns the Country of this Author, 'tis evident that he was not a Roman, ſince he ſays, That he Honours the Church of *Rome*, and follows many of its Practices, tho' he does not think himſelf oblig'd to follow it in all. This gives occaſion to conjecture, that he was not far diſtant from it. The Cuſtoms and Practices which he deſcribes, agree very well with the ancient Rites of the Church of *Milan*, and the Churches of *Gaul*.

Theſe Remarks ſeem to prove that this Book may be St. *Ambroſe*'s; for all theſe Characters agree perfectly well to him; but there are other Reaſons which hinder the *Benedictines* from attributing it to him. The Firſt and Principal is the diverſity of the Stile; for tho' it may happen, that an Author ſhould write in a more plain and leſs ſublime manner than he was wont to do, yet the Strength of his Wit is always perceiv'd. 'Tis never found, that an Author who has naturally an Elegant and Noble Stile, does write in a very mean one. St. *Ambroſe* never falls into this Fault; he does not make uſe of cold and childiſh Interrogations, ſuch as this Treatiſe is full of: Beſides that, 'tis no wiſe, probable that St. *Ambroſe* ſhould imitate himſelf ſo exactly, and tranſcribe a part of his Book about Myſteries, and a part of his Treatiſe of the Inſtitution of a Virgin. They add alſo, That St. *Ambroſe* never reproves his People for Communicating ſeldom, as this Author does, and that there is no probablity that he ſhould oppoſe ſo publickly the Practiſe of the Roman Church about the waſhing of Feet. Theſe laſt Conjectures are a litttle weak; on the contrary, the former are very ſtrong, and are, as one may think, ſufficient to have determin'd the *Benedictines* to remove this Book from the Place of which it was poſſeſs'd, among the Genuine Works of St. *Ambroſe*, eſpecially ſince in reading the Book of the Sacraments, it plainly appears, that the Author was nothing elſe but a cold Imitater of St. *Ambroſe*. In effect, the Subject of this Book is the ſame with that of the Book about Myſteries. The Author does nothing but enlarge upon what St. *Ambroſe* had ſaid before. He follows him ſtep by ſtep; he adds very few things of his own; he ſpeaks only of the ſame Sacraments, and the ſame Ceremonies; he gives the ſame Explications of them; he amplifies the ſame Arguments and the ſame Obſervations; yet he enlarges ſometimes a little more upon certain Ceremonies. He openly oppoſes the Cuſtom of the Church of *Rome* in omitting the Waſhing of Feet. He explains the Change which is made in the Sacrament more largely. He gives an Explication, of the *Pater Noſter*, and diſcourſes of Prayer. But he has alſo taken what he ſays of it out of St. *Ambroſe*'s Book of the Inſtitution of a Virgin. Theſe Six Books are ſo many Sermons preached to the Novices.

The Two Books of Penance are undoubtedly St. *Ambroſe*'s; they have his Stile. He ſpeaks of them in his Commentary upon *Pſalm* 37. and St. *Auſtin* cites them ſeveral times. There cannot be more convincing Proofs to ſhow that any Work is Genuine. Theſe Books were written againſt the *Novatians*, who would not allow the Church to have Power to Pardon Crimes. This is the Error which St. *Ambroſe* diſputes againſt in the Firſt Book.

"He begins with a commendation of Moderation and Chriſtian Meekneſs, whereof Jeſus Chriſt "himſelf has given us an Example, who condemns the harſhneſs and rigour of the *Novatians*, who "fright Sinners from Penance, and hinder them from applying a Remedy to their Diſeaſes. For who "is it, ſays he, who will have the Courage to do Penance without any hope of Pardon? What Con-

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"fidence will any one have in such a Physician, who is so far from having Compassion for his Sick "Patient, that he shows nothing but Contempt and Rigour towards him. Afterwards he explains St. *Ambrose* "wherein the Errour of the *Novatians* consists. They maintain, says he, That we must not admit "those to Communion, who have fain by violating the Law of God. If they spoke only of Sacri- "ledge, if they refus'd Pardon to this Crime only, this would indeed be a Rigour condemn'd by the "Words of Scripture. But they offend also against common Sence, by making all Crimes equal, and "by depriving those of Communion that are guilty of lesser Crimes, as well as those that have Com- "mitted the greatest. They say, That they do Honour to Jesus Christ by reserving to him only the "Power of Pardoning Sins; and in this very thing they dishonour him, because they violate his Com- "mandments. The Church obeys Jesus Christ in binding and loosing Sinners. The *Novatians* "content themselves with binding only, and will never loose Sinners, tho' Jesus Christ gave at the "same time to the Church the Power of binding and loosing; whence it follows that the one can- "not be permitted without the other; wherefore both the one and the other are done in the Church, "and neither the one nor the other can be done among Hereticks: For this Jurisdiction belongs only "to Priests, and none but the Church can assume it, since none but she has true Priests, and Here- "ticks have none at all.

Tho' what we have just now receited might make us believe that the *Novatians* granted not Remission to any Sin; yet St. *Ambrose* confesses in the following Discourse that they pardon'd lighter Sins, and refus'd Absolution only to those that were guilty of great Sins. He asserts against them that *Novatian* was never of this Opinion, and that his Judgment was, That Penance should not be allow'd to any Sinner. Perhaps St. *Ambrose* would have found it very difficult to prove this Assertion, which seems not to agree with the Account we read in St. *Syprian* of the Birth of the Error of the *Novatians*.

However it be, St. *Ambrose* having objected to them, that they condemn the Author of their Sect, disputes against their Distinction, by saying, That Jesus Christ did not make it; That his Mercy extends unto all Sinners; That those who have committed the greatest Sins should perform the greatest Penance; and Lastly, That the greater the Sins have been, the greater need there is of Relief. In the remaining part of this Book he proves by many Passages and Examples taken out of the New Testament, That Absolution ought not to be refus'd for any Sin weatsoever; and he answers the Objections of the *Novatians*. He observes also towards the End of this Book, that the *Novatians* do in vain exhorts Sinners to Penance, since they deprive them of the fruit of Penance. "For, says he, if "any one be guilty of Secret Sins, and does Penance for them very heartily, in Obedience to the "Command of Jesus Christ, How shall he receive the Reward, unless he be restor'd to the Com- "munion of the Church? I would have the Guilty hope for the Pardon of his Sins, yet he should "beg it with Tears, yet he should beg it with Sighs, yet he should beg it with Lamentations of "all the People. I would have him pray for Absolution; and when he is twice or thrice delay'd as "to his Re-admission into the Communion of the Church, let him believe, That this delay pro- "ceeds from the want of Importunity in his Prayers; let him redouble his Weeping, let him render "himself more worthy of Pity, and then let him return, let him throw himself at the Feet of the "Faithful, let him embrace them, kiss them, bath them with his Tears, and let him not forsake them, "that so our Lord may say unto him, *Many sins are forgiven him, because he loved much.* I have "known some Persons who in their Penance have spoil'd their Face with much weeping, who have "hollow'd their Cheeks with continual Tears, who have prostrated themselves on the Ground to be "trod under Foot, who by their continual Fasting have rendred their Countenance so pale and dis- "figur'd, that they carried in a living Body the very Image of Death. This is a lively Representation of Publick Penance which was yet in its Vigour in the time of St. *Ambrose*. This Passage also informs us, That there were then some Persons who were guilty only of secret Mortal Sins, who submitted to the trouble of Publick Penance. Mounsieur *Daillé* thinks, that instead of *siquis occulta habens crimina*, it must be read, *siquis multa habens crimina*: But his Conjecture not being Authoriz'd by any Manuscript ought not to be receiv'd.

In the Second Book after having answer'd Two principal Objections of the *Novatians*, whereof one is drawn from a Passage of the Epistle of the Apostle St. *Paul* to the Hebrews, where 'tis said, That 'tis impossible for those who have once lost the Grace of Baptism to be renew'd again, and the other is grounded upon what Jesus Christ says of the Sin against the Holy Ghost: After, I say, he has answer'd these Two Objections, and confirm'd the Doctrine and Practice of the Church, he exhorts the Faithful to Penance, and signifies to them with what Dispositions they should enter upon it: he proposes the Resurrection of *Lazarus* as an Illustration of the Spiritual Resurrection of a Sinner who reflecting upon his own Condition, begs of God the Pardon of his Sins. Lastly, He discourses, of the Conditions necessary to make Penance useful, and of the Faults that are to be met with in ordinary Penances. There are also towards the end of this Book, some things very Remarkable concerning the Discipline of the ancient Church in the Administration of Penance.

"There are many ways, says he, of paying to God what is owing him; and tho' a Man be "Poor he is always Rich enough to pay him; Prayer, Tears, Fasting, are the Tributes due to him. "A Man may lessen his Sin by distributing his Patrimony to the Poor, but Faith must make this "Expence valuable; for to what purpose serves the giving away of his Patrimony if he has no Cha- "rity. There are some who give their Riches out of Vanity, and satisfy themselves with the Re- "ward which they can have in this World without troubling themselves about that of another. "Some having given their Riches to the Church, by I know not what sudden fit of Devotion, with- "out sufficient Consideration of what they do, revoke their Donation. Others blame themselves "for having given their Goods to the Poor. But as to those who do Penance, that which they are

St. *Ambroſe* " chiefly to fear, is, leſt they repent of having done Penance: For many Perſons being terrified with " the fear of Puniſhment, and puſh'd forward by the Remorſe of their own Conſcience, deſire " Penance, and after they are admitted to it, leave it off for the ſhame of the publick Humiliation. " What can be ſaid of ſuch Perſons, but that they did well to deſire Penance for their Sins, but " at the bottom they repent of the Good they have done? There are others who deſire not to enter " upon Penance, but that they may be immediately reſtor'd to Communion: Theſe do not deſire ſo " much to be loos'd as to bind the Prieſt; for they don't unburden their own Conſcience, but they " burden the Conſcience of the Prieſt, who is commanded not to give Holy Things unto Dogs, and " not to throw Pearls before Swine, that's to ſay, not eaſily to admit Impure Souls to the Holy Com- " munion. You ſee them walk with their ordinary Apparel, who ſhould be weeping and ſighing for " having defil'd the Garment of Baptiſm and of Grace. You ſee the Women alſo ſtill wearing " Pendants and Diamonds at their Ears, who ſhould be mourning for having loſt the Heavenly " Diamond, that's to ſay, the Grace of Baptiſm. There are ſome alſo who think that Penance con- " ſiſts merely in refraining from the Sacraments. Laſtly, There are others, who ſeeing the hope " that is given them of doing Penance, do from thence take occaſion to think that they have the " greater Liberty to Sin, not conſidering that Penance is appointed to be a remedy of Sin, and not " an inducement to commit it. But who can endure that you ſhould be aſham'd to pray " unto the Lord, who are not aſham'd to pray ſo often unto men? That you ſhould " be aſham'd to appear before God in the Condition of a Supplicant, who are not aſham'd " to confeſs your Sins unto Men? Are you afraid to have any Witneſſes of your Prayers? Alas! if " Satisfaction is to be made to ſome Men, is it not neceſſary that you ſhould ſee many Perſons, and " pray them to intercede for you? Are you not often obliged to proſtrate your ſelf at his Feet whom " you have offended? Muſt you not kiſs the places through which he has paſs'd? Muſt you not preſent " your Children who had no hand in their Father's Fault, to obtain Pardon by their means? Why " are you troubled to do the like in the Church, to appeaſe the wrath of God, to deſire the Suffrages " of the People? In the Church, I ſay, where there is but one thing only of which we ought to be " aſham'd, and that is not to confeſs our Faults, becauſe we are all Sinners; where he that is moſt " humble is moſt eſteem'd, where the more one is abas'd, the more Holy he is thought to be. Let " the Holy Church your Mother mourn for you, let her waſh away your Faults with her Tears..... " And yet we have reaſon to anſwer thoſe who; think that Penance may be done more than once, " becauſe this is to abuſe the Mercy of Jeſus Chriſt for if they ſhould once do true Penance, they " would not believe that they had Power to reiterate it. As there is but one Baptiſm, ſo there is " but one publick Penance; for we ought alſo to do Penance for the Sins we commit every Day: " But this laſt Penance is for ſmall Sins, and the former for great ones. I have found more Per- " ſons who have preſerv'd the Innocence of their Baptiſm, than who have done Penance as they " ſhould after they have loſt it. For 'tis believ'd, that Penance may be conſiſtent with the Ambition " of aſpiring to Offices, with Pomp and high Feeding, with the Pleaſures and Uſe of Marriage. But " they muſt renounce the World, and allow leſs time for Sleep than Nature requires; they muſt break " their Sleep with groaning and ſighing, and employ ſome part of that time in Prayers; they muſt " live in ſuch a manner, that they may be dead to the uſe of this Life; Let ſuch Men deny themſelves, " and change themſelves wholly, *&c.*

This place teaches us many Remarkable Circumſtances concerning the Penance which was in uſe in the time of St. *Ambroſe*; Firſt, That the Sinners themſelves deſir'd to be put under Penance. Secondly, That by putting them under Penance they were ſeparated from Communion. Thirdly, That they did Penance publickly. Fourthly, That they us'd many Faſts, Auſterities, and Humiliations during the time of their Penance. Fifthly, That this Penance was impos'd but once. Laſtly, That this Penance was only for enormous Crimes, and that ordinary Sins were pardon'd by the daily Penance. For the better underſtanding of this place, 'tis neceſſary to obſerve, How the Fathers underſtood this Diſtinction of great and little Sins. *Tertullian* who was the Firſt who ſpoke diſtinctly of it in his Book *of Chaſtity*, places among the Number of little Sins, Anger, Evil-ſpeaking, a vain Oath, a Failure in our Promiſe, a Lye extorted by ſhame or neceſſity, *&c.* He calls theſe Capitals or Mortal Sins, Murder, Idolatry, Fraud, Apoſtacy, Blaſphemy, Fornication, and other Crimes of this Nature. Theſe are all the Crimes which St. *Cyprian* calls great Sins in his Treatiſe *of Patience*. *Origen* in Homily 15th. upon *Leviticus*, ſays, That there are Mortal Sins which are not in the rank of great Sins. I know very well that Mounſieur *Arnaud* has affirm'd, That in this place we muſt read *culpa moralis*, for *culpa mortalis*, as it is to be found in one Edition. But ever ſince, the Maſter of the Sentences time, who cites this place, it has been read, *culpa mortalis*; and if one minds well the Sence, he will perceive that it is to be read ſo. This place of *Origen* has much affinity with thoſe of St. *Ambroſe*, whereof we are now ſpeaking; for he ſays, That Penance is allow'd but once, and that but ſeldom to thoſe who have committed great Sins, whereas the Sins of every Day are pardon'd every Day. He explains himſelf alſo almoſt after the ſame manner in his Sixth Treatiſe upon St. *Matthew*, where he handles this Queſtion, Whether a Man may not be treated as a Heathen and a Publican, that's to ſay, ſeparated from the Church, when he does not amend his ways, after he has been re-prov'd for ſlight Sins. The Examples which he gives of ſlight Sins, are Evil-ſpeaking, lying, idle Words, addictedneſs to Wine, *&c.* And thoſe which he gives of great Sins, are Murder, Adultery, *&c.* He concludes, That there is no doubt but what is ſaid in the Goſpel, that we ought

[The true Reaſon why Slander, Evil ſpeaking, Anger, Covetouſneſs, and ſuch ſort of Sins were not ſubjected to publick Penance in the Primitive Church, ſeems only to have been, becauſe they are not ſo eaſy to be proved, and Delinquents cannot ſo well be convi-

ought to look upon those as Heathens and Publicans who do not Reform after they have been Reprov'd, is to be understood of great Sinners. He adds, That it may also be understood of other Sinners with respect to the Judgment of Men, but that it does not belong to us to judge whether they are such before God. St. *Austin* distinguishes in many places Two sorts of Sins; the great Sins for which Men are put under Publick Penance, such as are Murder, Adultery, Fornication, *&c.* And the other Sins which are daily committed, and are pardon'd by a daily Penance. He says of the First, that they kill the Soul all at once, and that Christians who have Faith and Hope do not commit them. But there is one place that is in Ch. 26. of the Book *of Faith and Works*, where he treats more clearly of this Matter and distinguishes Three Sorts of Sins. "There are some, says he, so great, "that they deserve Excommunication, and for which "Sinners will want Reconciliation: There are others for "which this Penance is not necessary, but they may be "healed by the Remedy of Chastisements; And lastly, "there are some that are very light, which are blotted "out by the Lord's Prayer, from which no Man is free "in this Life. This distinction seems to be more just and reasonable; for there are certainly many Sins which are not of the number of great Crimes, neither are they so small, but they may be Mortal. The difficulty is to know, to which of these Two Classes we should refer those Sins, which hold the middle place between the First and the Second; for since this distinction was not very common, and since all the Fathers and St. *Austin* himself in many places did not distinguish but Two Sorts of Sins, and Two Sorts of Penance, it may be doubtful under what Class this Third Sort was comprehended. For my part I believe that for the most part they were comprehended under the Second: First, because the Fathers in relating the Examples of slight Sins, place in that number those that are considerable enough, such as Slander and addictedness to Wine. The Author of Sermon 41, among those of St. *Austin*, which is attributed also to St. *Ambrose*, places in the rank of light Sins, Drunkenness, Theft, Evil-speeches, *&c.* *Julianus Pomerius* in the 2d. Book of a contemplative Life, Ch. 7. says, That slight Sins are those for which one is not condemn'd before Men. *Cæsarius* of *Arles*, *Fulbertus* of *Chartres*, and St. *Eloi*, when they make a particular Enumeration of Mortal Sins, place among them Anger and Drunkenness, but with restrictions, *viz.* Anger, *if it last long*, and Drunkenness, *if it be continual.* Secondly, the Fathers consider'd the first Class, as enormous Sins, great Sins, great Crimes, which no Christian commits, which do wholly disgrace a Man, and which are extreamly rare. Now there are many Sins between these great Sins, and the smallest Sins, of which we cannot speak after this manner. Thirdly, All the Sinners of the first Class, when they are known, either by Confession or by Conviction, are put under Publick Penance. But none were put under Publick Penance except for very heinous Sins, such as are mentioned in the Canons of Councils, and the Canonical Letters of Bishops. What are these Sins? These are Murder, Adultery, Fornication, and the consequents of these great Crimes. There is no Canon to be seen against Anger, Covetousness and Slander; at least it does not appear that Publick Penance was impos'd upon any for these kind of Sins. These Sins therefore, tho' they be sometimes Mortal, were comprehended under the second Class, and not under the First, which contained only those for which Publick Penance was done. This may be confirm'd by the Canonical Letter of St. *Gregory Nyssen* to *Letoius*, where he makes exact enumeration of those Sins which subjected Men to Publick Penance, which are all enormous Sins and considerable Crimes. Fourthly, It may be added, that Publick Penance being granted but once only, they must be very extraordinary and enormous Crimes for which Men were subjected to it. Lastly; *Origen*, St. *Austin* and St. *Bernard* say, that the great number and the custom of some Sins of the Second Class may finally destroy, and stifle Charity in the Soul; therefore they did not believe, that this Class did not contain Mortal Sins.

[fected. Sins of the Flesh, and Crimes against publick Society, are Matters of Fact liable to Proof and Examination, and therefore come under Cognizance of Civil Laws as well as Ecclesiastical; whereas Circumstances may so alter the Nature of Spiritual Crimes, that what in some cases may be damnable, in others may be venial, in others, again, highly commendable; and accordingly the self-same Actions in all those Cases, shall meet with different Appellations. To speak evil of Dignities is a Sin expressly forbidden in Scripture; yet to defend the Cause of Truth unjustly trampled upon, even against those whom in lawful and indifferent things we are bound to obey, may be very often our Duty. This with due alterations may be extended to all other Crimes where the Good and Evil depends so visibly upon such Circumstances, wherein a Criminal's word must of necessity be taken. And this I suppose was the true Reason why those things were left to God and their own Consciences; since it is most manifest that the Fathers esteemed these Sins, if unrepented of, to be as damning as any of those of a grosser Nature.] St. *Ambrose*

I would not have it thought that I make these Remarks to authorise Licentiousness, or to insinuate, That there are some Mortal Sins which may pass for Venial: God forbid that I should have such a detestable Design! On the contrary, my intention is to create a horror of all Sins; First of great Crimes. Secondly, of Sins which may be Mortal, tho' they appear not so enormous. And Thirdly, even of slighter Sins also. But I thought my self oblig'd to observe here, for explaining the Passage of St. *Ambrose*, That none but the Sins of the First Class did subject Men to Publick Penance, and that 'tis of these only that the Fathers speak, and which they comprehend under the Name of Enormous Sins and Crimes; tho' there be others which may be also Mortal, and which a Christian ought carefully to shun; but then they are such for which he was never subjected to the Humiliation of Publick Penance, but only to Corrections and Reprimands given in secret, as St. *Austin* informs us. But now let us return to our Subject, the Time is not certainly known when St. *Ambrose* compos'd these Books *of Penance*. He says in the Explication of *Psal.* 37. made about the Year 393, that it was a long time since they were written: *De pœnitentia duos jamdudum scripsi libellos, I wrote two little Books of Penance a long while ago*: But this denotes no certain time. It appears by the Books

Books themſelves, that he was then well advanc'd in Years, and had taken much pains for the Church.

St. *Ambroſe* The *Benedictines* think, that they may have been written in the Year 384.

After the Treatiſes of Morality and Diſcipline, follow his Writings of Controverſy. The Five Books *of Faith*, or *the Trinity*, are the chief of his Writings of that ſort. St. *Ambroſe* wrote the Two firſt at the Requeſt of the Emperour *Gratian*, who at his departure into the Eaſt in the Year 377, to aſſiſts the Emperour *Valens* againſt the *Goths*, deſir'd of St. *Ambroſe* a Treatiſe concerning the Faith againſt *Arianiſm* which then rain'd in the Eaſt. St. *Ambroſe* proves the Divinity of the Son in theſe Two Books of the Faith of the Church, and anſwers the Objections of the *Arians* conciſely and ſmartly. The *Arians* having accus'd him of treating this Matter too ſuccinctly, and of having abridged their Objections and his own Anſwers too much, he added in the Year 379, the Three laſt Books, in which he enlarges and confirms the Principels that he had laid down in the former. Theſe Books are written with much Wit, Vigor and Subtilty; he illuſtrates the Matter which he handles with lively and pleaſant Deſcriptions. He propoſes the moſt ſubtil Objections in an intelligible manner, and anſwers them with all the Induſtry and clearneſs that is poſſible. It may be ſaid, that there is none among the great number of Treatiſes written by the Ancients upon this Subject, where the Theological Difficulties about the Myſtery of the Trinity are better diſcus'd, and clear'd up than in this. Yet he is not always Exact, and he ſometimes employs Arguments which are not very concluding.

The Books *of the Holy Spirit* are written in a leſs conciſe, leſs lively, and leſs ſmart Stile: St. *Jerom* ſays, *That they contain nothing Logical, nothing maſculine, nothing moving, nothing convincing, but that every thing in them is feeble and languid, tho' it be poliſh'd, dreſs'd up and painted with ſtrange Colours.* He accuſes him alſo of having robb'd the *Greeks*, and particularly the Book of *Didymus*, whoſe Tranſlation St. *Jerom* publiſh'd then, and of having made a bad Latin Book out of many good Greek ones; for *Ruffinus* informs us, That St. *Jerom* ſpeaks of St. *Ambroſe* in this place. It muſt be acknowledg'd, that tho' the paſſionate Deſire which this Saint had to extol the Treatiſe of *Didymus*, made him ſpeak a little too vehemently againſt St. *Ambroſe*'s Book, yet there is ſomething of truth in what he ſays. For this Book is not written ſmartly, and the greateſt part of the things which it contains are taken out of the Works of *Didymus*, of St. *Baſil*, and St. *Athanaſius*. St. *Auſtin* was ſo far from finding in it that Beauty and thoſe Ornaments which St. *Jerom* met with in it, that he gives it for an example of a Book written in a low Stile, *Becauſe*, ſays he, *the Subject does not require Ornaments of Diſcourſe to move the Heart, but Proofs of the Truths which he propoſes.* St. *Ambroſe* has there collected together all that could be ſaid for eſtabliſhing the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. He wrote it after the death of *Athalaricus* King of the *Goths*, and before the Death of *Peter*, of *Alexandria*, and before the Celebration of the Counſel of *Conſtantinople*, that's to ſay, in the Year 381. There is one place in it, where he ſeems to aſſert, That Baptiſm given in the Name of one Perſon only of the Trinity, is valid. There are many Explications given of it which may be ſeen in the Note of the *Benedictines* upon this Paſſage.

The Treatiſe of the Incarnation is a Diſcourſe which St. *Ambroſe* ſpoke to refute the Objections which Two *Arians*, Officers who belong'd to the Emperour *Gratian*, had propos'd to him with much pride. He engag'd to anſwer them the next day in his Sermon. *Paulinus* informs us, that theſe Two Officers having mounted up into their Chariot to come to this Sermon, were thrown down headlong. St. *Ambroſe*, who knew nothing of this Accident, waited long enough for them, and tho' they came not at all, yet he did not fail to perform his promiſe. But before he entred upon the Matter, to give them yet longer time to come, he begun his Diſcourſe with the Explication of the Sacrifices of *Cain* and *Abel*. Afterwards he applies to Hereticks the Curſe which God pronounc'd againſt the Sacrifice of *Cain*, and makes a Catalogue of the principal Hereſies, ending with the *Apollinarians*. After this he proves againſt the *Arians* the Divinity of the Son, and his Humanity againſt the *Apollinarians*, and demonſtrates againſt both the one and the other, That there were in Jeſus Chriſt Two perfect and compleat Natures; the Divine Nature according to which he is equal to his Father; and the Humane, that is to ſay, as a real Body and underſtanding Soul with the Properties of theſe Two Natures. When St. *Ambroſe* afterwards wrote down this Sermon, he added the Anſwer to a Difficulty which the *Arians* propos'd to him after his Sermon, *viz.* How it is poſſible, that the Father who was not begotten ſhould be of the ſame Nature with the Son who was begotten. This is the Subject of this Treatiſe, which he compos'd ſometime before the Death of *Gratian* in 383, and after the Book of *Faith* which he wrote in 379, that's to ſay, about the Year 382.

There is at the end of this Treatiſe, a Paſſage of St. *Ambroſe* about the Incarnation, which is produced by *Theodoret* in his Second Dialogue, as taken out of a Book, Entituled, *An Explication of the Faith.*

The Letters of St. *Ambroſe* are plac'd in a new Order, and divided into Two Claſſes. The Firſt contains thoſe whoſe Time and Order could be found out. The Second contains thoſe whoſe Date is not certainly known.

The Letter of the Emperour *Gratian* to St. *Ambroſe* is of a more ancient Date than the reſt. He wrote to this Holy Biſhop after his Return from the Eaſt, whither he had gone to aſſiſt his Uncle *Valens*. He ſignifies to him how much he deſired to have him near him, and prays him to ſend him again that Book, which he had given him before, (meaning the Two Books of the Faith,) and to add to them the Proofs of the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. St. *Ambroſe* in the Anſwer which he made to this Letter, excuſes himſelf for not coming to wait upon him when he return'd from the Eaſt, and praiſes the Faith and Piety of this Emperour. He promiſes Satisfaction to his Demands. This Letter was written in 379, ſoon after the Return of *Gratian*.

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The Second is written to *Constantius*, who was lately promoted to a Bishoprick. He exhorts him to govern his Church well in the midst of Storms and Tempests. He discourses to him very largely about the Instructions which he should give to his People. He recommends to him the Church of *Imola*, which was without a Bishop, and prays him to visit it often till a Bishop were Ordain'd for it; because, as for himself, he was so busy during the time of *Lent*, that he could not go far from his own Church. Lastly, he admonishes him to take heed lest the *Arians* that came from *Illyricum* should spread their Error among the Faithful of his Country. He adds, that they ought to think of the Misery which had befaln them, because of their Infidelity; which discovers that the *Arians* were driven out of *Illyricum* by the *Goths*, who entred into that Country after the Death of the Emperour *Valens*: And therefore this Letter was written in the *Lent* of 379. St. *Ambrose*

The Two following Letters are address'd to *Felix* Bishop of *Comum*. In the First St. *Ambrose* thanks him for the Mushrooms which he had sent him, and complains that he had not yet come to see him. In the Second he praises him, and invites him to be present at the Dedication of the Church of St. *Bassianus* Bishop of *Lodi*. If we may believe *Ughellus*, the Author of *Italia Sacra*, this Church was Consecrated in the Year 380, but that is very uncertain. This *Bassianus* subscrib'd at the Council of *Aquileia*.

The 5th. Letter to *Siagrius* Bishop of *Verona* concerns a Point of Discipline. This Bishop had condemn'd a Virgin who was accus'd of having violated her Virginity, to be examined by a Midwife. St. *Ambrose* nulls this Judgement in a Synod of Bishops. *Siagrius* being offended with this Proceeding, wrote to him, that 'twas to be fear'd the Inhabitants of *Verona* would complain of the Judgment which he had given. St. *Ambrose* shows in this Letter, that his Judgment was as Canonical as that of *Siagrius* was irregular. He accuses this Bishop of being too hasty in giving this Judgment, which was so disgraceful to a Virgin who had been consecrated by his Predecessor *Zeno*, and who had always pass'd for a vertuous Maid. This was so much the more unjust, because there was neither Accuser, nor Informer, nor Witness against her. She had been defam'd by none but a Club of *Libertines* unworthy of Credit, whom she had driven away from her House. And therefore this Judgment, being against all Laws Ecclesiastical and Civil, was void in Form; neither was it better as to the Matter, because what it ordain'd was against good Manners, against Modesty and Civilty. St. *Ambrose* represents to him, that there are other ways to be assur'd of the good behaviour of a Virgin, and that we must never proceed to these Extremities. That oftentimes this way is not successful, and leaves the Matter as uncertain as before; That it was very dangerous to make the Reputation of a Virgin consecrated to God, depend upon the Credit of a Woman, who might easily be corrupted or deceiv'd; That if these means might be us'd, it was only to be us'd to Maid servants, who are more afraid of a Discovery than of Sinning; but it ought never to be us'd for trying the Chastity of Virgins consecrated to God; That in this particular Case 'twas to no manner of purpose to use these Means, because, if it were true, that this young Woman, who was accus'd, had been with Child, and put it to death after her being brought to Bed, as was given out, it had been impossible but this would have been known by many Persons, and consequently there must have been many Witnesses found against her; That the thing which had stirr'd up some Persons against her, was because she liv'd retir'd in her House, and made no Visits to the Ladies of the World; That *Maximus*, who was her true Accuser, tho' he would not appear in it, had been engag'd in a Law-suit and some Differences with her; That all this Accusation was founded only on a false Report which had been spread about; That *Renatus* and *Leonitus* the Witnesses, at first contradicted themselves, and afterwards disappear'd; That *Indica*, having no more Accusers or Witnesses against her, brought *Marcellinus* and two other Witnesses, who averr'd, That she always behav'd her self very prudently, and in consequence of this, That he and his Collegues had declar'd that her Reputation was untainted, and Excommunicated *Maximus*, *Renatus* and *Leonius* her Accusers, with this difference, That *Maximus* might be receiv'd again without doing Penance, by confessing his Fault only, whereas the other Two were oblig'd to do Penance.

The 6th. Letter is to the same Bishop upon the same Subject. He represents to him also how odious the Judgment was which he had given, and the Respect which is due to Virginity. This Letter is plac'd in the Year 380, but there is no convincing proof brought of it.

The 7th. and 8th. Letters are written to *Justus*, who is thought to be the Bishop of *Lyons*, who was present at the Council of *Aquileia*. St. *Ambrose* explains in the first, after a very Mystical manner, the Questions which this Bishop had propos'd to him upon some places of the Holy Scripture. In the Second he affirms, That the sacred Writers wrote with Art, and gives many examples of it which are very intricate.

There are plac'd here among the Letters of St. *Ambrose* the Acts of the Council of *Aquileia*, which are maintain'd to be Genuine and Authentical, against the Opinion of *Chiffletius*, who thought fit to affirm, That they were compos'd by *Vigilius Tapsensis*: But this is an Opinion which is not supported by any reasonable Conjecture [d], and is confuted by the bare reading of these Acts, which discover that

[d] *This is an Opinion which is not supported by any reasonable Conjecture*, &c. p. 824.] These Acts are written in a Simple and Natural way. The Questions which are put to the Accus'd, and the Answers which they gave, are not of the nature of those that are made at pleasure; but such as are made in the ordinary Forms. There is nothing in them which smells of Forgery. They contain particular Facts, which could not be known by any Man that had liv'd but 30 Years after. There is no Errour in them contrary to History. In the other Letters of the Council of *Aquileia*, there is mention made of Two Bishops of *Dacia* and *Mœsia* condemn'd by this Council. The Bishops which are named in these Acts, are all Bishops of that time. What is said there, That this Council was

they are Originals. Theſe Acts are not entire, for what concerns the Condemnation of *Secundianus*, St. *Ambroſe* and the Concluſion of the Council, is loſt. The Six following Letters are written in the name of the Biſhops of *Italy*, who were preſent at the Council of *Aquileia*, and concern the Hiſtory of that time. What we have to ſay of the Acts of this Council and theſe Letters, may be found in our Diſcourſes of the Councils of *Aquileia* and *Conſtantinople*.

The 15th. addreſs'd to the Biſhops of *Macedonia*, and to the Clergy of *Theſſalonica*, was written upon the death of *Aſcholius* Biſhop of that City. St. *Ambroſe* comforts them upon his death, becauſe he was removed into a better life, and enjoys the happineſs of Saints. He compares him to *Elias* and *Eliſha*; he teſtifies how much he lov'd him, and how much he regrets the loſs of him; he enlarges upon his Vertues, and congratulates the Churches of *Macedonia* upon the receiving *Anyſius* for his Succeſſor. To him the following Letter is written, which is alſo full of the Praiſes of his Predeceſſor *Aſcholius*. He prays God that *Anyſius* may be ſucceſſor to his Vertues as well as to his See. Theſe Letters are written in the Year 383.

In Letter 17th. St. *Ambroſe* writes to the Emperour *Valentinian* againſt the Petition which *Symmachus* had made in the Name of the Senate for reſtoring the Altar of Victory. He remonſtrates to him, that as all the Subjects of the *Roman* Empire ought to ſubmit to him, ſo he alſo was oblig'd to ſubmit to the only true God, and as they defend his Empire, ſo he was oblig'd to defend the Religion of Jeſus Chriſt. That a Chriſtian Prince ought neither to Diſſemble nor Tolerate, and much leſs ought he to Authorize the Worſhip of Idols and falſe Gods. He wonders therefore, that under a Chriſtian Emperour, there ſhould be found any Perſons ſo raſh, as to hope, that he would grant an Edict for reſtoring the Altars of the Gods, and that he would contribute towards the Expence of it, by giving Money out of his Exchequer: That tho' the Temples had not been deſtroyed, and the Worſhip of the Gods forbidden by the Laws of his Anceſtors, yet he ought to do it now; but after the Laws have been in force for a long time, there was yet leſs reaſon to ſubvert them: That in this buſineſs he muſt never hearken to the Advice of a Pagan, how Prudent ſoever he may be otherwiſe; and that if any Chriſtian had been cowardly enough to conſent to this Propoſition, he deſerv'd not to bear the Name of a Chriſtian any more: That if a Pagan Emperour would re-eſtabliſh an Altar, and oblige Chriſtians to conſent to it, this would be lookt upon as a Perſecution. How then can a Chriſtian Emperour do it, without committing Sacriledge? That there was no probablity, that all the Senate had conſented to this Propoſition, ſince all the Chriſtans Senators two Years before had entred their Proteſtation againſt it, and that they were not preſent in the Senate when it was done, becauſe they thought that they could not have their liberty there to make head againſt it. He warns *Valentinian* that he ſhould not ſuffer himſelf to be ſurpriz'd, and exhorts him to do nothing new in an Affair of this Importance without the Advice of the Emperour *Thodoſius*, whom he was wont to conſult in Affairs of Importance. Now what Affairs, ſays he, can be of greater Importance than this of Religion? What is more precious than the Faith? He prays him to deſire of them a Copy of the Act of the Senate, and that they would leave him to anſwer it. In a word, he tells him with an aſſu-

call'd together from the Eaſt and the Weſt, agrees with another Letter of a Council of *Italy*, where 'tis ſaid, That there was a Synod held in the Weſt, *quæ videbatur ex univerſus orbis partibus eſſe præcepta*. There were in this Council ſome Biſhops of *Gaul* and *Africk*. All the Biſhops are named there with their Biſhopricks: In fine, all things conſpire to confirm the truth of theſe Acts. The Opinion of *Chiffletius* is founded only upon frivolous Conjectures. *Vigilius Tapſenſis*, ſays he, obſerves that *Palladius* wrote a Diſcourſe after the death of St. *Ambroſe* to refute what this Saint had ſaid about the Trinity, and that *Vigilius* himſelf had anſwer'd this Work of *Palladius* in a little Book by it ſelf. What follows from thence? *Vigilius* wrote a Treatiſe againſt that of *Palladius*; therefore it was the Acts of the Council held againſt the Hereticks. Who can believe it? Is there any thing more different, than theſe Acts are from a Piece about Doctrine againſt any Author's Book? Theſe Acts treat of the judicial Condemnation of a Perſon, but ſay nothing of the Refutation of a Book. The other Conjectures are yet more weak. He objects, That theſe Acts are not found in the Ancient Editions of the Councils, as if the firſt Collectors had collected all: How many Councils did they forget, and Synodical Writings which are in the Works of the Fathers. 2. That *Valerian* of *Aquileia* is nam'd there before St. *Ambroſe*. This Objection is no more againſt the common Opinion, than againſt that of *Chiffletius*; for either *Vigilius* had the Acts of the Council of *Aquileia*, or he had them not; if he had them, why ſhould he change the Order of the Biſhops; if he had them not, wherefore was not the Biſhop of *Milan* plac'd before the Biſhop of *Aquileia*: He muſt therefore, as well as we, find out a reaſon why the Biſhop of *Aquileia* goes before the Biſhop of *Milan*: It may be, becauſe the Synod was held in his own City, and the Order of the Emperour for calling the Synod together was directed to him. The 3d. and 4th. Reaſons of *Chiffletius*, is, becauſe this Diſpute favours not of Epiſcopal gravity, and all the Diſcourſes there are made by the ſame hand. If one takes the pains to read the Acts, he will ſee that 'tis not ſo, and that there are Anſwers and Queſtions which are Originals, and could not be gueſſed at by any Author. He alledges for a 5th. Reaſon, that *Anemius* Biſhop of *Sirmium*, does there impertinently aſſume the Title of the Head of *Illyricum*. But 'tis certain that he enjoyed it in the time of *Conſtantine*, and it does not appear that he was diſpoſſeſs'd of it ſo ſoon after, ſince he enjoyed it ſtill in the time of *Juſtinian*. 'Tis not certain that *Theſſalonica* had yet received the Lieutenancy of *Damaſus*, and tho it were ſo, *Sirmium* was always the Head of the Weſtern *Illyricum*; and it may be that the Biſhop of *Sirmium* contended againſt him for the poſſeſſion of this Lieutenancy, eſpecially at the beginning. *Chiffletius* pretends that *Aſcholius* Biſhop of *Theſſalonica* was preſent at the Council of *Aquileia*, but he has no other Proofs of it but the Auhtority of a Synodical Book full of Errors. The 6th. Reaſon of *Chiffletius* is, that the Anſwers of *Palladius* are ridiculous: But it may be they do not appear ſo ridiculous to all the World, and tho' they did, is this the firſt time that Hereticks have defended themſelves ill? I ſhall not ſtay longer to mention the other Conjectures, which are as weak as the reſt, ſo that there never was a fancy worſe grounded than this of *Chiffletius* about theſe Acts.

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rance becoming an Holy Bishop, That if he should act otherwise, the Bishops would not suffer nor dissemble the Injury which he would do to Religion; and that if he came to the Church, he should St. *Ambrose* "not find a Bishop there, or else he should find one who would oppose his Entrance into it. "And "what will you answer then, says he, addressing his words to the Emperour *Valentinian*? What "will you answer to the Bishop when he shall say, The Church cannot receive Oblations from him "who has given Ornaments to the Temples of the Gods: His Gifts shall not be presented on the "Altar of Jesus Christ, who hath made an Altar for Idols. The Edict signed with your own Hand "convicts you of the Fact. How can the Honour which you give to Jesus Christ be acceptable to "him, since at the same time you worship Idols? No, you cannot serve Two Masters. The Virgins "consecrated to God, have no Priviledges, and yet you have granted Priviledges to Vestals? Why have "you recourse to the Ministers of Jesus Christ, after you have preferr'd before them the Petitions of "Pagans? St. *Ambrose* adds to these Remonstrances of the Bishops, the Charge which his Brother *Gratian* could draw up against him, if he should return into the World, and the Accusations which his Father *Theodosius* might justly make against him.

Because St. *Amboroſe* had desired of *Valentiniana* Copy of the Petition which had been presented to him in the Name of the Senate, and which he answers in the following Letter, that is also here inserted. *Symmachus* therein desires of the Emperours, as Governour of *Rome*, and Deputy of the Senate, that they would cause the Altar of Victory to be repaired, that so the Oath might be administred according to ancient Custom upon the Altar, and that they would restore to the Vestal Colledge, and the Priests of the Gods, the Goods and Priviledges of which they had been unjustly deprived, since the Gods, being provoked with the Injuries done to their Priests, had avenged themselves by a cruel Famine, wherewith the Empire was afflicted. He asserts, That they ought not to imitate the Emperours, who have taken away those ancient Ceremonies. He introduces the City of *Rome* desiring this Restauration, and he affirms that this may be done without any Expence to the Treasury. This Petition was written with all the Eloquence and Politeness possible.

St. *Ambrose* answers it in the following Letter, and reduces the reasons of this Request to these Three: The First is the claim which the City of *Rome* makes to her ancient Ceremonies: The Second is the Injustice which is done to the Vestal Virgins, and the Priests of the False Gods, by despoiling them of their Revenues: The Third is the Vengance which the Gods have sent down upon the Empire by Famine. To the First he opposes a contrary *Prosopopœia*, wherein the City of *Rome* condemns her ancient Superstitions, and demonstrates the Advantages which she has drawn from the Christian Religion. In answer to his Second Argument, he compares the Virgins Consecrated to God with the Vestal Virgins, and the Christian Bishops with the Priests of the False Gods. The Vestals continued Virgins, because of the Honour and Advantages which there Condition procured to them; but the Christian Virgins have no other Recompence of their Virginity, but their own Vertue. They complain that the Priests of False Gods, are deprived of Revenues from the Publick; but the Christian Priests are even deprived of the Right of Succession. "The New Laws, says he, have "made this Regulation, and yet we do not look upon it as an Injury, because we are not much "concerned for this loss. The Priests of the False Gods are capable of Donatives, but no Legacies "can be made in Favour of our Church-men. I do not complain of this severity, says St. *Ambrose*, "for I would rather that Ecclesiasticks should have less Riches and more Grace. The Church hath "no Patrimony but her Faith; if she has any Revenues they are for feeding the Poor. In short, St. *Ambrose* discovers the Falshood of *Symmachus*'s Supposition, That the Gods of the Pagans being provoked, sent the Famine which afflicted the Empire the preceding Year. First, because this Famine did not begin till long after the Pagan Priests were depriv'd of their Rewards and their Honours. Secondly, Because this Famine did not continue long, and Plenty succeeded it, tho' nothing was done in favour of the Priests of the Pagan Gods. He concludes this Answer with showing, That the Emperours ought not to expect Protection from the Gods of the Pagans. These Pieces were written in the Year 384 when *Symmachus* was Governour of *Rome*.

The 19th. Letter to *Vigilius*, lately chosen Bishop of *Trent*, contains some Important Instructions, which he counsels him to give unto his People. The Principal is, To dissuade the Faithful from contracting Marriages with Infidels; of this he treats largely in this Letter. But he admonishes him also by the by, to teach his People the Obligation that lies upon them to pay Labourers their hire; to instruct them that Usury is forbidden, and to exhort them to use Hospitality. One of the Reasons which he brings to show, That a Christian ought not to marry an Infidel, is this, *That Marriage ought to be sanctified by the Priestly Veil, and by the Blessing: How then can a Marriage be made between two Persons of a different Belief?* The History of *Sampson* and *Dalilah*, affords him a fair Field to enlarge upon; by which Example he shows that Christians ought to shun marrying with Persons of a different Religion. *Vigilius* died under the Consulship of *Stilico* in 400 or 405. 'Tis commonly believed that he was 20 Years a Bishop; yet there are Acts of the Life of this Saint, where he is said to be only 12 Years instead of 20. If he died in 400, and was Bishop only 12 Years, this Letter was in the Year 383. If he died in 405, and was 20 Years a Bishop, the Letter may be written at the same time; it cannot be in the Year 381, because the Name of his Predecessor is found in the Subscriptions of the Council of *Aquilea*.

The 20th. Letter to *Marcellina*, Sister to St. *Ambrose*, contains a Relation of the Endeavours, that the Empress *Justina* us'd in the Year 385, to take from the Catholicks of *Milan*, two of their Churches, and of the manner wherein St. *Ambrose* defended them. "The Day after I received your Letter, "says he, by which you signify to me, That you were very much tormented with troublesome "Dreams, here begun those Commotions which have created me a great deal of trouble. They were

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"not ſatisfied with asking the *Portian*-Church, which is without the City, but they demanded alſo "the *New*-Church which is within the City, and is greater than the other: The Lords of the Court "and the Officers, came to find me out, and told me that I muſt abandon this Church, and hinder "the People from making any Sedition. I anſwered according to my Duty, That a Biſhop cannot "deliver up the Temple of the Lord. The next morning there was great Crying in the Church, "and the Prefect came thither to perſuade us to give up at leaſt the *Portian* Church; the People op- "pos'd him with their Clamours, and he retired, ſaying, That he would make his Report of what "was done to the Emperour. The next Day, which was *Sunday*, after the Reading and Sermon, "when I was Explaining the Creed to the Catechumens, I was told, That Serjeants were ſent to ſeize "upon the *Portian*-Church, that they had already hung up Curtains, and that a great many People "were flocking thither: I went on ſtill in diſcharging my Duty and began Maſs; but as I was "offering, I was inform'd, that the People having met with an *Arian* Prieſt call'd *Cartulus*, had laid "Hands upon him. This made me weep, and I prayed to God in the midſt of the Holy Sacrifice, "that he would hinder the ſhedding of Blood in the Quarrel of this Church. At the ſame time I "ſent Prieſts and Deacons to recover this Man out of the Hands of the People. Immediately very "ſevere Sentences were paſs'd, Firſt againſt all the Companies of Merchants; ſo that at this Holy "Time, which was the laſt Week of Lent, when Priſoners were wont to be ſet at Liberty, there "was nothing heard every where but the rattling of Chains wherewith Innocent Men were loaded, "and great Sums of Money were extorted from the People. The Officers threatned Perſons of Qua- "lity, if they would not deliver up the Church to them. The Counts and Tribunes came to me, and "required me to deliver up the Church preſently, ſaying, That the Emperour, in whoſe Power all "things are, does but demand his Right. I anſwered them, did he demand any thing of mine, my "Money, or my Land, I ſhould willingly give them up to him, tho' all that I have belongs to the "Poor; but Places Conſecrated to God belong not to the Emperour, neither is it in my Power to give "them. If you ſhould demand my Patrimony, ſaid I to them, take it; If you would have my Per- "ſon, I am here ready for you, carry me away Priſoner, put me to Death, if you pleaſe; In ſhort, "Do with me what you pleaſe, I'm content, I will not call upon the People to Succour me, I will "not proſtrate my ſelf before the Altar to beg my Life, but I will rather willingly Sacrifice "my ſelf for the Altar's ſake. I was deſir'd to put a ſtop to the Sedition of the People. "I anſwered, That all that I could do, was to give no Encouragement to it, but God only could "appeaſe it; That if they thought I was the cauſe of it, the Emperour might baniſh me whither- "ſoever he pleas'd. I paſs'd the reſt of the Day in the Old Church, and at Night, I went back to "ſleep at my own Houſe, that they might find me ready to be gone if they had a mind to force me "away. Next morning the Church was encompaſs'd with Souldiers; the People came ſtill flocking "thither in great Multitudes; the Souldiers who had Orders to ſeize upon it, joyned with the People "in the Prayers which were put up in it. In the mean time, St. *Ambroſe* preached in another Church about the preſent Calamities. He recites here his Sermon full of Boldneſs and Reſpect, out of which take an Excellent Paſſage as follows. "I was commanded to deliver up the Church, I an- "ſwered, That it was not lawful for me to deliver it up, nor for you, Prince, to receive it. You "cannot juſtly Invade the Houſe of any particular Man, and would you forcibly take away the "Houſe of Jeſus Chriſt? I was told that every thing is lawful to the Emperour. I anſwered, That "the Emperour has no Juriſdiction over Divine Things; That he ought not to aſſume this Boldneſs, "and if he would Reign long he muſt ſubmit to God: For 'tis written, we muſt render to God what "is God's, and to *Cæſar* what is *Cæſar*'s; the Palaces are for Kings, the Churches for Biſhops: The "Emperour has Power over the Walls of the City, but not over Sacred Edifices. 'Twas ſaid, but "'tis very Juſt that the Emperour ſhould have a Church for himſelf. No, he ought not to have "any. Here ſome came and told him, That they had already brought his Royal Hangings into the Church, and that the People which were there, earneſtly deſired his preſence. This gave him oc- caſion to apply the Pſalm which was read that Morning to the Caſe in hand, *O Lord, the Heathens are come into thine Inheritance*, &c. While he was diſcourſing upon this Subject, there came a Notary in the Emperour's Name to ask him, Why he had acted contrary to the Orders of his Majeſty. St. *Ambroſe* anſwered, That he did not believe that he dad done it. "Why then, ſays the Notary, "did you ſend Presbyters into the Church which he had a mind to take Poſſeſſion of? If you be a "Tyrant, the Emperour deſires that you would declare your ſelf ſo, that he may know what he, "has to do.. St. *Ambroſe* anſwered, That he dad done nothing contrary to the Reſpect which he ow'd to the Emperour, nor contrary to the Intereſt of the Church: That he had indeed ſent Presbyters to this Church, but he did not believe that he had herein done any thing contrary to his Authority; That if they took him for a Tyrant, they might put him to Death; That he had no other Arms to defend himſelf withal but the Invocation of the Name of Jeſus Chriſt; That under the ancient Law the Kingly Power had been given to Prieſts, but they had never uſurp'd it; That Kings were more deſirous of the Prieſthood than the Prieſts of the Kingly Power; That Chriſt himſelf run away for fear leſt he ſhould be choſen King; That *Maximus* would not ſay that he had been wanting in his Loyalty to *Valentinian*. In ſhort, That Biſhops had never been Tyrants, but had often ſuffered hard things from them.

All the Day was ſpent in ſadneſs, and St. *Ambroſe* could not return to his own Houſe, becauſe the Church was encompaſs'd with Souldiers; ſo he paſſed the Night in ſinging *Pſalms* in the Church. The next Day the Book of *Jonas* was read. As St. *Ambroſe* was expounding it, word was brought him, that the Emperour had commanded the Souldiers to withdraw, and order'd the Fines which were exacted from the Merchants to be reſtor'd. "What Joys, ſays he, what Acclamations

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" of the People! This was the Day wherein Jesus Christ was delivered up for us, the Day wherein
" Absolution is given to Penitents. This is, writes he to his Sister, what is pass'd, God grant that St. *Ambrose*
" here may be an end of it. But the Threatnings of the Emperour make me fear still some greater
" Commotions: He says, That I am a Tyrant and more than a Tyrant: And when his Officers pray'd
" him to come to Church, he answered them, If *Ambrose* would command you, you would deliver
" me up. Behold, what am I to expect after this! All those that heard him say this, testified suf-
" ficiently the trouble that it gave them; but there are some about him, who have blown up the
" Coals. *Calligonus* Master of the Wardrope came to me, and threatned me in these Words; Why
" do you despise the Emperour, Vengeance shall quickly come upon you? I answered him, That if
" God should suffer these Threatnings to take Effect, he would do as Eunuchs have been wont to
" do, and I should suffer as becomes a Bishop: Heavens grant, That all the Mischiefs which
" threaten the Church may fall upon me; That her Enemies may point all their Darts against
" me; That they may assuage their Rage with shedding of my Blood. Thus ends this Excellent Letter of St. *Ambrose*.

Tho' the First Efforts of *Justina* had such bad Success, yet she did not give over her Persecution. To colour her Design, she caus'd a Conference to be propos'd between *Auxentius* the *Arian* Bishop and St. *Ambrose*, before such Judges as they should name, hoping by these means to have a Pretence to force him away. Then an Officer was sent in the Name of *Valentinian* to signifie unto him, That *Auxentius* had named some Judges, and that he should name some in his own behalf. St. *Ambrose* answered, That according to the good Maxim of *Theodosius* the Father of *Valentinian*, Bishops could have none but Bishops for their Judges; That Laymen could not judge between Bishops, and much less Infidels or Hereticks, such as *Auxentius* in all probability had chosen. This is what St. *Ambrose* remonstrated to *Valentinian* in Letter 21st. which is properly a Petition wherein he shows that he had done nothing contrary to the Respect which he owes him by this Answer; That he only followed the Law which his Father had establish'd, and that this was the Custom of the Church: That if a Conference about the Faith was necessary, it should be in the Church and before Bishops: That if *Auxentius* should appeal to a Synod, tho' it was not necessary to assemble one, (since if an Angel should come from Heaven and teach a contrary Doctrine, it ought not to be preferr'd before the unanimous Consent of all the Churches;) yet if a Council should be assembled, he was ready to appear there; That he would have come to Court and to the Emperour's Council, if his People, his Clergy and the Bishops had not hindred him; That he was not wont to go thither but for the Interest of the Emperour, neither was it his Custom to frequent the Court.

At the time when St. *Ambrose* sent this Petition to be presented to the Emperour, he preach'd a Sermon to his People, to allay the Fear they were seized with, after they understood that St. *Ambrose* was cited to appear before the Emporour's Council. This is plac'd after the preceding Letter. There he declares to his People, That he had no design to abandon his Church; That they might arrest his Body by force, but they could not separate his Mind from it; That he would never willingly forsake them, but if he should be driven away by force, he would not resist. " I can, says he,
" sigh and mourn, I can lament; Tears are my only Arms against Violence and against Souldiers;
" Bishops have no other Defence. I cannot, I ought not to resist any other ways, but as to flying
" away and forsaking my Church, that I will never do. You know that the Respect which I have
" for the Emperour does not make me yield cowardly; That I offer my self willingly to Punish-
" ment, and that I do not fear the Mischiefs they threaten me with. If I knew that in my absence
" the Church would not be deliver'd up to the *Arians*, and if it were the Duty of a Bishop to go to
" the Palace, I would go willingly; but this is not his Duty, for Matters of Faith cannot be hand-
" led but in the Church. If any one has a mind to oppose our Creed, let him come here, and I
" will defend the Faith which I profess. The Souldiers that encompass the Church and their rattling
" of their Arms, do not at all make me afraid, neither do they shake my Constancy; all that I
" fear is, that while you detain me, some Resolution may be taken against you. I am not wont to
" have any fear for my self, but I tremble for you. When the Vessels of the Church were demanded
" of me, I said, That if they would demand any thing that was mine, I should willinly give it;
" That I could give nothing that belonged to the Church, and that in refusing them I gratified the
" Emperour, since he could not receive them without doing an Injury to Jesus Christ. After this he exhorts his People to continue Spectators of the Combate which he was to maintain. He says, That he had no reason to fear, because he was assured, that it was for the Cause of God, who could protect him against all his Enemies, and defeat all their Designs: That he had already smitten them with blindness, since they did not perceive the Gate of the Church which was left open, tho' they had compass'd the Church about, and sought for a way to enter into it; That he went forth daily to make Visits, or to go to the Sepulchre of the Martyrs, without being stopp'd by any Body, tho' 'twas already resolv'd to drive him away, and that *Auxentius* had a design to Invade his Church. Here he inveighs freely against this *Arian*, and against the Law which he had gotten by surprize in favour of his Party. He observes, That he was ready to refute him, tho' there was no need of it, since *Auxentius*'s Cause was quite desperate, and he had been condemn'd even by those, whom he had chosen for his Judges, and in the absence of his Adversaries: That after he was thus conquer'd, he would have taken the Emperour for a Judge, tho' he was yet but a Catechumen: That he had persuaded the Emperour the preceding Year to take away a Church from the Catholicks, but the Resistance of the People hindering him from compassing that Design, he had charged St. *Ambrose* with rebelling against the Orders of his Prince, tho' he always answered with much Moderation. " If the Em-
" perour, says he, demand of us Tribute, we will not refuse to pay it him, thē Lands of the Church

St. *Ambroſe*

" do pay it. If he would have the Lands themſelves, he can take them, none of us does oppoſe it. " I will not give them to him, but neither will I hinder him from taking them. We keep our ſelves " within the bounds of a Juſt Obedience, We render to *Cæſar* that which is *Cæſar's*, and to God the " things which are God's. Tribute is *Cæſar's*. No body refuſes him that. The Church is God's; 'tis " unlawful to give it to the Prince; he has no Authority over it. Could any thing be more reſpectful, " or more to the Honour of the Emperour? 'Tis an Honour to him to be of the Church; he is in " the Church, but not above the Church.

The 22d. Letter contains the Hiſtory of the Diſcovery of the Reliques of St. *Gervaſius* and St. *Protaſius*, and the Sermons which St. *Ambroſe* made to his People upon this Subject. It is alſo to his dear Siſter *Marcellina*, to whom he communicated an Account of what had paſſed in his Church. He writes to her, that having dedicated a Church at *Milan*, he was deſired to Conſecrate it with the ſame Solemnity, wherewith he had done the Roman Church (this was another Church which was near the Roman Gate) which he promiſed to do, if he could find any Reliques. That he had cauſed the Ground at a place which was before the Rails of the Selpulchres of St. *Felix* and St. *Nabor* to be broke up; That in this place he found the Bones of two Men of extraordinary bigneſs with much Blood; That there were ſufficient Signs to diſcover that they were Martyrs; That having brought thither ſome poſſeſs'd Perſons, it was known by their Agitation, that they were before the Selpulchre of Martyrs; That the People flocked together in great Multitudes for the ſpace of two Days to ſee theſe Relicks, and that afterwards thoſe Bones were diſpoſed according to their Natural Order to be carried into the *Ambroſian* Church; That they were laid up in *Fauſtus's* Church, where Vigils were celebrated all that Night, and the next Morning they were tranſlated to the *Ambroſian* Church; That while they were tranſlating, a blind Man was cured. This was the diſcovery of the Bodies of theſe Martyrs. St. *Ambroſe* adds two Sermons made to his People upon this occaſion, which contain alſo ſome Circumſtances of it. In them he obſerves, That theſe two Saints are St. *Gervaſius* and St. *Protaſius*. He does not tell us, whence he knew it: But St. *Auſtin* informs us that he had got an Account of their Death, and the place where their Bodies were laid, by a Revelation which he had that Night. He ſpeaks of the many Miracles which thoſe Reliques wrought, of the Poſſeſſed that were delivered, of the Sick that were healed, of the Handkerchiefs that were touched, to carry them to the Sick. He tells his People, That theſe Bones muſt be put under the Altar; That ſuch Victims could not be better plac'd than under the Altar where the true Sacrifice lay; That Jeſus Chriſt is upon the Altar, becauſe he ſuffered for all, and the Martyrs are under the Altar, becauſe they were redeemed by his Blood. He adds, That he had deſign'd this place for his own burial place, becauſe it was fit that a Biſhop ſhould be interr'd in that place where he was wont to make the oblation, but that he yielded this place to the Martyrs, and would preſently go and place their Reliques in it. The People earneſtly deſired, that he would put off the Performance of this Ceremonny till *Sunday*, but he would delay it no longer than till the next Morning. And then he made another Diſcourſe to his People, wherein he confutes the Infidelity of the *Arians*, and the Incredulity of ſome of the Faithful, by the Miracles which the Reliques had wrought, and chiefly by the Cure of the blind Man which was publick and certain. St. *Auſtin* Ch. 7. of the IXth. B. of his Confeſſions, and the Author of the Life of St. *Ambroſe*, ſay, That an end was put to the Perſecution by the diſcovery of thoſe Reliques, which diſcovers to us that this Letter was written in the Year 386.

The 23d. Letter is written to the Biſhops of *Emilia*, about a ſcruple they had concerning *Eaſter* Day for the Year 387. St. *Ambroſe* obſerves in the Firſt Place, That the Holy Scripture and Tradition teach us, That we muſt carefully find out *Eaſter*-Day; That the Council of *Nice* believ'd this ſo neceſſary; That they had made a Cycle of 19. Years; That by this means the Sacrifice in Honour of Chriſt's Reſurrection might be offered in all places in the ſame Night; That the Biſhops of *Alexandria* and *Rome* had already made Regulations of this Buſineſs; but ſince there were many who would alſo have his Opinion, he thought himſelf obliged to write his Thoughts; and tho' the difference at preſent was only about the Celebration of the next *Eaſter*, yet he would ſhew what Day ſhould be obſerved for time to come, whenſoever the like Queſtion ſhould return. He ſays, That there are two Things to be obſerved concerning the Celebration of *Eaſter*, the 14th. Day of the Moon and the Firſt Month; That this time was fixed for the Paſſover under the Old Teſtament, and that Jeſus Chriſt obſerved this Law, by celebrating the Paſſover on *Thurſday* the 14th. Day of the Moon of *March*, and by being crucified on *Friday* the 15th. and riſing the *Sunday* following. That therefore Chriſtians ought to Celebrate the Feaſt of the Reſurrection on the *Sunday* after the 14th. Day of *March*-Moon, a Day on which it is not any more lawful to Faſt; and when the 14th Day of the Moon happens to be *Sunday*, as it will fall out to be quickly, we muſt put off the Solemnity of *Eaſter*, till the following *Sunday*, becauſe we muſt not Faſt upon *Eaſter*-Day, nor break our Faſt upon the 14th. Day, which is the Day wherein Jeſus Chriſt was delivered up to be crucified. He proves by Examples that this is the Cuſtom. He ſpeaks afterwards of the Firſt Month, and ſhews that 'tis not neceſſary to Celedrate the Day of the Reſurrection in the Firſt Month, provided the Day of the Paſſion happens in it. He makes this Remark, becauſe he was treating of the Paſſover for the Year 387. which was to be celebrated on the 23d. of *April*, a Day which ſeem'd not to belong to the ſame Lunar Month. 'Tis certain that St. *Ambroſe* ſpeaks of the *Eaſter* of that Year as being quickly to come to paſs, *quod futurum eſt proximè*, and that he ſpeaks of the *Eaſter* of the Year 380, as being already paſs'd ſome Years ago, *ſuperioribus temporibus*; which proves, that this Letter was written in 386, or 387. tho there be a place in this Letter, which ſeems to prove, that it was written in the Year 381, becauſe he ſpeaks of the *Eaſter* for the Year 378, as being two Years before.

before. But this must be a Fault in the Transcriber; for what probablity is there that he should take so much Pains to fix an *Easter* which was not to happen till Six Years after, and that he should speak of it as the next Festival? St. *Ambrose*

In Letter 24th. St. *Ambrose* gives an Acount to the Emperour *Valentinian*, to whom it is addressed, of his Embassy to *Maximus*, which the Emperour had entrusted with him the Second time in the Year 386. He tells him, That when he came to *Triers*, he desired to discourse with *Maximus* in private, but he would not say any thing but in his Council, tho' he was told, that it was not the Custom for Bishops to do so; That when he was admitted there, *Maximus* came to salute him, but he would not receive his Kiss till after much Discourse; That *Maximus* accus'd him of putting a Trick upon him in his First Embassy, and hindring his Passage into *Italy*; that he excus'd himself, and prov'd from the several Steps that he had made, that he had no Design to deceive him; That he came to treat about a Peace in the Name of his Prince, and that not being able to conclude it, he return'd; That he had not pass'd his Word to him that *Valentinian* should come and meet him; That he had never dissuaded this Emperour from doing it; That this Resolution of his was taken before he return'd, and that he had sent Deputies to acquaint *Maximus* that he would not come; That he had acted with all the Moderation that is possible; That he had sent back his own Brother to him, tho' *Maximus* had put *Valentinian*'s to death, and by an unheard-of Inhumanity refus'd till to restore his Body; That *Valentinian* had preferr'd Peace to War, tho' he might hope for Succors from the *Huns* and *Alanes* against the *Barbarians* whom *Maximus* had brought into the Empire; That *Maximus* ought not to blame those, who being with *Valentinian*, made their Escape and fled to *Theodosius* for Refuge, since he put all to death that he could lay hands upon, and among the rest one *Vallion* who was a brave Captain; That after this Discourse he receiv'd no other Answer from *Maximus*, but that he would consider what he had to do. St. *Ambrose* adds, that *Maximus* understanding that he would not communicate either with the Bishops who had receiv'd him into Communion, or who had desir'd the death of some Hereticks, he receiv'd Orders to be gone immediately, and at his going away he had the dissatisfaction to see the Holy Bishop *Hyginus* sent into Banishment, and us'd with all possible Rigour, so that his Age and bad Usage reduc'd him to that condition, which left him no hopes but of death.

The Two following Letters are about a Question which *Studius* had put to St. *Ambrose*; Whether a Magistrate ought to condemn Criminals to Death, and whether he that condemns such Persons should be excommunicated. The practice in St. *Ambrose*'s time was not very certain: Some Bishops excluded them from Communion, others on the contrary received them; nay, there was also an example of some Bishops, who a little while before desir'd the death of the *Priscilianists*: Some Magistrates themselves abstain'd from these things. St. *Ambrose* confesses, that we ought not to excommunicate a Magistrate, who according to the Duty of his Office Condemns a Man to death, and Orders him to be Executed; but he wishes that Judges would abstain from doing it, and would have no Criminal Condemn'd to Death, but only to a Prison or some other Punishment, that so they may have opportunity to reform themselves, and do Penance if they be baptiz'd, or to receive Baptism if, they be Catechumnes. To prove that a Christian Magistrate ought to use this Clemency, he alledges the Judgment which Jesus Christ gave of the Woman taken in Adultery, and makes many Reflections upon this Action in this Letter and the next. These Letters were written after Judgment was given against the *Priscillianists*, about the Year 386.

The Seven following Letters to *Irenæus* contain Allegorical Explications of some Difficulties about Passages of the Holy Scripture. There are Four of them which were formerly among the Treatises upon the Holy Scripture. 'Tis thought they were written about the Year 386; but there is no convincing proof of it. The order in which they are to be plac'd is better ascertain'd, because it is authoriz'd by the First Words at the beginning of each Letter.

The Three Letters to *Orontianus* were written immediately after one another. In the Third he speaks of his own Persecution, and therefore they were written after the Year 386. These are also about some Difficulties of Scripture.

The Letters 37th. and 38th to *Simplicius* are about Morality. In them St. *Ambrose* shows, that none but a wise Man can be truly Free and truly Rich. These Letters are plac'd in the Year 387, tho' without certain proof.

The 39th. is a Letter of Consolation to *Sabinus* upon the death of his Sister. He says, that as he return'd from *Bolonia*, he saw the Cities ruin'd. This may have reference to the irruption of *Maximus*, or that of *Eugenius*.

The 40th. Letter to *Theodosius* is more considerable. The Governour of the East had written to *Theodosius* who was then at *Milan* after the death of *Maximus* in 388 or 389. That a Synagogue of the Jews and a Temple of the *Valentinians* were burnt, and that the Bishop was the cause of this Conflagration. *Theodosius* gave order that those who had done this Action should be punish'd, and that the Bishop should rebuild this Synagogue at his own Charge. St. *Ambrose*, who was then at *Aquileia*, understanding that *Theodosius* had given this Judgment, wrote to him with all possible freedom, that his Order was not consistent with his Piety, and the Zeal he had for the Christian Religion; That the Bishop could not obey him without prevaricating. He defends also the Counsel of this Bishop, and the Action of those who had burnt the Synagogue. He shews, that the Jews had often burnt the Temples of Christians, without being punish'd for it, or condemn'd to rebuild them; That it was unworthy of a Christian Emperour, who had received so many benefits from Jesus Christ, to take part with a Synagogue of Jews against the Church. In a word, he heaps together many thoughts and expressions of this Nature, which have more of Declamation than true Reasoning, to hinder any Repa-

St. *Ambrose* Reparation of the Injury which was done to the Jews by burning their Synagogue: He threatens also the Emperour to deprive him of Communion, if he did not recal these Orders. He did not only write to the Emperour about it, but he also made a Sermon upon this Subject in his presence, which is related in the following Letter written to his Sister. He prevail'd so far, that the Emperour promis'd none of the Christians should be sought after for this Cause, after which he went, says he, to the Altar, which he should not have approach'd if the Emperour had not past his word about that matter.

The 42d. Letter is a Synodical Epistle of a Council at *Milan*, being an Answer to that which *Siricius* and his Council had written to the Church of that City against *Jovinian* and his followers. This Letter is sign'd by Seven Bishops, and a Priest who subscribed it in the presence of his Bishop and by his Command. In it they certify the Pope, that they were of the same Judgment with him concerning the excellency of Virginity. They prove that *Mary*, the Mother of God, never lost her Virginity in Child-bearing. They show the necessity and usefulness of Fasting. Lastly, they condemn *Jovinian* and his followers whom *Siricius* and the *Roman* Church had condemned.

The Letters 43d. and 44th. are Explications of Two Difficulties which *Orontianus* had started about the Creation of the World, which were not explained in St. *Ambrose*'s Treatise upon this Subject written about the Year 389.

The Five following Letters address'd to *Sabinus* were written much about the same time: They contain nothing very remarkable.

The 50th. address'd to *Chromacius*, is about the Prophecy of *Balaam*. St. *Ambrose* was old when he wrote it.

In the 51st. he exhorts *Theodosius* to do Penance for the Massacre done by his Order at *Thessalonica*, and represents to him the Enormity of this Action. This Letter was written in the Year 390.

The 52d. to *Titianus* contains nothing remarkable; he congratulates him that *Ruffinus* was made Prætorian Præfect, not only upon the account of the Honour that was done him by it, but also because this Office hindred him from being Judge in a Law-suit which *Titianus* had with his Granddaughter whom *Ruffinus* favour'd. *Ruffinus* was made Prætorian Præfect in 392. and so the date of this Letter is certainly known.

In the 53d. St. *Ambrose* testifies to *Theodosius* how much he was afflicted for the Death of *Valentinian*, which happened on the First of *March* 392, and this Letter was in the Summer following.

The Two following Letters are written to *Eusebius* who was of an Illustrious Family of *Bolonia*. In the First St. *Ambrose* acquaints him with what he had done for an Officer whom he had recommended to him, and gives him an account of the News about his Grand-son *Paustinus*. In the Second he writes to him that he had detain'd at *Milan*, *Ambrosia* the Sister of *Faustinus*. This is the Virgin to whom he had given the Veil, of which he speaks in the Book of the Institution of Virgins, publish'd in 392. This Letter was written immediately after.

The 56th. Letter is an Answer of St. *Ambrose* to *Theophilus*, who had consulted him about the difference between *Evagrius* and *Flavianus* for the Bishoprick of *Antioch*. St. *Ambrose* tells him at the begining of this Letter, that *Evagrius* had no cause to push on the Decision of this Affair, and that *Flavianus* ought to fear the event of it. He prays him to pardon these Words, which a just Grief drew from his Pen, because all the World quarrell'd about them, tho' they did not sympathize with the Grief of others. He adds, that the Council of *Capua* having referr'd this Affair to *Theophilus* and the Bishops of *Egypt*, it was like to be determin'd by a Judgment which could not be suspected of Injustice, since the Judges did not communicate with either Party, but that *Flavianus* had had recourse to the Emperour's Rescripts, to avoid being judg'd by the *Egyptians*. This made St. *Ambrose* think that *Flavian* was in the wrong, altho' he did not find the Cause of *Evagrius* very good, and he condemns very sharply the procedure of *Flavian*. But *Theophilus* having written to him that some means of accommodating this Affair might be found out, he was not averse to it, and counsels him to cite *Flavianus* yet once more, and if he persisted to refuse to appear, then to accommodate this Affair as he should think fit: Nevertheless he ought not to violate the Canons of the Conncils of *Nice* and *Capua*, and must still preserve peace with all the World, lest they should seem to destroy that which had been built up. He advertises him also, that it was convenient to write to the Bishop of *Rome*, being persuaded that he will give no decision which can displease him, because the way to maintain Peace, is to do nothing which may stir up Division among the Bishops of his own Communion. Lastly, he declares to him, that he will joyfully receive what he should determine if the *Roman* Church approve it.

The 57th. Letter about the Affair of *Bonosus* is not St. *Ambrose*'s but the Pope *Siricius*'s. For First, in it he speaks of St. *Ambrose* as a Third Person. *Bonosus*, says the Author of this Letter, *understanding your Judgment, sent to consult our Brother* Ambrose, *to know if he might return to his Church*; and this cannot be understood of any but our Holy Bishop of *Milan*. There was no other *Ambrose* Bishop at that time, and tho' there were, yet 'tis plain that he speaks of our Bishop in this place, since it was he who presided at the Council of *Capua*, of the execution of whose Judgment he was treating. Secondly, The Stile of this Letter is no ways like that of St. *Ambrose*, and is very like that of *Siricius*. Thirdly, It appears plainly that it is a Bishop of *Rome* who speaks. Fourthly, *Holstenius* has publish'd it in his Collection under the name of *Siricus*, upon the credit of the Manuscript in the *Vatican*. Neither is it to *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* that this Letter is address'd, but to *Anysius* of *Thessalonica*, and the Bishops of *Macedonia*. For tis' evident that it was written to those to whom the Council of

Capua

Capua had referr'd the Affair of *Bonosus*; and 'tis no less certain that it was referr'd to the *Macedonians*, to the Bishop of *Thessalonica*, and the other Neighbour Bishops of *Bonosus*, who was Bishop of *Naïssa* a City of *Dardania*. To convince any Man of these Two things he needs only read the beginning of the Letter. *I have read the Letters which you wrote to me concerning the Bishop* Bonosus, *wherein you desire our Opinion, either to clear up the Truth, or through Modesty only; but the Council of* Capua *having order'd that the Neighbours of* Bonosus *and his Accusers should be Judges of this Affair, and chiefly the* Macedonians, *together with the Bishop of* Thessalonica. . . . *It belongs to you who are entrusted with this Cause, to judge according to the Order of the Council of* Capua, *because you are substituted in the room of this Synod, who has chosen you to enquire into this Affair. And the same* Bonosus *having sent to consult our Brother* Ambrose, *whether he should enter into his Church, received for answer, That he should undertake nothing against your Judgment, but follow what you should Ordain, since the Synod has committed to you this Trust.* Two things are evident from these Words: First, That the Bishops of *Illyricum*, and chiefly those of *Macedonia*, were entrusted, together with the Bishop of *Thessalonica*, by the Synod of *Capua*, to enquire and judge of the Cause of *Bonosus*. Secondly, That this Letter is address'd to those who were thus entrusted. But some may say, if it be so, why does it speak of the Bishop of *Thessalonica* and those of *Macedonia* in the Third Person? Why does not the Author write thus, *The Synod of* Capua *having referr'd this Cause to you and to your Brethren*; but, *The Synod of* Capua *having thought fit, that the neighbouring Bishops of* Bonosus, *and chiefly the* Macedonians, *and the Bishop of* Thessalonica, *should enquire into and judge this Cause*, &c. 'Tis easy to answer, that the Reason is, because he relates in this place the proper Words of the Synod of *Capua*. Now it often happens, that when such Writings are alledg'd to the Judges wherein they are spoken of, the way of speaking of them is not chang'd, but they are nam'd in the Third Person, as they are in the Writings. But what is said afterwards is address'd to them, and what is related is applied to them. And this the Author of this Letter does in the next Line; *vestrum est igitur qui hoc recepistis Judicium*, &c. 'Tis needless to insist any longer upon a thing so clear; and therefore the true Title of this Letter is that which *Holstenius* has in his Collection; Siricius, *to our dear Brethren* Anysius, *and the other Bishops of* Illyricum. This Letter is no ways unworthy of this Pope as some pretend. He does not assume to himself the Judgment of a Cause referr'd to others. This is no ways contrary to the Prerogatives of the Roman Church; on the contrary, this is according to Rule and agreeable to the Canons: This is the Practice and Judgment of the ancient Popes, who had a most profound Veneration for the Decisions of Synods, and who inviolably kept the Laws of the Church.

St. *Ambrose*

The Letter 58. is written to *Eugenius*, sometime after this Tyrant came into *Italy*, that's to say, in the Year 393.

The Pagans, who had attempted thrice in vain to obtain of *Valentinian* the Restitution of the Goods which belonged to their Temple, address'd this New Emperour with the same Petition. He refused twice to grant it; but at last the great Lords of the Pagans having Petition'd that these things might be restor'd, he did it; saying, That he did not give them to the Temple, but to themselves for the Services they had done him. St. *Ambrose*, who mightily oppos'd all the Petitions of Pagans under *Valentinian*, speaks with no less Boldness to the Tyrant *Eugenius*, than he had done to *Valentinian*. He remonstrates to him, That how great soever the Power of the Emperour be, 'tis infinitely below that of God, who sees the bottom of our Hearts, and from whom nothing is hid; That he ought not to grant, for the Importunity of these great Lords, any thing prejudicial to Religion; That the Bishops would not blame him for the Gifts which he had given to the Pagans; That they did not Envy them these Goods; but they could not approve of his Authorizing, by this Grant, the Use that these Pagans would make of it to restore their Religious Worship; That it was never lawful to contribute directly or indirectly to the Worship of False Gods; That in the former Ages the Christians of *Antioch* dwelling at *Jerusalem*, being oblig'd to pay a Tax at *Antioch*, at the time of the publick Sports, would never give it, but upon Condition that it should not be employed for the Sacrifice of *Hercules*, but in other Expences necessary for the good of the Commonwealth; That if Christian Subjects being forced to obey, thought themselves obliged to do so, a Christian Emperour who was Master of his own Will, had much more reason to use the like precaution.

In the Letter 59. to *Sabinus* Bishop of *Placentia*, St. *Ambrose* makes an Encomiastick upon St. *Paulinus* and his Wife, who having sold their Goods to distribute the price of them to the Poor, had taken a Resolution to retire to *Nola*. This gives him occasion to show the Advantages of Solitude and Voluntary Poverty. This Letter was written some time before St. *Paulinus* retir'd to *Nola* at the beginning of the Year 393.

The 60th. Letter is to *Severus*; where he speaks of a Priest call'd *James*, who was come from *Persia* to retire into *Campania*, that he might serve God more quietly; as also of the Troubles and Wars wherewith his own Country was harrass'd. This Letter has relation to the War of *Eugenius* in the Year 393, or to that of *Maximus* in the Year 387.

The Letter 61st. to *Paternus* is about a point of Discipline. This Man who had been Lord Treasurer, as we learn from the Letters of *Symmachus*, and the 14th. Law *de Metallis*, had consulted St. *Ambrose*, if he could marry one of his Sons to his Daughter's Daughter, or his Grand-Daughter. St. *Ambrose* answers him, That he wonders he should ask such a Question of him; That the bare Proposal of the thing discovered that it was forbidden; That the Law of God forbidden the Marriages of Cousin-Germains, does much more strongly imply a Prohibition of this, tho' it was not by name forbidden in the Divine Law; That the Civil Laws forbid it, and that *Theodosius* forbad Marriages between Cousin-Germains; That if this Law were dispens'd with, yet it ought not to Authorize this

ſort of Marriages, becauſe a Diſpenſation is only for him that obtains it. The reaſon which he al-
St. *Ambroſe* ledges; That his Son was not related to his Grand-Daughter by the Father's ſide, but only by the Mother's ſide, proves nothing, ſince Marriage was equally forbidden between Brethren, whether they were born of the ſame Father and Mother, or of the ſame Mother and different Fathers. Laſtly, he ſays, That it would be more Advantageous to his Family, that his Son and his Daughter ſhould marry to others, becauſe by this means he ſhould have in his Family Children both by his Son and his Grand-Daugther. The Law of *Theodoſius*, which he cites, is of the Year 384. and therefore this Letter was written after that Year: 'Tis there ſaid, that *Paternus* poſſeſs'd a great Office which makes it to be placed in the Year 393. becauſe the Law which we have cited, diſcovers to us, that in this Year he was Lord High Treaſurer, *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*: But he might have been ſo before.

The Letter 62 was written by St. *Ambroſe* to the Emperour *Theodoſius*, immediately after the Death of the Tyrant *Eugenius*, who was defeated and kill'd in the Month of *September* of the Year 394. St *Ambroſe* retir'd from *Milan* when he underſtood that *Eugenius* was coming thither that he might avoid meeting this Tyrant: But aſſoon as he was gone out of *Milan*, St. *Ambroſe* returned in the Month of *July*. Some time after, the Emperour *Theodoſius* having defeated *Eugenius*, wrote to St. *Ambroſe* to return thanks to God for his Victory. This Saint made Anſwer in this Letter, That he would do it with Joy, and that he would offer up in his Name an acceptable Sacrifice to God; he praiſes the Piety of this Emperour, who did not ſeek after the Pomps of a vain Triumph, but deſired the Biſhops to offer up Sacrifices of Thankſgiving. He ſignifies to him, That he had ſatisfied his deſire; That he had carried his Letter to the Altar, and laid it upon the Holy Table, That he held it in his Hand while he was offering Sacrifice; "To the end, ſays he, that your Faith might be "made known by my Mouth, and that your Majeſties Letter might ſerve as Matter for an Epiſco-"pal Oblation. Afterwards he praiſes God for having plac'd a Prince upon the Throne who ſur-"paſs'd the greateſt Princes in Glory, and the Holieſt Biſhops in Humility. "What can be wiſh'd for, "what can be deſired more, ſays St. *Ambroſe* to him? You poſſeſs, Sir, all Vertues, you are a Prince, "of ſingular Piety and Clemency. All that can be wiſhed for, is, that God would encreaſe in you "this Piety, and that the Church which rejoyces that Innocent Men live in Peace and Tranquility, "may receive alſo the Conſolation of ſeeing the guilty abſolv'd. Show Favour at leaſt to thoſe "who have not hitherto taken Arms againſt their Prince.

The 63d. Letter addreſs'd to the ſame Emperour, followed quickly after the preceding, wherein St. *Ambroſe* begs favour for thoſe of *Eugenius*'s Party who retired into the Church after the Death of this Tyrant.

The 64th. is addreſs'd to the Church of *Verceilles*, which had loſt her Biſhop. This was not *Euſebius* who died in the Year 370, but *Limenius* who was preſent in the Year 381. at the Council of *Aquileia*. If we believe the Acts of St. *Gaudentius* of *Novara*, produced by *Mambritius* and *Bollandus* upon the 12th. of *January*, St. *Ambroſe* a little before his Death made a Journey to *Verceilles*, upon the Account of ſome Diſſention which was in the Church, which was probably about the Election of a Biſhop; and this makes ſome believe that this Letter was not written till the Year 394. But this conjecture is founded upon a very uncertain Ground; for it ſuppoſes theſe two things which are not well proved: Firſt, That what is related in the Acts of St *Gaudentius* of *Novara* is true; Secondly, That the Diviſion which obliged St. *Ambroſe* to go to *Verceilles* was about the Election of a Biſhop. It ſeems alſo that St. *Ambroſe* needed not to have written this Letter if he had been upon the place himſelf. Some have ſaid, That this Letter was not St. *Ambroſe*'s, becauſe that *Venice* is named in it: But if this Objection be of any force, we muſt alſo for the ſame reaſon reject the Second Anſwer to *Symmachus*, which is without all Controverſy St. *Ambroſe*'s. This Letter has his Stile and his Air of Writing; he has inſerted into it ſome entire Fragments of his own Commentary upon the Goſpel of St. *Luke*, and upon *Pſalm* 119. He exhorts the People and the Clergy, to put an end to the Diviſions which diſtracted them about the Choice of a Biſhop. He admoniſhes them afterwards to beware of harkening to two Men, called *Sermatian* and *Barbatianus*, who were gone out of a Monaſtery of *Milan* to go and lead a licentious Life at *Verceilles*, where they preached, That no Merit belonged to Abſtinence, nor any peculiar Grace to Virginity; and that it was a folly for any one to Faſt and Mortify himſelf. St. *Ambroſe* makes a long Digreſſion to refute theſe Errors, and to prove the Uſefulneſs of Abſtinence and Faſting, and the Excellency of Virginity. Afterwards he returns to his Subject, and treats of the Qualities of the Perſon who ought to be choſen for a Biſhop. One of the Principal is, that he has had but one Wife. St. *Ambroſe* extends this Prohibition to thoſe alſo who had Contracted a Firſt Marriage before their Baptiſm. Thus he underſtands the Paſſage of the Apoſtle St. *Paul*, and the Cannon of the Council of *Nice*. There is alſo another Condition obſerved by St. *Paul* concerning the Qualifications of a Biſhop, That he ſhould not be a Novice, or one lately Inſtructed in the Faith. Becauſe they tranſgreſſed this Rule in the Ordination of St. *Ambroſe*, he is forced to juſtify himſelf, by ſaying, That he was Ordained againſt his Will. At laſt, he ſays, If great Care ought to be taken in the Choice of a Perſon who is to be plac'd upon any Epiſcopal Throne whatſoever, it was a Matter of the greateſt Importance to place a Perſon of ſingular Merit upon the Epiſcopal Throne at *Verceilles*, becauſe the Biſhop of this Church was entruſted with the Care of a Monaſtery and a Church, and ſhould joyn the Practice of a Religious Life with the Vertues of a Biſhop, as St. *Euſebius* did, who was the Firſt that united theſe two things in the Weſt, by ſetting Monaſteries in a City, and governing his Church without renouncing a Monaſtick Life. Here he enlarges upon the Praiſes of this Holy Biſhop, and of *Denys* of *Milan*, the Companion of his Baniſhment, and of the troubles he endured for the Defence of the

the Faith of the Church; and proposes the Life of their Disciples as a Pattern. He concludes with a long Digression, wherein he recommends the Practice of Christian Vertues, and chiefly of Poverty, of Abstractedness from the World, of Retirement, of Patience, of Charity, of Abstinence, *&c.* I believe that this last Part has been since added, and that it is a Fragment of some Discourse of St. *Ambrose*, for it has no relation to, nor connexion with what goes before. St. *Ambrose*

These are all the Letters of St. *Ambrose*, of which the Order and Time can be guessed at: The others which compose the Second Class, are without Date, tho' they have prefixed the Figures to these as well as to those that went before. The Nine first contain Expositions upon some places of *Exodus*, of *Liviticus*, of *Deuteronomy*, and the Prophet *Micah*. These were formerly among the Commentaries upon the Holy Scripture. The Four following are upon some places of the Epistles of St. *Paul*.

The 78th. address'd to *Marcellus*, is about an Arbitration which he had made of a Law-Suit that this Bishop had with his Sister. St. *Ambrose* was nam'd Judge of it, but he chose rather to make an end of it, to the content of the two Parties, by giving his Sister the Revenue of the Land in Question during her Life only.

In the 79th. he exhorts his Clergy not to neglect the Functions of their Ministry, because of the Pains, the Fatigues, and the Persecutions they were to endure in the discharge of their Duty.

The 80th. 81st. 86th. 87th. 88th. 89th. 90th. 91st. and 92d. are short Letters about private Affairs.

The 82d. is address'd to a sick Man call'd *Bellicius*, who was converted in the heighth of his Disease, and was now beginning to recover. St. *Ambrose* tells him, That God had sent this Sickness to save him; That he had smitten him with this Infirmity to Cure him by it; That God knowing his inward Thoughts, saw that he had good Designs, but delayed the Execution of them, and therefore God had sent him this Sickness to serve for an Admonition to him; That he had already begun to know the Lord, but he was moreover to receive the Sacraments, by which the World is redeemed, Sins are pardon'd, and Grace is distributed. The following Letter is address'd to the same sick Person, wherein he compares his Cure to that of the Man born blind. In Letter 84th. and 85th. he discourses of the true Treasures and the true Riches, and shews, that none but the Rich are truly happy.

The Funeral Orations upon *Valentinian* and *Theodosius* are plac'd here after the Letters of St. *Ambrose*. They are two admirable Pieces. The first was spoken in 392. in the presence of the Sisters of *Valentinian*. There he praises the Vertues of this Prince, and makes no doubt but he was saved, tho' he died before he receiv'd Baptism, because Faith and a desire of receiving the Sacrament supplied the want of it. He promises to pray for him. In the Second he particularly commends the Clemency, the Charity and Humility of *Theodosius*, and concludes with comforting his Son *Honorius*, before whom he spoke this Funeral Oration in 395.

It cannot be doubted but St. *Ambrose* compos'd Hymns. St. *Austin* in his Book of Confessions, *B.* XII. and in his Book of Musick, *Ch.* 9. commends the Hymn at Vespers, *Veni creator omnium*, as St. *Ambrose*'s. He could not be deceiv'd in this Matter; but since he has not set down the number of those Hymns which St. *Ambrose* compos'd, it may be doubted whether all those that go under his name be his. Those for the daily Office appear to be more certainly his than the rest; to which may be added the Hymns upon the *Hexameron*. As for the rest they appear to be in another Stile, and of another Author. 'Tis certain that the *Vexilla Regis* is none of his.

St. *Ambrose* wrote also other Books which we have not at present. We have already observed, That we have not now his Genuine Book of the Sacraments and of Philosophy, which is many times cited by St. *Austin*. The same Saint cites also the Commentary of St. *Ambrose* upon *Isaiah*, in *B.* IV. to *Boniface*, *Ch.* 62. and *B.* II. against *Julian*. St. *Ambrose* also mentions it in his Commentary upon St. *Luke*. We have not now his Instruction to *Fritigilda*, which *Paulinus* mentions in his Life, nor the Instructions to *Pansophius*.

But if some Books of St. *Ambrose* have been lost, it must be confess'd that several have been attributed to him which are none of his.

First, There have been put out under his Name a multitude of Sermons, and not one of them his: There are 36 of them printed among those of St. *Maximus*, 14 in the Appendix to St. *Austin*'s Sermons, two of which are in both places. That which was the 64th. is the Translation of a Discourse of St. *Basil* upon the words of the Rich-man, *I will pull down my Barns*. The Exposition upon *Ch.* 31st. of the *Proverbs* is the 37. Sermon of St. *Austin*. The *Benedictines* did not think fit to print these, and so have only given the Catalogue of them. As for the rest which are 58 in number, they have publish'd them here, but they confess that they are none of St. *Ambrose*'s: And indeed there is not one of them which has his Stile and Air.

Secondly, There have been attributed to St. *Ambrose* some Treatises upon the Scripture, which having no Author that is known, have passed under several Fathers Names. Such is the Discourse of the Dignity *of the Humane Nature*, which has also been attributed to St. *Austin*, under the Title of *a Discourse about the Creation of the First Man*, which *Alcunius* cites under the name of *Albinus*, and which has also been inserted entire into the Book *of the Spirit and the Soul*. Such is also the Discourse *of the forbidden Fruit*, which is amongst the Sermons of St. *Austin*. The Discourses upon *Elijah* and *Elisha* are the Sermons of St. *Maximus*.

The Treatise of *the* 42 *Stations or Encampings of the People of* Israel *in the Desart*, belongs to a pretty ancient Author, but it has not the Stile of St. *Ambrose*. It uses the Latin Translation of *Origen*'s Works.

I say

I ſay nothing here of a Commentary upon the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, which is believed to be *Hilary*'s the Deacon, becauſe I have ſpoken of it in another place. St. *Ambroſe*

The Commentary upon the *Revelation* is a very late Author's. He ſpeaks of the *Lombards* and cites St. *Gregory*. The name of the Right Author of this Commentary has been found at the end of on *Oxford*-Manuſcript, where it is attributed to *Berengaudus*, whom *Dionyſius Carthuſianus* cites with *Bede* and *Haimo* in his Commentary upon *Ch.* 10. of the *Revelation*.

To theſe Treatiſes may be added the *Harmony of the Evangeliſts*, *St.* Matthew and *St.* Luke *concerning the Genealogy of Jeſus Chriſt*; for it is not St. *Ambroſe*'s, becauſe this Author follows the Hypotheſis of *Africanus*, which St. *Ambroſe* does not.

Thirdly, There are many Treatiſes upon different Subjects attributed to St. *Ambroſe*, whoſe true Authors have been diſcover'd.

The Treatiſe *upon the Creed*, which is better entituled in the Manuſcripts, a Treatiſe of *The Trinity and the Reſurrection*, is a Collection of Paſſages out of many Fathers. They have taken the liberty in the *Roman* Edition to make abundance of Additions and Alterations in it. The *Benedictines* will publiſh it juſt as it is in the Manuſcripts.

The Book of the Divinity of the Son is probably *Gregory*'s of *Bætica*, as we proved, when we gave an account of the Works of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*.

The Treatiſe entituled *of the Myſteries of* Eaſter, is a Sermon which is improperly divided into Chapters. It has rather the Stile of St. *Maximus* than of St. *Ambroſe*.

The Book *of the Sacerdotal Dignity* is *Gerbertus*'s, under whoſe Name it has been publiſhed by *Mabillon* in his *Analecta*, where 'tis Entituled *A Paſtoral Book*.

The Diſcourſe *to a Virgin conſecrated to God* has a quite different Stile from that of St. *Ambroſe*.

The Book *of the Vocation of the Gentiles* and *the Epiſtle to* Demetrias, are certainly none of St. *Ambroſe*'s, ſince they were written ſince the Birth of the *Pelagian* Hereſy. We ſhall afterwards examine to whom they ought to be attributed.

The 29th Letter to *Florianus* is of a Stile much below St. *Ambroſe*'s, and therefore it is rejected in the Appendix. 'Tis yet more Evident, that the 34th. which is a Relation of the Martyrdom of St. *Agnes*, is the Work of an Impoſter, who having written a Hiſtory as he himſelf pleas'd, added at the end, that it is St. *Ambroſe*'s, who having found theſe Memoirs in ſome Divine Books, wrote them for the Edification of the Church and addreſs'd them to ſome Virgins. The Stile of this Relation ſhows the Author to be a Lyar, and diſcovers the Impoſture.

The 35th. Letter about the Invention of the Reliques of St. *Gervaſius* and St. *Protaſius* relates this Event after quite another manner than St. *Ambroſe* does in his Genuine Works, and is written in a Stile perfectly different from this Father's. The ſame may be ſaid of the 55th. Letter concerning the Invention of the Reliques of St. *Vitalis* and St. *Agricola*, which ends with this Form, *Regnante Chriſto domino Noſtro*, &c. which belongs to the Ages much later than St. *Ambroſe*.

The Two Prayers *for preparation to the Euchariſt*, have nothing at all of St. *Ambroſe*'s Stile. There are found in ſome Editions, many other Meditaions and Prayers of the ſame nature, but none of them have any thing of his Genius.

The Book *of the Combate between Vertues and Vices*, which is alſo attributed to St. *Auſtin* and St. *Leo*, belongs to *Ambroſius Autpertus*, as is obſerved in the Preface to this Work, which is in the Appendix to the Sixth Book of the New Edition of St. *Auſtin*, p. 219.

The Expoſition of Faith is an Abridgment of St. *Ambroſe*'s Book addreſs'd to *Gratian*.

The Book *of the Holy Spirit* is a fragment of ſome more conſiderable Treatiſes written by a Latin Author ancient enough, but different from St. *Ambroſe*.

The Book *of Penance* belongs to one *Victor*, as the laſt Words prove invincibly, *nulla Capiaris oblivione Victoris*. The very name of *Victor* is at the beginning of two ancient Manuſcripts. We ſhall enquire afterwards, whether it ought to be aſcribed to *Victor Cartennenſis*, or to *Victor Tunonenſis*.

'Tis not neceſſary to advertiſe the Readers that the Book *of the Life and Manners of the Brachmans*, is a ridiculous Diſcourſe, and unworthy of St. *Ambroſe*, or any Man of Senſe.

The Stile of St. *Ambroſe* is not always equally lofty, for he proportions it, as St *Auſtin* obſerves, to the things of which he treats. Sometimes it is very careleſs, ſometime 'tis very labour'd, but 'tis always grave, ſerious and noble; it is ſhort, ſententious, and full of ſtrokes of Wit. The Books that he took pains about, are very ſmart, exact and ingenious, and adorned with Figures and Flowers of Rhetorick. His other Books, tho' they are leſs poliſh'd, yet have their ſweetneſs and ſmoothneſs. His words are choice enough, and his Expreſſions noble. He deverſifies his Matter with a wonderful variety of Thoughts and Words. He is ingenious at finding out the moſt natural and agreeable Turns of Wit. He does not raiſe great Paſſions, but he diverts and inſtructs his Reader, and inſinuates himſelf into his Mind and Heart by ſoft and pleaſant Strains. Neither does his Diſcourſe want ſtrength, and he urges a thing vigorouſly, when there is occaſion. As he joined together in the conduct of his Life a wonderful Generoſity and Inflexibility with all poſible prudence and moderation, ſo he knew how to temper in his Diſcourſes the boldneſs and authority of a Biſhop, with an Air of ſweetneſs and charity. We have already declared, what Judgment is to be made of his Commentaries upon the Scriptures, and of his dogmatical Books. His Books of Morality are certainly the moſt excellent of all his Works, and thoſe he took moſt pains about. There are ſome of his Letters which may paſs for Maſters-peices in their kind, particularly thoſe which are written to the Emperours. He who wrote them, plainly diſcovers that he was a Man brought up at Court, who has ſuch a free

a free Air and easie Way as is not acquired but by seeing the World. The Conduct and Policy which he observed in the greatest part of his Actions and Discourses, discover likewise that he had been accustomed in his younger Years to manage great Affairs, and that he had a Genius very fit for them. He was but moderately learned, chiefly in Ecclesiastical Matters. But being born in an Age of great light, and having great sharpness of Wit, and a wonderful facility of Speaking, and labouring continually in reading the Fathers that went before him, he became able to discharge with honour all the Offices of his Ministry, and to fill up the place which he possess'd to his Credit. St. *Ambrose*

The First Edition of the Works of St. *Ambrose*, is that which *Maffelius Venia* an *Augustin* Monk, dedicated to the General of his Order, *Ambrosius Ceranus*. The Time and Place where it was printed is not set down. The Second was made at *Milan* by the care of a Priest call'd *Cribellius* in 1490. These Two Editions contain but a few Treatises.

[*Cornelius à Brughem* in his *Catalogue of Books, printed before the Year* 1500. mentions an Edition of St. *Ambrose*'s Epistles in 1480. in fol. *Of the Generation of* John. at *Augsbourg* 1476. *Of the Flowers of Wisdom*, Homilies: *Venice* 1488. They seem by their Titles to be Spurious.

Two Years after, *Amerbachius* Printer at *Basle*, made another Edition of the Works of St. *Ambrose* much larger, but less correct. This Edition was reprinted in 1606, by *Johannes Petri* Printer also at *Basle*, who added only a great Index.

Erasmus undertook a New Edition of the Works of St. *Ambrose*, which he divided into Four Tomes. The First contains the Moral Works; The Second the Polemical; The Third the Orations, Epistles and Sermons; and the Last, the Commentaries upon the Old and New Testament. These Four Tomes make Two Volumes. This Edition was many times reprinted at *Basle*, and once at *Paris* by *Chevallon*, in 1529.

The Edition of *Erasmus* being full of Faults, *Johannes Costerius* a Regular Canon of *Louvain*, took the Pains to Correct the Text of St. *Ambrose* by many Manuscripts, and caused it to be printed anew at *Basle*, in 1555, by *Episcopius*.

At last, *Gillotius* having gathered together a much greater Number of Manuscripts, caused the Works of St. *Ambrose* to be Printed at *Paris* by *Merlinus*, in the Year 1568. This Edition, tho' more correct than all the rest, was little minded, and in a manner wholly Eclipsed, by the Reputation of the *Roman* Edition, which followed soon after. Cardinal *Montaltus*, who was afterwards *Sixtus* V. desiring to purchase Reputation among Learned Men, undertook it while he was but a Cordelier and General of his Order, and caused Four Volumes of it to be published when he was Cardinal, in 1579, 1580, 1581, and 1582, which he Dedicated to *Gregory* XIII.

The 5th and 6th appeared under the Pontificate of *Sixtus* V. in 1585, and 1587.

This Edition was after that the Pattern and Original which was follow'd in the Edition at *Paris*, begun in 1586, and in all the other following Editions which are very numerous. 'Twas believ'd that a Book publish'd with so much ostentation, valued so much by the Publisher, printed in so fine a Character, and with so much care, must needs be very correct and perfect; and yet this Edition has many essential Defects which disfigure it. The first and most considerable is, that the *Roman* Correctors took the liberty to change, cut off, and add what they thought fit, tho' they had no ground to do so from the authority of any Manuscript. They carried it so far, as that they did not content themselves with changing those Terms which appear'd to them harsh, and substitute others according to their fancy, but they also blotted out or added whole Lines and Periods, which made a perfectly new Sence, and altogether different from the Authors, as may be seen by comparing the ancient Editions and the last, with this *Roman* Edition. Secondly, They have inserted into the Commentaries the whole Text of the sacred Books, which hinders the reading the Commentary of St. *Ambrose* without interruption. Thirdly, The Order which they have observ'd in ranging the Books is not natural. They have placed some Letters amongst the Treatises upon the Holy Scripture, they have separated Books that ought to follow one upon another, as the complaints of *Job* and *David*, whereof one is placed in the first Tome, and the other in the Second; they have joined together some Treatises which should be separated; they have rank'd the Letters in a very inconvenient Order. In a word, by too much refining they have corrupted all, as *Faber* says in a Letter to *Fronto Ducæus*, where he observes the Faults of the *Roman* Edition of St. *Ambrose*. " I have found, says he to him, that *nimis* " *fuere ingeniosi in alieno opere*, as in the Books *De interpellatione sanctorum Job & David*, which they " have separated, and placed the one in the First Tome, and the other in the Second, to do which they " were forc'd, *quædam interpolare minime probabili exemplo*. They have done the same *in priore Apolo-* " *gia David*; and in the Second that which is yet worse; for because it is said in the 8th Ch. that the " History of *David* with *Bathsheba* is not a History (which shows that this Book is none of St. *Am-* " *brose*'s, but some *Origenists*, who allegorizes almost all the Bible, as also it seems by the reading of " it, to be collected and made up out of Two or Three Sermons) they have taken away Five or Six " Lines, which are found in all the ancient Editions. Fourthly, they have made a particular Class of some suppositious Books, and yet they have left a great number of them amongst St. *Ambrose*'s Genuine Works. There are some of them whose Forgery is so manifest, that they cannot be pardoned, such as the Books *de Arbore interdicta*, *de dignitate Hominis*, *de Vocatione Gentium*, the Epistle *ad Demetriadem in Symbolum Apostolorum*, and many others. They must be very ignorant who believed that these Books were written by St. *Ambrose*, and very impudent who left them among his Genuine Works, when they had a Design to make a distinct Class of those that were suppositious.

St. *Ambroſe*

In ſhort, the Authors of this Edition have made no Notes, or mark'd in the Margin any different Readings; they have only added at the end the Theological and Scholaſtical diſſertations of one *Ferdinand Wellofilus*, which are a Collection of common Places and Paſſages of the Fathers upon different Queſtions, which are of no uſe at all for underſtanding the Text of St. *Ambroſe*.

Now to commend the Edition of the *Benedictines*, I need only ſay that they have avoided all the Faults of the *Roman* Edition: For Firſt, they preſcrib'd it to themſelves as an inviolable Law, that they would put nothing into the Text, which ſhould not be approved by the authority of one or more Manuſcripts, and they have chang'd nothing without acquainting us with the Manuſcript upon whoſe authority they did it. Secondly, They have taken out the Text of the Bible, and left the Commentary of St. *Ambroſe* continued after the ſame manner as he compos'd it, excepting only the diſtinction of Chapters, which is a great eaſe to the Reader. Thirdly, The Order which they obſerved in ranging the Books is plain and natural. Beſides this, they have noted the Chronology of each Diſcourſe, and rang'd the Letters according to the order of their Dates. Fourthly, They have not placed any Book that is manifeſtly ſuppoſititious among thoſe that are Genuine. They have only left among them the Second Apology of *David*, and the Books of the Sacraments, becauſe many learned Men believe them ſtill to be St. *Ambroſe*'s, tho' it is very probable that they are not. Laſtly, They have prefix'd to every Chapter moſt uſeful Arguments, wherein they diſcover the time of each Work, and give the Contents of it. They have alſo placed at the bottom of the Pages, ſuch Notes as contain not only the different Readings of the Manuſcripts, but alſo very uſeful explications of difficult places in the Text, whoſe Sence they have diſcovered by the moſt diligent Enquiries with all poſſible exactneſs, without diverting to Queſtions which are of no uſe for underſtanding the Text of their Author. All which give us occaſion to ſay, That this Edition of the Works of St. *Ambroſe* is as perfect as it can be, and comes no ways ſhort of the late Edition of St. *Auſtin*.

St. EPIPHANIUS.

St. *Epiphanius*.

ST. *EPIPHANIUS* was born about the Year 332, in a Village of *Palæſtine*, near the City of *Eleutheropolis*, and paſs'd his Youth in the Monaſtick Diſcipline with St. *Hilarion*, *Heſychius*, and other Monks of *Palæſtine*. He tells us (*Hereſy* 26.) that he was like to have been ſurprized by the Hereticks called *Gnoſticks*, but God of his mercy preſerved him. He was choſen afterwards about the Year 366. Biſhop of *Salamis*, the Metropolis of the Iſle of *Cyprus*. In this place he acquired very great Reputation for his Ability and Piety; and happy had it been for him if he had not been engaged towards the latter end of his Life in the Diſpute of St. *Jerom* and *Theophilus* againſt the Origeniſts, which diſturbed his Repoſe, and created him a great deal of trouble. This Diſpute begun in the Year 391, between St. *Epiphanius* and *John* of *Jeruſalem*. He accus'd this *John* of maintaining the Errors of *Origen*, and going into *Palæſtine*, he Order'd *Paulinianus*, the Brother of St. *Jerom*, Deacon and Prieſt, in a Monaſtery which was not under his Juriſdiction. *John* of *Jeruſalem* complained immediately of this Action of *Epiphanius*, which was contrary to the Canons and the Diſcipline of the Church. St. *Epiphanius* maintains what he had done in a Letter which he wrote to *John* of *Jeruſalem*, produced by St. *Jerom*. This Conteſt farther exaſperated their Minds, which were already very much embitter'd upon the Subject of *Origen*; both the one and the other endeavour to engage *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* on their ſide. This Biſhop, who ſeem'd at firſt to favour the Party of *John* of *Jeruſalem*, at laſt declared againſt *Origen*, condemned his Books in a Council held in 399, and perſecuted all the Monks that were ſuſpected to favour his Memory. Theſe Monks being perſecuted, withdrew to *Conſtantinople*, where they were well enough received by St. *John Chryſoſtom*: Which ſo enraged *Theophilus*, that from that time he conceived a Mortal hatred againſt St. *Chryſoſtom*, as plainly appeared by his following Actions. Nevertheleſs *Theophilus* deſiring to ſtrengthen his Party, acquainted St. *Epiphanius* with what he had done againſt *Origen*, and ſollicited him to do the ſame thing. This Saint who had a great averſion to this Author, aſſembled a Council in the Year 401, in the Iſle of *Cyprus*, wherein he caus'd the Reading of *Origen*'s Books to be condemned, and wrote to St. *Chryſoſtom* to exhort him to do the ſame thing: But he not approving of this Propoſition, St. *Epiphanius* came himſelf to *Conſtantinople*, by the perſwaſion of *Theophilus*, to cauſe the Decree of the Council of *Cyprus* to be put in execution there. *Socrates* and *Sozomen* tell us, That before he entered into the City, he Ordain'd a Deacon in a Church depending upon the Juriſdiction of *Conſtantinople*. Cardinal *Baronius* thinks that theſe two Hiſtorians are miſtaken, and that the Ordination of *Paulinianus* made by *Epiphanius* in *Palæſtine*, in a place depending upon *John* of *Jeruſalem*, gave them occaſion to think, that St. *Epiphanius* had ordained a Deacon in the Dioceſs of St. *John Chryſoſtom*. Howſoever this be, St. *Epiphanius* being come to *Conſtantinople*, would not hold communion with St. *Chryſoſtom*, and alſo did all that lay in his power to procure from the Biſhops that were then at *Conſtantinople*, an approbation of the Sentence of the *Cyprian* Council againſt *Origen*; but he found but very few willing to Sign the Condemnation of one that died in the Communion of the Church, upon ſo ſlight Grounds, and others refus'd to approve his Sentence. St. *Epiphanius* not being able to compaſs his Deſign by theſe means, reſolved to be preſent the next day in the Church of the Apoſtles, and there with a loud Voice, before all the People, to condemn the Books of *Origen*, and all thoſe who defended them. But when he was in the Church, St. *Chryſoſtom* advertiz'd him by his Deacon *Serapion*, that he he went about a thing that was againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, and which would expoſe him to great danger, for it was to be feared, that the People would make ſome Sedition, of which he himſelf being the Author could

could not complain, after he had been forewarn'd of it. This consideration put a stop to St. *Epiphanius*'s undertaking, who was so transported against *Origen*, that when the Empress *Eudoxia* had recommended to his Prayers the younger *Theodosius*, who was seized with a dangerous Sickness, he caus'd this to be told her for an answer, That the Prince her Son should not die, provided she would shun the conversation of *Dioscorus* and the other Defenders of *Origen*. The Empress being surprized with this Answer, which she did not expect, ordered him to be told, That if God would take away her Son, she would submit to his Will, That it was in his power to take him away as he had given him to her, but it was not in the power of St. *Epiphanius* to raise him again from the dead, since he suffered his Archdeacon to die a little while ago. The heat of St. *Epiphanius* was a little abated, after he had spoken to *Ammonius* and his Companions, whom *Theophilus* had driven away for *Origenism*, for those Monks gave him to understand that they maintain'd no heretical Doctrine, and that he had condemned them with too much precipitation. Whereupon he departed immediately to return to *Cyprus*, and 'tis said, that being ready to embark, he told the Bishops that conducted him to the Ship. *I leave you the City, the Palace, and the Theatre.* He died by the way, or soon after his Return in 402, or 403. St. *Epiphanius.*

The Books of St. *Epiphanius*, are First of all his great Work of Heresies, entituled, Παναρειον or Κιβωτον, that's to say, an Apothecary's-Shop, or Repository of Remedies, which is divided into three Parts.

The first contains the Heresies before Jesus Christ, which amount to 46; The Second contains 23 of them, and the third eleven of them, so that this Book contains in all the History of 80 Sects or Heresies, the Catalogue of which may be seen.

The Letter written to two Monks serves for a Preface to the whole Work, and for an Answer to a preceeding Letter of those two Monks, wherein they had desired St. *Epiphanius* to set down in writing what he knew concerning Heresies. He seems to have begun this Book in the Year 374, and ended it about the Year 376. In it he not only gives an Account of the History, and the Errors of the Sects and Heresies he writes about, but he also refutes them as well as he could, and employs one part of his Discourse in establishing the Doctrine of the Church.

The Second Work of St. *Epiphanius* is his *Anchoratus*, so called, because it is a sort of an Anchor to which the Faithful may adhere. In it he explains the Doctrine of the Church concerning the Mystery of the Trinity; he proves the Resurrection, and refutes the Errors of the *Pagans*, the *Manichees*, *Sabellians* and *Arians*. This Book was compos'd for the Christians of *Pamphylia* before the foregoing Book, as appears by the Preface, where it is noted, that he wrote it in the 10th Year of the Emperour *Valens*, which is the Year 373.

After this Book followed his *Anacephalæosis*, or Recapitulation, which is an Abridgment of his great Book of Heresies.

In the Treatise *of Weights and Measures*, having explained the signification of the different Notes that are to be found in the Greek Bibles, he gives an Account of the Weights, the Measures, and the Money of the Jews, and other Nations. In this Book he gives a Catalogue of the Canonical Books of the Old Testament, according to the Canon of the Jews, which comprehends the Books of *Ruth* and *Esther*, and he writes the History of the Greek Versions of the Text of the Bible. He is of Opinion, that the Lxx Interpreters translated all the Books of the Bible, and that they made this Version in separate Cells, being all inspir'd of God to compose it after the same manner. There is much Learning in this Treatise.

The *Physiologus* is a Treatise of a very particular Design, wherein he relates the true or false Properties of many Animals, and draws from them some Moral Reflections, good and bad, as well as he could.

The Treatise *of the Twelve precious Stones*, which were upon the Pontifical Garments of the High-Priest of the Jews, is an Historical Explication of the Names, the Figures and Properties of those precious Stones. This Book has been cited by St. *Jerom*, in his Epistle 288 to *Fabiola*, and *Anastasius* has made an Abridgment of it, which goes all under the Name of St. *Epiphanius*.

The Book *of the Life and Death of the Prophets*, is a Collection of an infinite Number of Fables and Trifles, which cannot be attributed to St. *Epiphanius*, without making him pass for an Enthusiast.

If we believe *Petavius*, the Nine Sermons, and the Treatise *of the Mysteries of Numbers*, which bear the Name of St. *Epiphanius*, are not this Bishop's of *Salamis*, but some other Bishops who had the same Name, as may be discerned by the Stile, and other Marks. Tho' I cannot perceive that these Books are more unworthy of St. *Epiphanius* than the *Physiologus*, neither do I find so great a difference in the Stile.

The Letter to *John* of *Jerusalem*, translated by St. *Jerom*, is made up of two Parts.

The first is about the Difference which he had with this Bishop about the Ordination of *Paulinianus*, and concerning *Origenism*.

The Second contains a particular Matter of Fact, which St. *Epiphanius* relates in these Words: "When I entred into the Church of a Village of *Palæstine*, called *Anablatha*, I found there a Curtain hanging over the Door, whereon was painted an Image like that of Jesus Christ, or some Saint, (for I do not remember whose Picture it was, says he): But seeing in the Church of Christ the Image of a Man, contrary to the Authority of Holy Scripture, I tore it, and gave Order to the Church-Wardens, to bury some dead body in this Curtain, and when they answer'd me in a murmuring way, that if I would tear this Curtain, I should give them another, I promised to do it, and now I perform my Promise.

The

St. *Epiphanius.*

The Firſt Part of this Letter is acknowledged by all the World as a Genuine Piece, but *Baronius*, *Bellarmin*, and ſome others are of Opinion, that this Second is ſuppoſititious. They alledge many conjectures to prove it, but I find only three that have any probability.

The Firſt is, That this Letter ſeems to be finiſhed before the Relation of this Hiſtory.

The Second is, Becauſe St. *Epiphanius* condemns in it the Uſe of Images as a thing contrary to the Authority of the Holy Scripture, and the practice of his own time.

The Third, Becauſe St. *Jerom* making an Extract out of this Letter in his Epiſtle to *Pammachius*, ſays nothing concerning this Hiſtory. Theſe Reaſons, however, appear not to me ſtrong enough to make me abſolutely reject this Letter. For firſt, altho' what concerns the principal Subject of the Letter was ended before the Second Part, yet it cannot be proved that the Letter was perfectly finiſh'd: And St. *Epiphanius* being to write of this particular Matter of Fact, could not do it, before he had made an end of the principal Affair, for which he wrote; beſides, no Man can ſay, that this Letter was finiſhed before theſe Words which are at the end of all, *I wiſh that God may have you in his Holy keeping*; Secondly, It is very poſſible that the Uſe of Images, which had been very rare in the firſt Three Ages of the Church, was not yet eſtabliſhed in *Palæſtine* and *Cyprus*, and that St. *Epiphanius*, who was a plain zealous Man, thought it was dangerous to introduce it, and that he alſo ſpoke in too rigid a manner againſt this Cuſtom. Laſtly, Tho' St. *Jerom* has tranſlated this whole Letter, yet he cites no part of it in his Apology to *Pammachius*, but thoſe places which were to his purpoſe, neither does he recite the whole Firſt Part, and we muſt not wonder, that he ſays nothing of the Second, ſince it did no way concern the Conteſt which he had with *John* of *Jeruſalem*. Moreover, this Second Part has the ſame Stile with the Firſt, and it agrees well enough with what St. *Epiphanius* ſays in *Hereſy* 27th. It is cited by the Author of the *Caroline* Books, *B.* IV. *Ch.* 25. and 'tis ſaid in the 7th Council, *Art.* 6. *Tome* 5. that the *Iconoclaſts* alledg'd, St. *Epiphanius* was of Opinion that Images ſhould be taken away, which cannot be meant of any other place but of the Second Part of this Letter. Thus tho' it be true, as appears by the Teſtimony of *Gregory Nyſſen*, in his Panegyrick upon *Theodorus*, and in his Treatiſe of the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit, that from that time there were Pictures in ſome Churches, which repreſented the Hiſtories of Scripture, and of the Actions of Saints and Martyrs, yet it cannot be ſaid, that this Cuſtom was general; and it muſt be confeſs'd that St. *Epiphanius* diſapproved it, tho' without reaſon, and that he was miſtaken in ſaying, that it did not agree with the Holy Scripture: For I believe that it would be contrary to the Candor and Sincerity that Religion requires of us, to attempt to give another Sence to his Words.

Laſt of all, we have a Letter of St. *Epiphanius* written to *Diodorus* of *Tarſus*, related by *Facundus* in *Ch.* 3. of his IVth *B.* which is a kind of a Preface to the Book of the Precious Stones in the Garment of the Jewiſh High-Prieſt, written by St. *Epiphanius* at the requeſt of this Biſhop.

I ſhall not ſtay to give an Abrigment of St. *Epiphanius*'s Treatiſe of Hereſies, which would be an uſeleſs and troubleſome Buſineſs: I ſhall content my ſelf with producing in ſhort the chief Dogmes, which he eſtabliſhes contrary to the Errors of the Hereticks.

Firſt, He proves the Unity of God againſt the *Pagans*, againſt the *Valentinians*, the *Marcionites* and the *Manichees*. He eſtabliſhes his Immenſity, his Almighty Power, his Infinite Greatneſs, his Spirituality, and his other Attributes, by refuting the Hereticks who believ'd the contrary. He proves the Myſtery of the Trinity, the Divinity of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, in many places, and chiefly in *Hereſies* 62, 69, 71, 74, and in his *Anchoratus*.

In *Heref.* 23 and 65, he ſhows that God created the World and the Angels.

He endeavours to explain in *Heref.* 70. in what Sence Man is created after the Image of God.

In *Heref.* 24 and 36. he ſhows that Sin is not a Subſtance, and that God is not the Author of it.

He explains the Myſtery of the Incarnation in *Heref.* 77, 30, 69. and ſhews that Jeſus Chriſt was one Perſon only, compos'd of the Divine and Humane Nature.

He ſhows in *Heref.* 77. that the two Natures were not confounded after their Union, and that they kept their own Properties.

He proves the Reſurrection in *Heref.* 42 and 64. and in the *Anchoratus*, where he maintains, That the ſame Fleſh which we now have ſhall be raiſed again.

He holds in *Heref.* 24 and 46. that Jeſus Chriſt deſcended into Hell, to ſave thoſe that had lived well and believed in God.

He teaches that the Soul is immortal and Spiritual, and that it partakes of Happineſs after Death. See what he ſays about this in *Heref.* 75.

In *Heref.* 8. he ſhows, that the Sacraments of the New Law are more Excellent and more Efficacious than thoſe of the Old.

In his *Anchoratus* he ſpeaks of Faith as a Diſpoſition neceſſary to the receiving of Baptiſm. Tho' he ſpeaks obſcurely enough of the Euchariſt in his *Anchoratus*, yet he ſays enough of it to make us underſtand, that it is truly the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, and that the words of his Inſtitution are to be underſtood according to the Letter, and without any Figure or Metaphor.

He acknowledges Free-will in *Heref.* 16. and yet he admits the Grace of Jeſus Chriſt.

In *Heref.* 30. he ſpeaks of the wonderful Effects of the Sign of the Croſs.

He proves the neceſſity of Eccleſiaſtical Traditions in many places, and chiefly in *Heref.* 69, 51, and 57. He ſhows the neceſſity and uſefulneſs of Faſting, in the *Heref.* 33, 75, and 80. There he obſerves. That the Chriſtians faſted during Lent, and every *Wedneſday* and *Friday* in the Year, except after *Eaſter* until *Whitſunday*. He ſuppoſes that theſe Feaſts are of Apoſtolical Tradition, and that

that we are obliged to observe them, and that we must abstain from Meat in the time of a Fast: He says, that in the last Week of Lent, nothing but plain Meats were eaten, that's to say, Bread and Water, and that many pass'd the two or three last Days without eating any thing. St. Epiphanius.

In *Heref.* 76. he establishes the distinction between Bishops and Priests.

He ranks in the Order of the Clergy, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and Sub-Deacons. The other Ministers, according to him, do not partake of Holy Orders.

These inferiour Ministers are the Readers, Deaconesses, Exorcists, Interpreters, Diggers and Porters.

He observes in *Heref.* 75. and at the end of *Heref.* 80. that the Assemblies of People in the Church were chiefly made on *Wednesday*, *Friday*, and *Sunday*, and also in some places on *Saturday*: That Baptism and the Celebration of the Eucharist were attended with such Ceremonies as were prescribed either by the Gospel, or by the Tradition of the Apostles. That Mattins were sung, and that Christians kneeled at their Prayers Day and Night. That Hereticks, Idolaters, and all those that were guilty of enormous Crimes, were excommunicated, and their Oblations not received.

He proves Prayers for the Dead in *Heref.* 76. and refutes *Aërius* who said the contrary.

He says, in *Heref.* 78. that the Saints enjoy eternal Happiness, and that we ought to honour them.

As to the honour due to the Virgin, he keeps a middle way between the *Antidicomarianites*, who dishonoured her, by saying, That she had other Children besides Jesus Christ, and the *Collyridians* who ador'd her. He says, That we must honour her, but we must not adore her, nor give her superstitious Worship. Read the Heresies 78 and 79: where he testifies, that there is nothing certainly known concerning her Death, nor about the place where her Body is: yet it seems that his Piety induces him to believe that she never died, but he does not deliver this Opinion as a certain Truth.

He praises Virginity in *Heref.* 4, 8, 5, 61, and 80. but he does not condemn Marriage, nor yet second Marriages. There he declares plainly, that the Church does not admit any to Holy Orders, but such as will observe Celibacy, and that she excludes Bigamists.

And yet he confesses in *Heref.* 59. that there are still some place, where the Deacons and Subdeacons do not observe Celibacy; but he adds, That this is done upon sufferance, because of the weakness of Men, or the multitude of People. Lastly, he says, That 'tis a great sin to violate the Vow of Virginity.

He says in *Heref.* 59. That a Husband, who having divorced his Wife for Adultery *or some other Crime*, marries another, is free from Sin, according to the Authority of Scripture; and that he is nowise unworthy of Eternal Life, and that he ought to be permitted to continue in the Church.

He would not have Women undertake any Ecclesiastical Function; and he proves in *Heref.* 79 That this ought not to be suffered. In short, If one would have an abridgment of the Doctrine, the Discipline, and the Morality of St. *Epiphanius*'s time, he needs do no more but read what St. *Epiphanius* has said of them at the end of his Book about *Heresies*, where he has given the sum of them, so as to serve for an Antidote against all the Errors of Hereticks.

Any one that gives the least attention to the Doctrine of *Epiphanius*, which we have now represented, may easily perceive, that there is scarce any Author, who has made more Observations concerning the Doctrine and Discipline of the ancient Church, contrary to the Errors and Disorders of the Innovators of our Times: Yet they have endeavoured to find in his Writings part of their Errors, and have had the boldness to impute to us the Heresies which he refutes. This *Scultetus* has done with so much fraud, that 'tis impossible to read what he says about it, without conceiving an indignation against so unjust a procedure. He says First, That St. *Epiphanius* rejected the Invocation of Saints and the Virgin, in *Heref.* 79. but this is a meer Cheat. St. *Epiphanius* indeed there condemns those who adored the Virgin, and gave her that Soveraign Worship which is due to God only: He maintains that the Church neither adores the Virgin nor the Saints, although she has an Honour and due Respect for them. And do not we say the same thing? And can any other Doctrine be imputed to us, without a palpable Calumny? But, says *Scultetus*, St. *Epiphanius* says, in *Heref.* 75. That the Saints were prayed for, and therefore he cannot approve of their Invocation. This Author methinks should not have cited a place which so plainly opposes the Opinions which he maintains, which I shall set down entire. " As to what concerns the custom of reciting the Names of the Dead, what can " there be more useful and more reasonable? This is, First of all, to perswade those that are present " that the Souls of the Dead are still alive, and that they are not annihilated. Secondly, To make us " apprehend that there is good hopes of those that are dead. Moreover, Prayers are not only useful to " the Living, but also to the Dead; tho' they do not blot out all their Sins, yet they serve to expiate " some of those which they committed in this Life. We mention Sinners and Righteous Men; Sinners, " to implore the Mercy of God for them; Righteous Men, such as the Fathers, the Patriarchs, the Pro- " phets, the Apostles, the Evangelists, the Martyrs, the Confessors, the Bishops, the Hermites, and " all Christians, that Jesus Christ may be distinguished from all his Creatures, and that we may learn " to give to him the Worship that is due to him only; being perswaded that we ought not to " equal Mortal Men to the Lord, whatsoever Righteousness and Holiness they have. After this he " distinguishes Two Sorts of Saints, those that are on Earth, and those that are in the Heavenly *Jeru-* " *salem*; and he adds, that the Church does well to observe a Custom which she has received by Tra- " dition; That the Laws of our Fathers cannot be subverted, nor the Commands of our Mothers de- " spised without impiety, according to the Words of *Solomon*, *Hearken, my Son, to the Commands of*

St. *Epiphanius*. " *your Father, and do not reject the Admonitions of your Mother.* Jeſus Chriſt our Father has taught us his Doctrine by Writing and by Tradition: The Holy Church our Mother has Laws which cannot be deſtroyed nor abrogated. Nothing is greater nor more admirable than thoſe Laws, and all thoſe who would oppoſe them, are ſelf-convicted of an Error. Can there be any thing more agreeable to the Doctrine of the Church, or more contrary to the principal Errors of the Innovators! *But*, ſays *Scultetus*, *theſe* Arabian *Women who offered Sacrifices to the Virgin, did not believe her Eternal or Infinite.* But tho' theſe Women did it, it may be, think ſo, yet they gave her that Worſhip which is due only to a Sovereign and Infinite Being, by offering Sacrifices unto her, and placing all their Religion in doing ſo.

The Second Objection of *Scultetus* is about the uſe of Images, which St. *Epiphanius* condemns in his Letter to *John* of *Jeruſalem*, and which he ſeems alſo to reject as contrary to the Law of the Goſpel. We have already anſwered this Objection, by ſaying, That indeed St. *Epiphanius* ſeems to have diſallow'd the uſe of Images, becauſe this Cuſtom was not then eſtabliſhed in his Country: But 'tis certain, and *Baillée* himſelf does not deny it, that 'twas then eſtabliſh'd in other Churches. Moreover, we muſt not wonder, that St. *Epiphanius* ſpeaks of it as a Practice contrary to the Goſpel: For 'tis well known, that thoſe who ſpeak againſt Cuſtoms that were not eſtabliſhed in their own time, do ſometimes make uſe of expreſſions too vehement in rejecting them; as for Example, St. *Cyprian* condemning the practice of thoſe who did not put Water into the Chalice, makes no ſcruple to ſay, that their Cuſtom was contrary to the Law of Jeſus Chriſt. Many other Examples may be brought of this nature, and the *Calviniſts* themſelves muſt acknowledge, that the ſame is to be ſaid of the Words of St. *Epiphanius*, ſince they cannot affirm, that the uſe of Images, whereof St. *Epiphanius* ſpeaks in this place, is contrary to the Goſpel.

[This Excuſe is not defenſible: The New Teſtament is as ſevere againſt Idolatry, as the Old was, and more, if we conſider upon how much nobler Foundations it is conſtituted. Neither is this only a Matter of Diſcipline; or if it is, yet it is not an indifferent thing. The Church of *Rome* was very ſenſible of this, when ſhe removed the Second Commandment out of the Catechiſms, by which ſhe orders her People to be inſtructed. If the Abuſes occaſioned by placing of Images in Churches, had never been more dangerous than they were in St. *Epiphanius*'s time, this Plea might have been valid, for thoſe Churches which ſtill deſired to retain them; or if the Church of *Rome*, in her Offices, Catechiſms, and Directions to her Prieſts, to guide them in their Sermons and Exhortations to the People, had taken all poſſible care to obviate all Objections whatſoever which could have been raiſed, ſhe could then have juſtly urged it. But Mr. *Du Pin* knows very well, that her conſtant connivance, if not Command, has long ago precluded her from all Pretences of this nature. She knows alſo, that the Laiety in all Countries of the Communion of the Chuch of *Rome*, where they have not been over-aw'd by a promiſcuous converſation with Proteſtants, have without check paid as groſs Acts of Worſhip to ſenſeleſs Images of (ſometimes fictitious) Saints, as ever the Heathens of old paid to the Images of *Jupiter* or *Apis*; and laſtly he knows, that his Church is in this point wholly inexcuſable, becauſe it has eſtabliſh'd, and ſtill maintains, a Cuſtom not mentioned at leaſt, if not expreſly forbidden in Scripture; unknown to the pureſt Ages of Chriſtianity, oppoſed as contradictory to the Law of God at its firſt appearance, by Men eminent for Piety and Learning, in the Time when they lived, and received as Saints by the Catholick Church after their Deaths, and abuſed by the ignorant People to the baſeſt Idolatry and Superſtition, in all Conntries where-ever it has been allowed.]

The Third thing which *Scultetus* pretends to find in the Books of St. *Epiphanius* contrary to the Doctrine of the Church, is the condemnation of the Sacrifice of the Maſs. He endeavours to prove that St. *Epiphanius* never taught it, beacuſe he ſays, in *Hereſ.* 55 and 42. That Jeſus Chriſt came to aboliſh the Sacrifices of the Old Law, by one Sacrifice only. The meaneſt Writer of Controverſies would eaſily anſwer this Objection, by ſaying, Firſt, That St. *Epiphanius* in this place ſpeaks only of the Sacrifices of the Old Law, to which he oppoſes that of Jeſus Chriſt upon the Croſs, and that he does no ways exclude the unbloody Sacrifice of the Euchariſt. Secondly, That the Sacrifice of the Euchariſt, properly ſpeaking, is not different from that upon the Croſs, and that it is always the ſame thing which is offer'd, tho' after a different manner. Thirdly, That St. *Epiphanius* acknowledges, that the Prieſthood of *Melchiſedeck*, and conſequently the Sacrifice, continued under the New Law.

The Fourth Objection of *Scultetus* is about Purgatory. He affirms that St. *Epiphanius* did not own it, becauſe he ſays in *Hereſ.* 59. *That no Man can change his Condition after his death*, and *that then there is no more room for any one to repent and to merit Glory.* But does it follow from this Propoſition which all Catholicks acknowledged, that thoſe who died in a State of Damnation could no longer hope for Salvation? Does it follow, ſay I, that thoſe who died in the Guilt of ſome ſmall Sins could not be purified from it after their deaths? All the Catholicks deny this Conſequence, and St. *Epiphanius* has plainly owned it to be falſe, when he ſays in *Hereſ.* 75. that Prayers for the Dead could expiate ſome Sins, tho' they could not blot out great Crimes.

The Fifth Dogm of the Church which *Scultetus* oppoſes by St. *Epiphanius*, is the Vow of Continence: But the Paſſages which he alledges, are ſo far from oppoſing it, that they plainly diſcover that it was uſed in the time of this Father, and that the Church puniſh'd thoſe very ſeverely who violated it.

The laſt is about Baptiſm adminiſtred by Women. St. *Epiphanius* in *Hereſ.* 76. ſays, that it was not lawful for them to Baptize. Do not we ſay ſo alſo? But does it follow from thence that their doing of it in a caſe of neceſſity is not valid? This is what *Scultetus* ſhould prove, but it is not the Queſtion of St. *Epiphanius*.

Theſe

These are the false Consequences which *Scultetus* urges to oppose the Doctrine of the Church: But he does so grosly calumniate us, by charging upon us the detestable Opinions of some Hereticks, that he must have renounced all kind of Modesty, to affirm such manifest Untruths with so much boldness. St. *Epiphanius.*

First of all, He accuses us of making Women the Ministers of Baptism, as the *Marcionites* did. But where is it found that Women do administer Baptism in our Churches? They never do it but in great necessity. And 'tis no Heresy to say, That in this Case all Sorts of Persons may administer it, 'tis no part of the Error of the *Marcionites* or the *Collyridians.*

Secondly, He charges us with trusting to Revelations and Miracles, as the *Nazarens* did. But it is an Error to believe that there have been, and that there may be Revelations? That Man must have no Religion who says the contrary. The Hereticks are to blame for feigning false Miracles, but the Catholicks are not to blame for believing true ones.

Thirdly, He compares Transubstantiation to the Enchantments of *Marcus,* who having put white Wine into a Glass, made one part of the Liquor appear Red as Blood, another of a Purple colour, and a Third of a Blew. But what Affinity is there between our Holy and Sacred Mysteries, and the Diabolical Actions of these Ministers of *Dæmons?* What relation has our Doctrine to these Impieties?

The other accusations of *Scultetus* are no less Calumnious: For do we offer the Sacrifice of the Mass in honour of the Virgin, as the *Collyridians* did? Do we teach that Concubinate is lawful, as *Aëtius* did? Do we adore Idols? The Images to which we pay a bare External Respect, are they the Images of *Simon* and *Helena,* and other Hereticks? Are they not the Images of Jesus Christ and the Saints, to whose Persons only all our Worship is referred? Do we condemn Marriage and the use of Meats, as *Tatian* and the *Encratites* did? Do we believe that the Souls of the Wicked may be delivered out of Hell? In short, Is there any Similitude between all the Errors of the Hereticks related by St. *Epiphanius,* and the Doctrines of the Church? Do not we believe what the Church believed in his Time? Do not we Practise what she Practis'd? On the contrary, are not they the Innovators of our Time, who take part with the Hereticks of that Time against the Church? Do not they deny with *Aëtius* the distinction of Bishops and Presbyters? Do not they find fault with Prayers for the Dead, and the Honour which is given to Saints? Do not they condemn the Celibacy of Priests, the Vow of Virginity, the Monastick State, the Ceremonies, the Sign of the Cross, the Solemn Prayers? These are the Errors which St. *Epiphanius* condemns in the Hereticks of his Time, and which he refutes by the Practise and Tradition of the Church. And therefore that may justly be charged upon the Sect of Innovators, which *Scultetus* has unjustly charged upon Us, *That their Doctrine is a Garment patched together, and made up of many Pieces, and many Shreds of ancient Heresies.*

[Who is most in the right, *Scultetus* or our Author, will not be hard to judge, to any one who is acquainted with *undisguis'd* Popery; I say *undisguis'd,* because Mr. *Du Pin* goes upon the palliating Principles laid down by the Bishop of *Meaux.* There is no question but the Seeds of those Corruptions began to spring up in St. *Epiphanius*'s Time, which afterwards grew so high in the Church; yet tho' they honoured the Dead who died in the Lord, and prayed for those who were guilty of lesser Sins, they neither called upon the former, nor believed a middle State for the latter, if St. *Epiphanius*'s Authority be decisive, in those places which are faithfully urged by *Scultetus.* In the case of Images in Churches, Mr. *Du Pin* gives it up, because St. *Epiphanius* says expressly that it was against the Word of God: *Contra auctoritatem Scripturæ.* In the Matter of *the Real Presence* our Author and *Petavius* before him, lay great Stress upon a Passage in the *Anchoratus* Sect. 57. wherein speaking of the Sacrament as Christ's Body, he says, ὁ γὰρ μὴ πιστεύων εἶναι αὐτὸν ἀληθινὸν, ὡς εἶπεν, ἐκπέπτωκε τῆς ζωῆς· ἤγουν τῆς σωτηρίας; *He that does not believe it to be the real Body of Christ, as he said himself, is fallen from Grace and Salvation.* Now to know the full meaning of St. *Epiphanius* in these Words, we are to go back to the beginning of Sect. 55. There he raises a dispute of the meaning of *Adam*'s being created after the Image of God, since there is so great disparity between their Natures: And he finds that this cannot be Physically understood, because to be κατ' εἰκόνα, and to be κατὰ φύσιν, are very different things; yet since it said in Scripture, we ought to believe it.

Now to prove this Assertion he urges the Institution of the Lord's Supper: Our Saviour said (says he) of the Bread, This is my Body; and yet it is not like Flesh in the least, so as to resemble Christ's Humane Nature, nor like the invisible Godhead, so as to resemble his Divinity: But because he has said it, we must not dispute it, since if we should dispute it, we should fall away from Grace and Salvation. This Illustration therefore cannot in reason be carried farther then the Original Question, which it was designed to illustrate; wherefore seeing that St. *Epiphanius* confessed, that when we say, that Man is created *after the Image* of God, we do not mean that he is created *after the Nature* of the Invisible, Incomprehensible, and Spiritual God; it is plain that his illustration of the Eucharist is equally figurative as this Expression of Man's Nature, which he is now explaining.

But it is needless to run through all the rest of the Articles here particularly named. St. *Epiphanius*'s Authority is decisive of neither side; if it were, we must believe that divorces are lawful for other Causes besides Adultery, and that such Divorces perfectly dissolve the Marriage Bond; for this was his Opinion, as apperrs from *Heref.* 59. Sect. 4.]

The Stile of St. *Epiphanius* is neither beautiful nor lofty, on the contrary, it is plain, low, and mean, it is rude and unpolished; without Coherence and Connexion. He had much Reading and Learning, but no Faculty of discerning, nor exactness of Judgment. He often uses such things for Reasons to refute the Hereticks which are False. He was very Credulous and not very Accurate.

St. *Epiphanius.*

Accurate. He is mistaken in many places about very considerable Matters in History, and gave Credit too lightly to false Memoirs, or to uncertain Reports. He had much Zeal and Piety, but little Conduct and Policy.

The Works of St. *Epiphanius* were printed in Greek at *Basil* by *Oporinus* in the Year 1544. *Cornarius*'s Translation of this Work, had been published and printed at *Basle* by *Robertus Ullinterus*, in 1533. The same Printer caused it to be re-printed in 1540, and in 1545. It was also re-printed at *Paris* in 1564, at *Basle* in 1560, and in 1578, and at *Paris* in 1612. with some Corrections of *Jacobus Billius*: The *Physiologus* was published by *Gonsalus Ponce de Leon* at *Rome*, in 1587. and printed afterwards at *Antwerp* in 1588. The Book *of the Lives of the Prophets*, was published in Greek and Latin with the Notes of *Zehennerus*, and printed at *Scheuling* in 1612. The Oration *concerning the Burial of Jesus Christ*, was published in 1614.

At last, *Petavius* undertook a New Edition of St. *Epiphanius*, and having found the Version of *Cornarius* very defective, he made a new one, which he printed at *Paris* in 1622, together with the Greek Text review'd and corrected by two Manuscripts. This Edition is in Two Volumes *in Folio*; The First contains the Book of Heresies; The Second contains the Anchorate, the Recapitulation, and the Book of Weights and Measures, of *Petavius*'s Translation, the *Physiologus*, the Book of Precious Stones, and the Homilies, together with the ancient Versions of his Works, the Letter to *John* of *Jerusalem*, the Life of St. *Epiphanius* written by *Metaphrastes*, and the Animadversions of *Petavius*, which are rather Critical and Chronological Dissertations, than Notes to explain the Text of St. *Epiphanius*. This Edition was lately re-printed in *Germany*.

PHILO CARPATHIUS.

Philo Carpathius.

'TIS said in the Life of St. *Epiphanius*, that this Saint Ordain'd one named *Philo*, Bishop of *Carpasus*, and that he committed to him the Charge of making Ordinations at *Salamis* in his absence. Upon this Ground it has been thought that this Man lived in the time of St. *Epiphanius*, and that he was Bishop of the Isle of *Carpathus*, which is upon the Coast of *Asia*, near the Isle of *Crete*: There has also been attributed to this *Philo*, a Commentary upon the *Canticles*. But all these Suppositions are found to be False: For, First, The Life of St. *Epiphanius*, which is fill'd with an infinite Number of Fables and Forgeries, was written by a Modern *Greek*, and has no Authority, and can no more prove that there was a *Philo*, than that there was a *Papius*, or an *Eudemon*, or a *Polybius*, or a great many others, whom this Fabulous Author has feign'd to embellish his History. Secondly, He does not say, that this *Philo* was Ordain'd Bishop of the Isle of *Carpathus*, which was not under the Jurisdiction of St. *Epiphanius*, but of a City call'd *Carpasus*, which was in the Isle of *Cyprus*, mentioned by *Pliny*. Now it does not appear that this City ever had a Bishop. In short, the Commentary upon the *Canticles*, is the Invention of some Modern *Greek*, which contains many things that may be found word for word in the Commentary of *Gregory* the Great. And tho' it were true that these places were added, as some Authors have suspected, we cannot lay much stress upon an Author so little known as he is

Q. JULIUS HILARION.

Q. Julius Hilarion.

THIS Author, of whom the Ancients make no mention, has written a Chronicle, or a Book of the Duration of the World, from the beginning of the World down to the Year 397. which makes it credible that he lived about this time. He speaks of a Treatise which he wrote about *Easter*; he believed that the World would be at an end 470 Years after Jesus Christ, and he held the Opinion of the Millenaries, which still confirms his Antiquity. His Treatise was first published by *Pithæus*, and inserted into the *Bibliothecæ Patrum*.

OF

OF THE

COUNCILS

Held in the

Fourth AGE of the *CHURCH.*

Of the Pretended COUNCIL *of* Sinueſſa.

The *Council of Sinueſſa*, 303.

THIS Council of *Sinueſſa* would be the firſt Council held in this Century, if the Acts which bear the Name of this Council were Genuine: But it notoriouſly known among all Learned Men, that they are ſuppoſititious, and that the Story on which they are grounded is a Fable, which has no Foundation in Antiquity. It is ſuppos'd in thoſe Acts, That this Council was aſſembled at the beginning of the Fourth Century, upon occaſion of the Fall of the Pope *Marcellinus*, who had ſacrificed to Idols; That it was held at *Sinueſſa* in a Grotto; That there were 300 Biſhops preſent at it; That the Pope *Marcellinus* having confeſs'd his Fault condemned himſelf, and that the Biſhops durſt not depoſe him, till he had pronounced Sentence upon himſelf. None of theſe things have any probability: For, Firſt, This Hiſtory is not founded upon the Teſtimony of any ancient Author: Secondly, St. *Auſtin* in his Book againſt *Petilian*, Ch. 16. defends the Innocence of *Marcellinus* againſt this *Donatiſt*, who accus'd him of having ſacrificed to Idols; and therefore to maintain the Acts of the Council of *Sinueſſa*, is to take part with the *Donatiſts* againſt the Church. 'Tis more probable that they were forg'd by the *Donatiſts*, to ſupport the Accuſation which they had made againſt this Holy Biſhop without Foundation. Thirdly, What probability is there that 300 Biſhops could be aſſembled in the time of the moſt violent Perſecution that ever the Church ſuffer'd, ſince it was all that *Conſtantine* could do, to aſſemble a Council ſo numerous, at a time when the Church was flouriſhing, and much farther ſpread. And certainly, if the Catholick Biſhops at the Conference of *Carthage* could reject the Acts of the Council of *Cirtha*, by ſaying, that there was no probability that a Council could be aſſembled in the time of Perſecution, tho' this Council was but a Synod of ſome *African* Biſhops, What may not be ſaid againſt a Synod that is ſuppos'd to conſiſt of 300 Biſhops? Fourthly, The Stile of theſe Acts is barbarous. and contain many things which do not in the leaſt belong to *Marcellinus*'s Age. They make the Pagan High-Prieſt (whom they ridiculouſly call the *Pontiff* of the *Capitol*) produce what is ſaid in Holy Scripture of the Adoration of the Wiſe Men, to prove that Incenſe ſhould be offered to Idols. 'Tis ſaid, That 100 Chriſtians run to the Temple of *Veſta* to ſee Incenſe offered by *Marcellinus*: Their Names are recited, which are either almoſt all *African* Names, or ſuch as are ridiculous. 'Tis ſaid that 72 were choſen out of them to be Witneſſes of this Pope's Sacriledge. The ſynodical Part of theſe Acts is no leſs contrary to the Diſcipline of that time, than what is ſaid of the Fall of *Marcellinus* is contrary to the Hiſtory. 'Tis ſaid, That *Marcellinus* at firſt denied his Fault; That the Synod declared to him he ſhould be his own Judge; that the Biſhops durſt not judge him, becauſe it was not lawful for any body to judge the Firſt See. I ſay nothing of the Impertinences, which ſome of the Biſhops are made to ſay, that are unworthy of the Gravity and Simplicity of the Chriſtians of the Firſt Ages. Laſtly, He who forg'd theſe Acts, ſays, that *Dioclefian* was inform'd of the Condemnation of *Marcellinus*, when he was at War with the *Perſians*; which yet further diſcovers that theſe Acts are not ancient, ſince the *Perſian* War was ended before the Perſecution of *Dioclefian*, from whence it follows, that he who fell into ſo groſs a Fault in Chronology, is a modern Author, unworthy of any Credit.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Cirtha.

Of *Cirtha*, 305.

THE Violence of the Perſecution being a little abated in *Africk*, in the Year of Jeſus Chriſt 305. ſome Biſhops of *Numidia* aſſembled at the beginning of the Month of *May* in the City of *Cirtha*, in the Houſe of one *Donatus*, becauſe the Churches were not yet reſtor'd. The occaſion of this Synod was the Ordination of a Biſhop into the See of the City of *Numidia* in the room of *Paul*. The Biſhops which were preſent there, were *Secundus* of *Tigiſis*, *Donatus* of *Maſcula*, *Marinus* of *Aquæ Tibilitanæ*, *Donatus* of *Calama*, *Purpurius* of *Limata*, *Victor* of *Garbis*, *Felix* of *Rotarium*, *Nabor* of *Centurio*, and *Secundus* the younger. A Biſhop call'd *Menalius* would not be preſent for fear of being accus'd and convicted of having ſacrificed to Idols. Theſe Biſhops, who were afterwards

The *Councils.*

the Heads of the *Donatist* Faction, accus'd one another mutually in this Council, and all of them fearing lest they should be convicted of the Crimes of which they had accus'd one another; they pardon'd one another, referring themselves to the Judgment of God: After which they ordained *Silvanus* Bishop of *Cirtha*. You have the Acts of this Council in St. *Austin*, in his Third Book against *Cresconius*, Chap. 27.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Alexandria, *under* Peter *Bishop of that Church.*

Of *Alexandria* 306.

IN the Year 306. *Peter* of *Alexandria* held a Council, wherein he deposed *Meletius*, being convicted of having sacrificed to Idols. We have not the Acts of this Council, and we know nothing more in particular of it.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Eliberis *or* Elvira.

Of *Eliberis* or *Elvira*, 305.

THE place [a] and time [b] of the Council of *Eliberis* are very uncertain. Some have thought that this Council was assembled in the City of *Gallia Narbonensis*; others say, that this City was in *Bætica*; and the most Learned think that this City of *Eliberis* was the same with *Granada*. As to the time, some Authors have placed it at the end of the Third Century, others have remov'd it unto the end of the Fourth, but the most probable Opinion is, that it was assembled at the beginning of the Fourth Century, before the Councils of *Arles* and *Nice*, about the Year 305. The little Order that is observed in the Canons of this Council, the great variety of Rules that are to be found in it, and the multitude of Canons about different Matters, make some Learned Men think, probably enough, that the Canons attributed to this Council are an ancient Code, or an ancient Collection of the Councils of *Spain*. However this be, it cannot be doubted, but these Canons are very Ancient and very Authentick.

The Discipline which they establish is very rigorous.

In the 1st Canon they are depriv'd of Communion, *i. e.* of Absolution, even at the point of Death who have voluntarily Sacrificed to Idols after they were baptized.

The 2d establishes the same Penalty against those, who taking upon them after their Baptism, the Office of Priests to False Gods, were obliged to offer up Sacrifices to Idols by themselves or others, and who have also encreased their Guilt by Murders or Adulteries.

The 3d moderates this Penalty to those who have only caused profane shows to be represented, and grants them Communion at the point of Death, provided they put themselves under Penance, and that they do not afterwards fall into Adultery.

The 4th is, That if the Catechumens cause themselves to be chosen Priests to false Gods, and act in profane Shows, their Baptism shall be delayed for three Years.

The 5th imposes Seven Years Penance upon a Woman that shall beat her Servant-Maid in such a manner, that she dies within three Days after, if the Woman had a design to kill her; and Five Years Penance if she had no such design: She is acquitted if the Maid dies more than Three Days after.

In the 6th Canon it is ordain'd, That Absolution shall be refus'd even at Death, to him who shall kill another by Treachery.

The 7th is, That those who relapse into Adultery after they have undergone Penance, shall not be received even at Death.

The 8th subjects a Woman to the same Penalty, who has forsaken her Husband without cause, to marry another.

The 9th declares, That 'tis not lawful for a Woman, tho she has forsaken her Husband, because of Adultery, to marry another; and that if she does it, she ought not to be admitted to Communion, till he whom she has married be dead, or at least till the extremity of Sickness make it necessary to grant it her.

The 10th allows Husbands to be Baptiz'd who have forsaken their Wives, and Wives who have forsaken their Husbands for Adultery, while they were Catechumens. But if a Christian Woman marries a Man who has forsaken his Wife without reason, the Canon ordains, That the Communion of the Church shall be refus'd her, even at the point of Death.

The 11th ordains, That Baptism shall be delay'd for the space of Five Years to a Catechumenes who has married a Husband that had divorc'd his Wife without cause.

[a] *The Place.*] The Name of this Council is very various; Some call it *Libertinum*, others *Elibertinum*, others *Heberitanum*, and some *Eliberinum*; but the more common Name is *Eliberitanum*, or *Illiberitanum*. The ancient Geographers mention only Two Cities call'd by this Name, whereof one was in *Gallia Narbonensis*, and the other in *Bætica*. 'Tis thought that the first is *Perpignan* and the other in all probability is the City of *Granada*. The First was destroy'd in the time of *Pliny* and *Mela*, and 'tis no wise probable that the Bishops of *Spain* should come so far to hold a Council. Wherefore it is much more probable that this Council was held at the *Spanish Elvira*, i.e. *Granada*.

[b] *The Time.*] Those who said that this Council was held after the Year 400. affirmed what is manifestly false, since at that time the enjoining Penance for those who had sacrific'd to Idols, was not debated: The same Reason proves that there is no probability that it was assembled after the Council of *Nice*. It seems to have been called before that of *Arles*; but I do not believe that it was called before the Persecution of *Diocletian*. There is more probability, that it was assembled when the Persecution ended in the West, and when *Diocletian* had abdicated the Empire in the Year 304.

The

The 12th Canon denies Communion at death to Women who proſtitute their Daughters.

The 13th ſubjects to the ſame Penalty the Virgins conſecrated to God, who ſpend their Life in Licentiouſneſs, but it grants Abſolution at the Point of Death to thoſe who do Penance for their Fault. The *Councils.*

The 14th treats Virgins with much moderation who have loſt their Virginity, if they marry thoſe who have abuſed them; for it ordains, That they ſhould be reſtored to Eccleſiaſtical Communion at the end of One Year, without being oblig'd to do Penance; but then it impoſes Five Years Penance, if they have had to do with other Men.

The 15th and 16th forbid the Faithful to beſtow their Daughters in Marriage upon Pagans, Jews or Hereticks, how great ſoever the number of Virgins be among Chriſtians; and it Ordains, That the Fathers who do it ſhall be ſeparated from Communion for the ſpace of Five Years.

The 17th denies Abſolution, even at the Point of Death, to thoſe who give their Daughters in Marriage to the Prieſts of falſe Gods.

The 18th forbids Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, to leave their Churches to exerciſe Merchandize, and go to Fairs; but it allows them to Traffick in their own Province, and to ſend their Children, their Friends and their Servants to trade in Foreign Countries.

The 19th ordains, that Communion ſhall be refuſed, even at the Point of Death, to Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, who have committed Adultery.

The 20th declares, That a Clergyman who is diſcovered to take Intereſt, ſhould be depoſed and removed: That the ſame Crime ſhould be pardoned in a Layman if he promiſes to amend it, but if he relapſes he is to be caſt out of the Church.

The 21ſt Canon is, That if any Inhabitant in a City ſhall be abſent from the Church for three *Sundays* together, he ſhall be ſeparated from Communion for ſome time, to ſignifie that he has been puniſhed for his Fault.

The 22d declares, That he who has abandoned the Church, to go over to a Sect of Hereticks, ſhall not be received back into the Church again, till he has done Penance for Ten Years: As for thoſe who were Children when they were entred into an Heretical Sect and return to the Church, The Canon ordains, that they ſhall be received without any delay.

The 23d declares, That the ordinary Faſts ſhall be obſerved except in the Months of *July* and *Auguſt*, becauſe of the weakneſs of ſome of the Faithful.

The 24th forbids thoſe to be admitted to Sacred Orders, who have been Baptiz'd out of their own Country, becauſe their Life is not known.

The 25th declares, That Credit ſhall not be given to the Letters of a Confeſſor, but only to Letters of Communion.

The 26th forbids Faſting on *Saturdays*.

The 27th forbids Biſhops and Clergymen to have in their Houſes ſtrange Women.

The 28th forbids Biſhops to receive Preſents from thoſe that are not in the Communion of the Church.

The 29th forbids to recite at the Altar the Names of thoſe that are poſſeſs'd, and does not permit them to make any Offering themſelves in the Church.

The 30th ordains, That the Orders of Sub-deacon ſhall not be given to thoſe who have committed Adultery in their Youth, leſt they ſhould riſe to a higher Degree, and that thoſe who have been Ordained ſhall be degraded.

The 31ſt declares, That thoſe may be admitted to Communion who have committed Adultery after Baptiſm, provided they have fulfilled their Canonical Penance.

The 32d declares, That when any Perſon fall ſick, they ought to be received into Eccleſiaſtical Communion by the Biſhop; but yet if the ſickneſs be violent, the Prieſt may grant them Communion, and even the Deacon if the Biſhop command him.

The 33d Canon preſcribes Celibacy to Prieſts and Deacons.

The 34th Canon is very obſcure: It declares, That Wax-Candles are not to be lighted in the Cœmiteries, becauſe we muſt not diſturb the Spirits of the Saints. Some underſtand by the Spirits of the Saints the Souls of the Dead: I think that it is more natural to underſtand by it, the Repoſe of the Spirits of the Faithful that are alive and may be troubled with a great multitude of Lights in the day-time.

The 35th redreſſes a dangerous Abuſe; it is ſet down in theſe Words. " We have thought fit to " hinder Women from ſpending the Night in the Cœmeteries, becauſe oftentimes under pretence of " praying they commit in ſecret great Crimes.

The 36th has very much exercis'd Divines. Thus it is expreſſed, " We would not have Pictures " placed in Churches, leſt the Object of our Worſhip and Adoration ſhould be painted upon the " Walls. Many Explications have been given of this Paſſage, but to me it ſeems better to underſtand it in the plaineſt Sence, and to confeſs that the Fathers of this Council did not approve the uſe of Images, no more than that of Wax-Candles lighted in full day-light: *But theſe things are Matters of Diſcipline, which may be uſed or not, without doing any prejudice to the Faith of the Church.*

The 37th Canon permits Baptiſm to be given at the Point of Death to thoſe who are acted by an Evil Spirit, and to Catechumens, and does not deprive them of Communion if they be faithful. Provided, adds the Canon, That they do no not publickly light Lamps. This addition is very abſcure, and there is no great neceſſity of explaining it.

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The 38th declares, That a Chriſtian who is neither Penitent nor Bigamiſt, may Baptize in a caſe of Neceſſity, thoſe who are on a Journey, being at a great diſtance from a Church, upon Condition that he preſent him to the Biſhop if he ſurvive, to be perfected by Impoſition of Hands.

The 39th ordains, That Impoſition of Hands ſhall not be deny'd to Pagans who deſire it after they are fallen into ſome Diſeaſe, provided they have led an honeſt Life. This Canon muſt be underſtood of that Impoſition of Hands, by which Pagans were plac'd in the Rank of Catechumens, which this Council calls making them Chriſtians.

The 40th forbids Land-Lords to allow their Farmers or Receivers what they have given for Idols; and if they do it, it impoſes upon them a Penance of Five Years.

The 41ſt declares, That the Faithful muſt be admoniſhed not to ſuffer Idols in their Houſes.

The 42d ordains, That thoſe who give in their Names to be entred into the Church, ſhall be Baptiz'd two Years after, if they lead a regular Life; unleſs they are obliged to relieve them ſooner upon the account of any dangerous Sickneſs, or that it is judg'd convenient to grant them this Grace ſooner becauſe of the fervor of their Prayers.

The 43d forbids the Celebration of the Feaſt of *Whitſunday* before *Eaſter.*

The 44th allows a Woman to be received who has formerly led a lewd Life, when ſhe is converted, and would be made a Chriſtian, after ſhe has renounc'd her Sins.

The 45th allows Baptiſm to be given a Catechumen, tho he has been long abſent from Church.

The 46th Impoſes ten Years Penance upon one of the Faithful, who has lived long in the practice of the ſame Sin, which it looks upon as an Apoſtacy.

The 47th ordains, That if one of the Faithful, who has a lawful Wife, has committed many Adulteries, fall Sick, and promiſe to commit this Sin no more, Communion ſhall not be deny'd him; but if after his Recovery he relapſe in his Sin, it ſhall never more be granted to him.

In the 48th it is ordain'd, That the Baptiz'd ſhall not put any more Money into the Boxes or Baſons, as was commonly done, leſt it ſhould be thought, that the Prieſt gave for Money what he had freely received. It adds, That not the Prieſts but the Miniſters ſhall waſh the Feet of the Baptiz'd.

The 49th forbids thoſe who poſſeſs an Eſtate in Land, to ſuffer the Fruits of it to be bleſs'd by the Jews.

The 50th ordains, That thoſe who eat with Jews ſhall be ſeparated from the Church.

The 51ſt forbids to admit into the Clergy thoſe who return from Hereſy, and pronounces the Sentence of Depoſition againſt ſuch if they are Ordain'd.

The 52d declares thoſe worthy of an Anathema, who publiſh Deformatory Libels.

The 53d declares, That a Perſon excommunicated cannot be received but by the Biſhop who excommunicated him, and forbids all others to receive him into Communion without the conſent of his own Biſhop.

The 54th ordains, That thoſe Pagans ſhall be ſeparated from the Church for three Years who have violated their Promiſe of Eſpouſals, unleſs one of the Parties contracted be found guilty of ſome Crime which hindered them from Marriage.

The 55th declares, That they ſhall be received into Communion at the end of two Years who were Prieſts of Falſe Gods, who have carried a Crown, but have not ſacrific'd nor laid out any Money to the Honour of Idols.

The 56th ſeparates from the Church a Pagan Magiſtrate, during the time that he diſcharges his Office.

The 57th excommunicates for three Years, thoſe Chriſtian Women who lend their Garments for a profane ſhow.

The 58th ordains, That thoſe who bring Letters of Communion ſhall be examined in all the Churches, and chiefly in that where the firſt Epiſcopal Throne is ſettled, that is, in the Metropolitical Church.

The 59th forbids Chriſtians to aſcend into the Capitol to Sacrifice there, or to ſee ſacrificing there, and impoſes ten Years Penance upon thoſe that fall into this Fault.

The 60th deprives thoſe of the Title of Martyrs, who are kill'd for overthrowing Idols publickly, becauſe the Goſpel commands us not to do any ſuch thing, and we never read that it was practis'd by the Chriſtians in the times of the Apoſtles.

The 61ſt impoſes a Penance of five Years upon him that marries his Wife's Siſter, unleſs the extremity of Sickneſs oblige us to give him the Peace of the Church ſooner.

The 62d declares, That an Actor of Plays or a Comedian who would be made a Chriſtian, ſhall not be received till he has renounced his Profeſſion.

The 63d denies Communion even at the Point of Death, to ſuch Women as being guilty of Adultery have murder'd their Infants.

The 64th treats with the ſame Rigor, thoſe Women who have continued all their Life-time in the habitual practice of Sin and Adultery; but as to thoſe who acknowledg'd their Crime before they were ſick, and forſook the Man with whom they had committed this Sin, it grants them Communion after ten Years Penance.

The 65th declares, That if a Clergy-man knows that his Wife commits Adultery and sends her not away, he is unworthy of the Communion of the Church, even at the Point of Death, lest it should be thought that those who ought to be a Pattern of a regular Life, show an example of Licentiousness. [This Canon is an authentick Evidence of the Marrying of the Clergy of the Church of *Spain* at this time.] The *Councils.*

The 66th declares, That he who marries his Daughter-in-law, shall not receive the Communion even at Death.

The 67th forbids Women that are of the Faithful or Catechumens, to have Footmen or Pages that are beautiful and well-shap'd.

The 68th delays the Baptism of a Catechumeness to the Hour of Death, who having committed Adultery, murder'd her Child.

The 69th imposes but Five Years of Penance upon those who have faln but once into the Sin of Adultery.

The 70th declares, That if a Woman commit Adultery with the consent of her Husband, he is unworthy of the Communion at the Point of Death; nevertheless if he divorces her, he may be received after Ten Years Penance.

The 71st denies Communion even at the Point of Death to those who have committed most infamous Crimes. [By *infamous Crimes* here is meant, abusing their Bodies with Mankind.]

The 72d declares, That if a Widow commit Adultery, and afterwards marries the same Man with whom she had committed this Sin, she shall be discharged for Five Years Penance; but if she marry another, she cannot be reconcil'd, even at the Point of Death, and that if he to whom she marries be one of the Faithful, he shall be put under Penance for Ten Years.

The 73d denies Communion, even at the Point of Death, to those who have been the cause of the Condemnation or Death of any Man by their false Accusations, and imposes Five Years Penance if the Matter be of less consequence.

The 74th Ordains, That a false Witness shall be punish'd proportionably to the greatness of the Crime of which he testified falsly: That if the Crime did not deserve Death; and he proves, That he gave testimony with reluctancy, and that he continued long before he was willing to say any thing, he shall be acquitted for Two Years of Penance: But if he does not prove that he was constrain'd to give this false Testimony, he shall not be received into the Communion of the Church till Five Years after.

The 75th deprives those of Communion, even at the Point of Death, who have falsly accus'd a Bishop, a Priest, or a Deacon.

The 76th Ordains, That if a Deacon being guilty of a Crime suffers himself to be Ordain'd, he shall be put under Penance for Three Years, if the Crime be discovered by his own Confession; and Five Years, if it be detected by the testimony of another,

The 77th declares, That if a Deacon who governs a People, Baptize any Catechumens without a Bishop or without a Priest, the Bishop ought to consummate, as one may say, the Baptism by his Benediction; but if they die before this be done, they may be saved by the Faith which they had.

The 78th imposes upon him who commits Adultery with a *Pagan* or *Jewish* Woman, a Penance of Three Years, if he himself confess his Sin, and one of Five Years, if he be convicted of it.

The 79th forbids playing at Games of Chance, and declares, that if any of the Faithful make profession of playing, he shall be depriv'd of Communion; but if he forsakes this Custom he may be reconciled at the end of one Year.

The 80th Ordains, That Freed-men whose Patrons are Secular Men, shall not be suffer'd to enter into the Clergy.

The last Canon forbids Women to write to Lay-men in their own Names. This Canon is difficult enough, *Albaspinæus* understands it of Ecclesiastical Letters. I should more willingly understand it of Familiar Letters.

I know very well, that are many Difficulties about the true Sence of many of these Canons. I have endeavour'd to explain them in the Extract which I made out of them, wherein I follow'd that Sence which appeared to me most natural, and most agreeable to the Genius of the Ancients. Those that would inform themselves more fully in this Matter, may read the Notes of *Albaspinæus*, and the great Commentary of *Mendoza*, which contains many things that are no-wise useful for understanding these Canons; which are not so difficult when they are read without prejudice to one that understands something of the Ancient Discipline.

Of the Pretended COUNCIL *of* Carthage *against* Cæcilian.

After the death of *Mensurius* Bishop of *Carthage*, several Persons who had a mind to the Bishoprick of this City, assembled the neighbouring Bishops, to Ordain a Bishop of *Carthage*, without citing thither the Bishops of *Numidia*. The design of those Persons did not succeed according to their desires, for not one of them was chosen Bishop, and there was placed in the room of *Mensurius*, *Cæcilian* Archdeacon of *Carthage*, who was Ordain'd by *Felix* Bishop of *Aptungis*. The Bishops of *Numidia* being offended because they were not call'd to the Ordination of *Cæcilian*, and being solicited by some of his Enemies, came to *Carthage* in the Year 311. to the number of 70. They durst not Of *Carthage*, 311.

The *Councils.*

enter into the Church where *Cæcilian* was, but being received by those who call'd them, they cited him to come before them and defend himself. This Bishop, without being daunted, answer'd them boldly; *If there be any Proofs against me, let my Accuser appear and produce them.* But his Enemies having nothing Personal to object against him, accus'd *Felix* of *Aptungis* who had Ordain'd him, and said that this Bishop having been a Traditor could not give a valid Ordination, and consequently *Cæcilian* was not then a Bishop. *Cæcilian* either because he mistrusted the innocence of *Felix*, or because he would not enter upon this Controversie, made answer to his Enemies, *That if* Felix *had not confer'd upon him Episcopal Orders, they might ordain him a-new as if he had been still a Deacon.* *Purpurius* Bishop of *Limata*, a cunning and dextrous Man, advis'd those of his Party, to make a show of accepting this Proposition; and when *Cæcilian* should come to receive Ordination, then to put him under Penance, instead of laying hands on him to Ordain him Bishop. This advice had been put in execution, if *Cæcilian* had not been detain'd by his Friends, who would not suffer him to trust himself to the fury of his Enemies. Then the Bishops of *Numidia* condemn'd him, tho' absent, and Ordain'd *Majorinus* in his room. They alledg'd Three Reasons for the Deposition of *Cæcilian*. The First was, Because he would not appear before the Council. The Second, Because he had been Ordain'd by Traditors. The Third, Because being Arch-deacon, he had hindred, say they, the carrying of Victuals to the Confessors of Jesus Christ, who were in Prison. We have only one Article pronounced by the 70 Bishops produc'd by St. *Austin*, in his Book against *Fulgentius* the *Donatist*. It is express'd in these Words, by the Bishop who pronounc'd it, call'd *Marcianus*: *Our Lord has said in the Gospel, I am the true Vine, and my Father is the Husbandman; he will cut off and cast forth every Branch that is in me, and beareth not Fruit. And therefore since it is said, That the Branch which beareth not Fruit should be cast forth, we may truly say, That neither Traditors nor Idolaters, nor those who are Schismatically Ordain'd by Traditors can continue in the Church of God, unless they be reconcil'd by Penance, after they have acknowledged and bewailed their Sin. Wherefore* Cæcilian *being Schismatically Ordained by Traditors ought to be Excommunicated.* After the Bishops had thus pronounc'd severally their Sentences against *Cæcilian*, and Ordain'd *Majorinus*, they sent a Circular Letter to all the Bishops of *Africa*, exhorting them to separate themselves from the Communion of *Cæcilian*: But notwithstanding this Letter, *Cæcilian* continued in Communion with a great part of the Bishops of *Africa*, and with all the other Bishops of the World, who declar'd themselves in his favour, against the *Numidians* who made the Schism, and were call'd *Donatists*. Thus *Cæcilian* continued in his See, notwithstanding the Judgment of this Synod, and did not so much as assemble a Council to absolve himself from this Sentence, believing himself sufficiently secur'd against the Conspiracy of his Enemies, says St. *Austin*, by the Communion of the *Roman* Church, and of all the other Churches beyond the Sea, from whom he received, and to whom he wrote Letters of Communion. What we have said of this Council is taken out of *Optatus* and St. *Austin*.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Rome.

Of *Rome*, 313.

Constantine becoming Master of *Africk*, after he had Conquered the Tyrant *Maxentius*, wrote to *Anulinus* Proconsul of *Africk*, to maintain the Party of *Cæcilian*, and to endeavour to re-establish Peace in the Church of *Africk*. This wise Magistrate sent for *Cæcilian*, and his Adversaries, read to them the Emperour's Letter, and exhorted them to be reconcil'd to one another: But some Days after, those of *Majorinus*'s Party presented to him two *Memorials*; one was entitled, *A Manifesto of* Cæcilian's *Crimes, presented by* Majorinus's *Party*: And the other was a Petition, wherein they prayed that some Bishops of *Gaul* might be given them for Judges. Those who presented these two Papers to *Anulinus*, earnestly prayed him to send them to the Emperour. He did so, and the Emperour having regard to their Petition, gave them for Judges, *Miltiades* Bishop of *Rome*, together with *Rheticius* Bishop of *Autun*, *Marinus* Bishop of *Arles*, and *Maternus* Bishop of *Cologn*. *Miltiades* joyned to these Four, Fifteen Bishops of *Italy*, and these Nineteen Bishops assembled in the City of *Rome*, in the Year 313. and undertook to judge the Cause of *Cæcilian*. The first Day that they assembled, *Majorinus*'s Party presented to the Council a Memorial of the Crimes, whereof they accus'd *Cæcilian*: But the Judges having desir'd them to produce their Accusers and Witnesses, they introduc'd some who were oblig'd to withdraw immediately, because they declar'd, that they had nothing to say against *Cæcilian*. He for his part accus'd *Donatus* of having made a Schism at *Carthage*, and urged him to present before the Council, the Witnesses and Accusers which he had brought. *Donatus* promised that he would present them, and in the mean time was convicted of having re-baptiz'd, and re-ordain'd. The Second Day a New Memorial was given in against *Cæcilian*, but sufficient Evidence could not be produc'd. The Judgment of the Seventy Bishops of *Numidia* was alledg'd, for which the Judges had no great respect. The Third Day, the whole Cause was determin'd, *Donatus* was condemn'd, as being convicted of having re-baptiz'd, and laid his Hands upon Bishops who were already Ordain'd: And *Cæcilian* was absolv'd by the Sentence of all the Bishops, and even by the suffrage of *Miltiades* who concluded the Decision. The Council having thus judg'd the Cause of *Cæcilian* and *Donatus*, endeavour'd to restore Peace among the other Bishops, by ordering, that in those Places where there had been a Bishop of each Party, he who had been Ordain'd first should continue Bishop, and Care should be taken to give another Bishoprick to the other. Letters of Communion were also offer'd to be sent to the Bishops of *Majorinus*'s Party, provided they would be Reconcil'd. At last, the Bishops wrote to *Constantine*, inform'd him of their Decision, and assur'd him, that they had given their Judgment according to Justice and Equity. The Acts of this Council were extant in St. *Austin*'s time, and they were also produced in the Confe-

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rence of *Carthage*, but now they are lost. We have taken what we have said, out of *Optatus* in Book First, and out of St. *Austin* in his Abridgment of the Conference on the Third Day, in *Ch.* 11. of his Letter 162. now the 43d. and of Letter 50. now the 185. The *Councils.*

Of the COUNCIL *of* Arles.

THE Bishops of *Majorinus*'s Party having lost their Cause in the Council of *Rome*, address'd themselves to the Emperour, and complain'd of the Judgment which was given at *Rome*, alledging that their Judges did not hear all that they had to say. The Emperour desiring they might be solemly Judg'd, that so they should have nothing to reply, call'd [a] a Conncil in the Year 314. in the City of *Arles*. This Council was compos'd of 33 Western Bishops [b], with some Priests and some Deacons. *Marinus* Bishop of *Arles* presided there; the Legates of Pope *Sylvester* were present [c], but that the Emperour was not there [d]. The Council heard the Accusations which were form'd against *Cæcilian*; but when his Accusers could not prove him guilty of the Crimes whereof they accus'd him, they were rejected or condemned by the Council. After this Cause was judged, the Bishops thought it their Duty, since they were assembled, to make some Rules concerning the Discipline of the Church; and they made 22 Canons. Of *Arles*, 314.

In the 1st they ordain, That the Feast of *Easter* should be celebrated on the same *Sunday* in all the Churches of the World, and that the Bishop of *Rome* should give notice of the Day to the Churches according to Custom.

In the 2d they enjoyn Ministers to continue in the Churches where they were ordained.

In the 3d they excommunicate those who make use of Arms in a time of Peace.

In the 4th they Ordain, That those who run Races in the Cirque, shall be separated from the Communion while they follow that employment.

In the 5th they make the same Regulation for those who act upon the Theatre.

In the 6th they ordain, That Imposition of Hands shall be given to those, who having fallen Sick, declare, that they desire to believe in Jesus Christ.

In the 7th they permit the Faithful to enter upon Offices, without being deprived of the Communion of the Church; but upon Condition that the Bishop of the place where they shall take an Office, shall superintend their Conduct, and that if they do any thing contrary to the Discipline of the Church, they shall be separated from his Communion.

The 8th determines the famous Question about the re-baptization of Hereticks, and ordains concerning the *Africans*, who had always re-baptized them, That if any one leave a Heresie, and return to the Church, he shall be ask'd concerning the Creed, and if it be known that he was baptized in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Imposition of Hands only shall be given him, that he may receive the Holy Spirit; but if he does not acknowledge the Trinity, he shall be re-baptized.

The 9th declares, That in order to their being received into Communion in a Foreign Church, they should not any longer carry Letters of Recommendation from the Confessors, but Letters of Communion from their Bishop.

In the 10th they say, That those who find their Wives in the Act of Adultery must be counselled not to marry others, while they are living, tho' the Laws permits them to do it.

In the 11th they separate for some time from the Communion of the Church the Christian Virgins that marry Infidels.

In the 12th they excommunicate the Clergy that are Usurers.

[a] *Call'd.*] 'Tis certain that the Emperour call'd this Synod. We have in *Euseb.* B. X. of his Hist. *Ch.* 5. the Letter which he wrote to *Chrestus* Bishop of *Syracuse*, wherein he commands him to be present at this Council of *Arles*; he wrote of it likewise to all the other Bishops. Some have said that the *Donatists* appeal'd to a Council after the Decision of *Rome*, but St. *Austin*, who had studied this History exactly, says in an infinite number of places, that they complained only of the Judgment given at *Rome*, but did not Appeal till after the Decision of the Council of *Arles*.

[b] *Compos'd of* 33 *Western Bishops.*] *Baronius* thought that this Council consisted of 200 Bishops, which he grounded upon a Passage of St. *Austin*, in his Book against the Epistle of *Parmenianus*, Ch. 5. but he misunderstood that Passage, for there he does not speak of the Council of *Arles*, but of the Council of *Rome*, which consisted only of 19 Bishops, and not of 200. as they are reckon'd in the Text of St. *Austin*, according to the common Editions; but this place has been restored in the last Edition, by a Manuscript of the *Vatican* Library, and instead of reading as it was, *Ut ducentos Judices apud quos vicli sunt, victis litigatoribus credant esse postponendos*, it is now thus restored, *ut contra Judices, apud quos victi sunt, victis litigatoribus credant*, &c. There are but 33 Names at the head of the Councils Letter; but of these 33 there are 4 Priests and one Deacon, and 6 Exorcists. They endeavour to prove that there was a greater number of Bishops at this Council, because *Constantine* in his Letter to *Chrestus*, and the second Council of *Arles* testify, That there were Bishops in it from all Parts of the World: But these 19 Bishops are found to be from all Parts of the West, and so it is not necessary to admit a greater number of them, to verifie what is said by *Constantine* and the Fathers of the second Council of *Arles*. *Ado* says, that 600 Bishops were present at this Council; but this is no-wise probable.

[c] Marinus *Bishop of* Arles *presided there*, &c.] His Name is at the head of the Bishops, named at the beginning of the Epistle to St. *Sylvester*, before those of the Pope's Legates.

[d] *That the Emperour was not there.*] Some Authors have said that he was, but they are mistaken; for it appears by the Letter of *Constantine*, written after the Synod, that he was not, and the *Donatists* would not have appeal'd to his Judgment, if he had been present at the Sentence given by the Synod, and approved it.

In

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In the 13th they ordain, That those shall be turned out of the Clergy, who shall be proved by the Publick Acts to have delivered up the Holy Scriptures; but those who they had ordained shall continue in their Station. They forbid Men to hearken to these Accusations, unless they be proved by the Publick Acts.

In the 14th they separate from the Communion until the Point of Death, those who falsly accuse their Brethren.

In the 15th they say, That the Deacons should not offer, as they did in many places.

In the 16th they ordain, That those who are separated from the Communion, shall be restored no where else, but in the place where they were Excommunicated.

The 17th Ordains, That one Bishop shall not despise the Judgment of another. This is rather a consequence of the preceding Canon, than a Canon by it self.

The 18th enjoyns Deacons in Cities to reverence the Priests.

The 19th grants to Foreign Bishops the Power of celebrating the Oblation.

In the 20th the Bishops of this Council forbids one Bishop alone to ordain another Bishop; they would have Seven of them meet if it be possible; but if this cannot be done, they do absolutely forbid any one to Ordain, unless he has three Bishops with him.

In the 21st they forbid Priests and Deacons, under pain of Deposition, to relinquish the Churches, in which they were fixed by their Ordination.

In the 22d they declare, That Communion is not to be given to those who having Apostatized, continue a long time out of the Church without doing Penance, waiting till they fall Sick to ask Communion; unless they recover their Health, and give Signs of a sincere Repentance.

At last, the Bishops of this Council wrote to St. *Sylvester* Bishop of *Rome*, as the chief Bishop of the World, an Account of every thing that they had Ordained, that he might publish these Canons throughout the Catholick Church. They assure him in this Letter, that they were very sorry, that he could not be present himself in Person at this Council, and they pray him to publish their Decisions over all the World.

of the COUNCILS *of* Ancyra *and* Neo-Cæsarea.

Of *Ancyra* and *Neo-Cæsarea*, 314.

THE Councils of *Ancyra* and *Neo-Cæsarea*, were held much about the same time as the Council of *Arles*. We know nothing of the History, nor particular Circumstances of these two Councils; we have only their Canons, which the ancient Church look'd upon as Rules that ought to be observ'd every where, since they have been put into the Code of the Canons of the Universal Church.

There are 25 Canons of the Council of *Ancyra*. The First preserves the Honour of the Priesthood to those Bishops, who having sacrificed to Idols repented of their Fault, and afterwards suffered for the Faith of Jesus Christ. But it forbids them to exercise any part of the Sacerdotal Function, and will not so much as allow them to make the Offering or Preach. The Second uses the same moderation to Deacons; but it permits Bishops to show them more Favour if they think it convenient.

In the 3d Canon it is Ordain'd, That those who have been made to offer Incense, or to eat of Meats Sacrific'd to Idols, by Force and Violence, are not at all guilty, that they ought to be admitted to Communion, and that they may even be promoted to Ecclesiastical Dignities; provided they have testified their sorrow for what happen'd to them: But for those who were present at the Feasts made to the Honour of Idols with mirth and jollity, it imposes upon them Five Years Penance, One Year in the rank of Hearers, Two Years in the rank of Supplicants, and Two Years in the number of those that are present only at the Prayers. Whereas those who were present in mourning Apparel, and who lamented during the time of the Feast, if they did eat of the Profane Meat, it places them in the rank of Supplicants, or prostrate Penitents for three Three Years, and afterwards it would have them receiv'd without having any share in the Oblation; and if they did not eat at all, it leaves them only Two Years in the rank of the prostrate Penitents, and permits them to partake of the Sacraments at the end of the Third Year. Nevertheless, it gives power to the Bishops to shorten or lengthen the time of Penance, according to the behaviour of the Penitents.

The 6th concerns those who have Sacrific'd to Idols, fearing Torments or the loss of their Goods, and who desire to be admitted to do Penance. The Synod orders, That they should be among the number of Hearers till *Easter-day*, that afterwards they should be Three Years Supplicants or Prostrate, and then they should be present at the Prayers, which is call'd *Communicating without partaking of the Oblation*. It excepts however the case of the danger of Death, in which it Orders, That they should be receiv'd according to the Law made about it.

The 7th imposes Two Years penance upon those who were present at the Feasts made in Honour of the Idols, but carried thither their own Meat, intending not to eat of that which was there presented.

The 8th imposes Seven Years Penance upon those who Sacrific'd several times; and the 9th imposes Ten Years Penance upon those who forc'd their Brethren to do it.

The 10th Canon concerns the Celibacy of Deacons. The Council there Ordains, That if they declared at the time of their Ordination, that they would Marry, they shall not be depriv'd of their Function if they did Marry; but if they were Ordain'd without making this declaration, and afterwards Marry'd they should be oblig'd to quit their Employment.

The 11th Ordains, That if Maids Contracted happen to be carried away by others than those

to

to whom they were promised, they shall be restored to them again whatever violence they have suffered. The Councils.

The 12th declares, That those may be Ordain'd who have Sacrific'd to Idols before they were Baptized, because they are purified from this Sin by Baptism.

The 13th Canon is about Suffragan Bishops or *Chorepiscopi*. 'Tis as follows in the Greek Text: *'Tis not lawful for Suffragan Bishops to Ordain Priests or Deacons, nor for the City Presbyters in another Parish without the permission of their Bishop.* 'Tis plain that this Canon is imperfect, and that something must be supplied to make it sence: For what mean these words, *Nor to the City Presbyters*, &c. Had Priests ever Power to Ordain other Priests in their own Churches? Had they ever permission to do it out of their own Churches by the Bishops Letters? Why should not the Suffragans, who were above the Priests, have the same Power? There must be something added: See what *Dionysius Exiguus* has added in his Version. *No more is it lawful for Priests to do any thing in the Diocess, without the permission of the Bishop in writing.* This Addition is found in the ancient Code of the *Roman* Church, published by *Quesnellus*, and in the Version of *Isidore*; and *Justellus* has restored it in the Greek Text, of the Code of the Universal Church.

The 14th condemns the superstition of some Clergymen who would not eat Meat. The Synod Ordains, That if they continued in this Superstition, and would not eat Herbs boil'd with Meat, they should be depriv'd of their Ecclesiastical Function.

The 15th declares, That if Priests sell any thing belonging to the Church, while it has not a Bishop, it shall be in the Power of the Bishop who is chosen, either to make void the bargain, or to take the price of the thing that is sold.

The 16th and 17th impose long Penances upon those who have committed Crimes contrary to Nature.

The 18th forbids Bishops, who cannot be receiv'd into their own Bishopricks, to invade those of others, and allows them only to keep the rank of other Presbyters; of which Honour it Ordains that they shall be depriv'd if they stir up Sedition against the Bishop of the place.

The 19th subjects those Virgins to the same punishment with Bigamists, who violate the Profession that they have made, and forbids them to dwell with Strangers as if they were their Sisters.

The 20th imposes Seven Years Penance for Adultery.

In the 21st the Synod observes, That the ancient Canons delay'd the absolution of those Women till Death, who having committed the Sin of Adultery murder'd their Infants; but to mitigate this Punishment, it imposes upon them only Ten Years Penance.

The 22d delayeth the Absolution of those till the Point of Death who have committed wilful Murder, and till then it places them in the rank of prostrate Penitents.

The 23d imposes Seven Years of Penance for Manslaughter.

The 24th subjects those to a Penance of Five Years who meddle with Divination, and practise superstitious Actions.

The last is about a particular Case. A Man had defiled the Sister of her to whom he was contracted, and afterwards married this last; her Sister hang'd her self for madness. The Synod Ordains, That all those who were complices to these Crimes, shall be put under Penance for the space of Ten Years.

These Canons are signed by 18 Bishops of the Dioceses of *Asia*, of *Pontus*, and of the East. *Vitalis* Bishop of *Antioch* is the first among these Bishops. 'Tis certain that he held the See of the Church of *Antioch* from the Year 311. until the Year 319. And after him there is the Name of *Agricolaus* Bishop of *Cæsaria* in *Palæstine*: But *Eusebius* makes no mention of this Bishop, and he could be but a very little time Bishop of that Church. *Marcellus* of *Ancyra* who is the Third, is famous enough in History. Some think that *Basil* of *Amasea* suffered Martyrdom under *Licinius*, and St. *Jerom* affirms it in his *Chronicon*: Yet *Philostorgius* and St. *Athanasius* reckon him among those Bishops who were present at the Council of *Nice*. The same St. *Athanasius* mentions *Lupus* of *Tarsus*, and *Longinus* of *Neocæsarea*. There is mention made of *Leontius* of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* in the Life of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, where 'tis said, That 'twas he who Baptized *Gregory* of *Pisa* in the time of the *Nicene* Council. The others are less known.

The Council of *Neocæsarea* made Fifteen Canons about the Discipline of the Church.

The 1st is, That if a Priest marries after he has been Ordain'd, he ought to be degraded; and if he commit Fornication or Adultery he ought to be punished more rigorously, and put under Penance.

The 2d is, That if a Woman marry Two Brothers, she ought to be excluded from the Communion of the Church, till the end of her Life; but at the Point of Death she shall be absolved, provided she promises to break the Marriage. For if the Husband or the Wife die without being parted, the surviving Person can very hardly be admitted to Penance.

The 3d is, That the time of the Penance of those who Marry often is regulated by the Canons, but it may be shortned proportionably to the Conversion of the Penitent, and the fervour of his Penances.

The 4th is, That he who having a desire to commit Sin with a Woman, and did not accomplish it, seems to have been saved by the Grace of God.

The 5th is, That if a Catechumen, who is in the rank of those who pray with the Faithful, fall into Sin, he must be placed in the rank of Hearers, and if he continue to sin, he is to be totally turned out of the Church.

The 6th commands those Women to be Baptized who are ready to Lie-in.

The 7th forbids Priests to be present at the Marriage of *Bigamists*.

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The 8th declares that he cannot be admitted into Holy Orders, whose Wife has been convicted of Adultery; and that if a Clergy-man's Wife commit Adultery, he ought to Divorce her, upon pain of being depriv'd of his Ministry, if he do not.

The 9th is, That if a Priest who has committed the Sin of the Flesh before he was Ordain'd, confess his Crime, he ought no more to Offer, but he shall enjoy all his other Rights; for as to other Sins, 'tis thought, that they are pardoned by the Imposition of Hands: But if he does not confess this Fault, and cannot be Convicted of it, he shall be left to his own Conscience.

The 10th is, That a Deacon who shall commit the same Crime before his Ordination, shall be plac'd in the rank of the other Ministers.

The 11 forbids to give the Order of Priesthood to those Persons who are under Thirty Years of Age, tho' they have well deserved, because our Lord was Baptized, and begun to Preach at that Age.

The 12th is, That those who have been Baptiz'd in their Sickness, can never be Ordained Priests, because they seem to have embraced the Faith only through necessity, unless this Favour be afterwards granted them upon the account of their Faith and Zeal; and that there be but few Persons who can be Ordained.

The 13th forbids the Priests in the Country to make the Oblation in the presence of the Bishop, or of the Priests of Cities, and does not allow them so much as to distribute the Bread of the Eucharist, or to give the Cup, but it permits them to do both the one and the other in the absence of the Bishop, and the City-Presbyters.

The 14th declares, that Suffragans represent the 70 Disciples, and so they are looked upon as the Brethren of the Bishops, and have the honour of making the Oblation.

The last Ordains, That there should be but Seven Deacons in each City, how great soever it be. Some of the Bishops who were at the Council of *Ancyra*, subscribed to this. *Vitalis* of *Antioch* presided there, as well as at the Council of *Ancyra*. Which shows that these Two Councils were held after the Year 311. and before the Year 319.

Of the First COUNCIL *of* Alexandria *against* Arius.

Of the First of *Alexandria*, against *Arius*, 322.

SOme time after, *Arius* began to publish his Impiety, *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, held a Council of near One hundred Bishops of *Egypt*, wherein he Excommunicated *Arius* and his Followers. This Council was held in 322.

Of the pretended COUNCIL *of* Bithynia *for* Arius.

Of *Bithynia* for *Arius*, 322.

EUsebius of *Nicomedia*, and the other Bishops who protected *Arius* against *Alexander*, held a Council the next Year in *Bithynia*, wherein they declare *Arius* Orthodox, and worthy of the Communion of the Church. *Sozomen* mentions this Council *B.* III. *Ch.* 15. of his History.

Of the Second COUNCIL *of* Alexandria *against* Arius, *held in the presence of* Hosius.

Of the Second of *Alexandria*, against *Arius*, 324.

HOsius being sent to *Alexandria* from the Emperour, to compose the Differences which troubled the Churches of *Egypt*, held a Council in that City, which the Clergy of *Maræotis*, in a Protestation produced by St. *Athanasius*, call an Oecumenical Council. It is not known what was determined in this Council: 'Tis probable that the Wise Bishop of *Corduba* did what he could to reconcile Men's minds, and not being able to compass his Design, he would decide nothing. *Socrates* in *B.* 3. *Ch.* 7. of his History, testifies, That in this Council the Terms of *Substance* and *Hypostasis* were treated of, in opposition to *Sabellius*: And we learn from the Protestation of the Clergy of *Maræotis*, which we just now cited, that *Colluthus* a pretended Bishop was degraded in this Council, and the Ordinations which he made were annull'd. *Philostorgius* says, That *Alexander* of *Alexandria* coming at this time to *Nicomedia*, and having spoken to *Hosius*, caused *the Consubstantiality of the Word* to be determined by a Synodal Sentence. But we have no other Author who mentions this Judgment, neither is there any probability that it was given.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Nice.

Of *Nice*, 325.

CONstantine seeing that he had laboured in vain to allay the Disputes which divided the Church, thought it would be the most ready and effectual means to restore Peace, to call a numerous Synod compos'd of the Eastern and Western Bishops. This Council was called Oecumenical, *i. e.* a Council of the whole World, or the whole Earth, because it was called together from all Parts of the *Roman* Empire, to which the Title of *the World*, or *the Earth* was given, and which did almost include the Catholick Church. This Council was assembled by the Order of the Emperour at *Nice* [a] a City of *Bithynia*, about the Month of *July*, in the Year 325 [b], in the Second Year of *Constantine's*

[a] *By Order of the Emperour*, &c.] *Eusebius B.* III. of the Life of *Constantine*, *Ch.* 6. says, That the Council of *Nice* was assembled by Order of the Emperour; and the Bishops of this Council in their Letter to the *Egyptians*, say, That they were Summon'd to meet by the Emperour's Letters. *Constantine* says the same thing, all the Ancients are agreed in it.

[b] *In the Year* 325. *Socrates* assures us, That this Council was assembled at this time, and it could not be assembled sooner nor later.

Reign [c].

Reign [c]. St. *Sylvester* was then Bishop of *Rome*, who sent thither *Victor* and *Vincentius* his Legates. 'Tis commonly held that this Council consisted of 318 Bishops; but those who were present at it, do not precisely determine this number [d], but say only that there were about 300 Bishops. 'Tis not certainly known, who presided in this Council, but it is very probable that it was *Hosius* [e], who held the chief place there in his own Name, because he had already taken cognizance of this Affair, and was much esteemed by the Emperour, who was there present. The Assembly was held in a Hall in his Palace [f]. 'Tis said that the Bishops presented Petitions to him, wherein they accus'd one another, and that he burnt them all without reading them: 'Tis also said, That many Philosophers came to *Nice* to oppose the Christian Religion, and that they were confounded by one simple Bishop: But these two Stories are not very certain. But 'tis certain, that they minded very closely the Cause for which they were assembled, which was the Heresy of *Arius*. St. *Athanasius* Deacon of *Alexandria*, and some others, disputed stoutly against him. When the Day was come that this great Affair should be determined, one of the Bishops made a Harangue to the Emperour, and afterwards they begun to enter upon the Business. *Arius* having explained his Opinions, was condemned with an unanimous Consent. After this *Eusebius of Cæsarea* presented a Confession of Faith; but the Council finding that it did not expressly enough reject the Error of the *Arians*, urged the Bishops who favoured this Heretick to make a clear Profession of the Divinity of the Son of God; and when the Council saw, that all the Terms which were used to dignifie the Divinity of the Son of God were eluded by these Bishops by far-fetched Explications, the Council was forced, for excluding all kind of Ambiguity to say, That the Son of God was *Consubstantial* to his Father. This Word was the subject of a great Dispute among the Bishops, which was allayed by the Prudence of the Emperour, who made them all agree in the Sence of this Word. And thus in the Confession of Faith, or in the Creed made by this Council, Profession is made, *Of believing in one only God, the Creator of all things, visible and invisible and in one only Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten of the Father, the only Son of the Substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made, Consubstantial to his Father, by whom all things were made in Heaven and on Earth, who descended for us Men and for our Salvation, who was incarnate and made Man, who suffered and rose again, and ascended into Heaven; and who shall come to judge the quick and the dead: And in the Holy Spirit.* After this Creed followed an Anathema against those who should say, *That there was a time when the Son of God was not, or that he was not before he was begotten, or that he was created of nothing, and that he was of another Substance and another Essence, or that he was created and subject to Change.* All the the Bishops except *Secundus* of *Ptolemais*, and *Theonas* of *Marmarica*, Signed this Confession of Faith [g]. *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* refused to Sign it at First, but he did it the next day. After this *Arius*, *Secundus* and *Theonas*, were condemned in the Council [h], and a Book of the First, entituled *Thalia*, was proscribed.

The Council having thus judged the *Arians* with rigor, treated the *Meletians* with more moderation. It permitted *Meletius* to continue in the City, and to retain the name of Bishop, and the honour annexed to that Office; but it absolutely forbad him to ordain any body: It preserved also the Rank, Honour and Office of those whom he had ordained, provided nevertheless that they should be confirmed by a more Sacred Imposition of Hands, which is a kind of Re-ordination [i]; that they should be inferiour to those who had been ordained by *Alexander*, and that they should have no hand

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[c] *In the Second Year of the Reign of* Constantine.] It begun in the Month of *August*, and the Council was held in the Month of *July*.

[d] *Those who were present at it, do not precisely determine this number.*] *Eusebius* B. III. of the Life of *Constantine*, says, that there were at the Council of *Nice* more than 250 Bishops. *Eustathius* says, that there were to the number of 270. or thereabouts. St. *Athanasius* in his Book of the Decrees of the Council of *Nice*, and in his Epistle to the Monks, says, that they were about 300. yet the same St. *Athanasius* in his Letter to the *Africans*, St. *Hilary* in his Book of Synods, *Ruffinus*, St. *Ambrose*, St. *Epiphanius*, &c. call the Council of *Nice*, a Council of 318 Bishops. *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Marius Mercator*, do not reckon precisely the same number, but they do not much differ from it.

[e] *'Tis not certainly known who presided in this Council, but 'tis probable that it was* Hosius.] St. *Athanasius* in his second Apology, calls *Hosius* the Father and President of all the Councils. The Name of this Bishop is the First in all the Subscriptions. *Alexander* was much esteemed as appears by the Letter of the Council. *Eustathius* of *Antioch* is called the chief Bishop of the Council by *Proclus* and by *Facundus*. But it is more probable that *Hosius* presided there in his own Name, and not in the Pope's: For he no where assumes the Title of Legate of the Holy See, and none of the ancients say, that he presided in this Council in the Pope's Name. *Gelasius Cyzicenus* who first affirmed it, says it without any Proof or Authority.

[f] *The Assembled was held in his Palace.*] *Eusebius* says so expressly, *B.* III. of the Life of *Constantine*, *Ch.* 10. *Socrates*, B. I. of his History, *Ch.* 18. and *Theodoret*, *B.* I. *Ch.* 7. following herein the Testimony of *Eusebius*. 'Tis true, that this place is called by *Eusebius* himself in *Ch.* 7. a Sacred Place, but it is upon the account of the Assembly of the Bishops who were then in it.

[g] *All the Bishops except* Secundus *and* Theonas *Signed this Creed.*] This appears by the Letter of the Synod, and by the Testimony of *Theodoret*, B. I. Ch. 7. and of *Philostorgius*. Some say, that *Eusebius* and *Theognis* would not Sign the Condemnation of *Arius*, and that they were condemned in the Council. This is not true, and if they did alledge this distinction, it was after the Council of *Nice*, and not in the Council.

[h] Arius, Secundus *and* Theonas *were condemned*, &c.] This appears by the Letter of the Council, tho' St. *Jerom* affirms the contrary concerning *Arius*. St. *Athanasius*, who is more to be credited than St. *Jerom* in this matter, says several times that *Arius* was condemned in the Council of *Nice*. *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Theodoret* do also testifie the same thing.

[i] *Which is a kind of Re-ordination.*] It is commonly thought that this Imposition of Hands, which the Fathers of this Council call, ωστικώτερα χειροθεσία, was only a Ceremony; but *Valesius* has very well proved that it was a new Ordination; and this is the thing which the Word does properly signify.

in

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in the Election of Bishops. Nevertheless it permits the People and the Clergy to choose them Bishops, if they were found worthy of it, provided that the Bishop of *Alexandria* approve this Election. Last of all, the Council made a Decree concerning the Celebration of *Easter*, and ordained that this Feast should be Celebrated only on the *Sunday*. *Constantine* wrote a general Letter to the whole Church, to acquaint them with the Decisions of this Council, and the Bishops wrote a Letter particularly to the Christians of *Egypt*, wherein they inform them exactly of what had been ordained about the Cause of the *Arians* and *Meletians*, and about the Celebration of *Easter*.

St. *Ambrose* indeed seems to intimate that this Council made a Paschal Cycle; but these Words must be so understood, as meaning only, That the Determination of the Council gave occasion to make use of Cycles. St. *Leo* adds in *Ep.* 64. That the Council gave Order to the Bishop of *Alexandria* to give notice every Year to the Bishop of *Rome*, of *Easter-day*, that he might publish it to all the Churches of the World: But if the Council had made this Order, they would have signified it in their Letter to the *Egyptians*, where they speak favourably of *Alexander* and his Church.

The Council of *Nice* did not only determine the differences which troubled the Church by its Decisions, but also made Rules concerning the Discipline of the Church. These Rules, which are called Canons, are in number Twenty, and there never were more Genuine [k], tho' some Modern Authors have added many more.

The First Canon excludes from Sacred Orders, those that made themselves Eunuchs, but not those who became so by Sickness, or by the Cruelty of *Barbarians*.

The 2d forbids to advance those Persons to the Orders of Priest or Bishop, who were lately Baptized; and Ordains, that those who shall be convicted of any Crime, shall be deprived of their Ecclesiastical Functions.

The 3d forbids Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and other Clergy-men, to keep Women in the House with them; yet it excepts Mothers, Sisters, and other Persons of whom there can be no bad suspicion.

The 4th Ordains, That a Bishop should be Ordained by all the Bishops of the Province, if it can be done; but if it be too difficult to assemble them all, either because of an urgent necessity, or because of their great distance, he may be Ordained by Three Bishops, provided that those who are absent be willing, and consent by their Letter that this Ordination should be made; but it adds, That the validity of what is done in the Province depends upon the Metropolitan.

The 5th Ordains, That none of those who shall be separated from the Church by the Bishops in each Province can be received or restored to Communion in any other place; and that enquiry be the better made, whether their Bishop has justly excommunicated them; they Ordain, That Two Synods shall be held every Year in every Province, one before Lent, and the other in Autumn.

The 6th Canon is famous for the several Questions it has occasioned, The most natural Sence that can be given to it, is this: "We Ordain, That the Ancient Custom shall be observed, which gives "Power to the Bishop of *Alexandria*, over all the Provinces of *Egypt*, *Lybia*, and *Pentapolis*, because "the Bishop of *Rome* has the like Jurisdiction over all the Suburbicary Regions (for this Addition must "be supplied out of *Ruffinus*:) We would likewise have the Rights and Priviledges of the Church "of *Antioch*, and the other Churches preserved; but these Rights ought not to prejudice those of the "Metropolitans. If any one is Ordained without the consent of the Metropolitan, the Council de-"clares, That he is no Bishop: But if any one is Canonically chosen by the Suffrage of almost all "the Bishops of the Province, and if there are but One or Two of a contrary Opinion, the Suffrages "of the far greater number ought to carry it for the Ordination of those particular Persons. This Canon being thus explained has no difficulty in it. *It does not oppose the Primacy of the Church of* Rome, *but neither does it establish it.* It preserves to Great Sees their ancient Priviledges, that is, the Jurisdiction or Authority which they had over many Provinces, which was afterwards called the Jurisdiction of the Patriarch or Exarch. In this Sence it is, That it compares the Church of *Rome* to the Church of *Alexandria*, by considering them all as Patriarchal Churches. It continues also to the Church of *Antioch*, and all the other Great Churches, whatsoever Rights they could have; but left their Authority should be prejudicial to the ordinary Metropolitans, who were subject to their Jurisdiction. The Council confirms what had been Ordain'd in the Fourth Canon, concerning the Authority of Metropolitans, in the Ordination of Bishops. This explication is easie and natural, and we have given many Proofs of it in our Latin Dissertation, concerning the ancient Discipline of the Church.

[Only so far, as it may by a Negative Argument, be hence very strongly concluded, That the See of *Rome* then claimed none but Priviledges common to it, and other Metropolitical Sees.]

The 7th is, That since by ancient Tradition, the Church of *Elia*, or of *Jerusalem*, has been honoured, this Prerogative of Honour shall be continued to it, but without prejudice to the Rights of its Metropolis.

The 8th declares, That the *Novatians* who return to the Church, may continue in the Clergy after they have receiv'd Imposition of Hands, and made Profession of following the Discipline of the Church.

[k] *There were never more Genuine.*] *Theodoret* and *Ruffinus* mention only these 20 Canons; tho' the latter reckons 22 of them, yet he own'd no more, because he divided two of them. The Bishops of *Africa* found but 20 of them, after they had enquired very diligently all over the East, for all the Canons made by the Council of *Nice*. *Dionysius Exiguus*, and all the other Collectors of Canons have acknowledged but those 20. The *Arabick* Canons which *Echellensis* published under the Name of the Council of *Nice*, cannot belong to this Council.

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That if a *Novation* Bishop in a City, where there is a Catholick Bishop, return to the Church, he shall not take the place of the Catholick Bishop, but continue in the Presbytery, unless the Catholick Bishop will allow him the Name of a Bishop: But if he will not, this *Novatian* Bishop shall continue Priest or Suffragan. The *Councils.*

The 9th or 10th Ordains, That those Priests shall be degraded, who are found either to have Sacrificed, or to have been guilty of other Crimes befor their Ordination.

The 11th imposes a Penance of Ten Years, upon those who voluntarily renounce the Christian Religion, without being forced, either by the loss of their Estate, or danger of their Life.

The 12th imposes Thirteen Years Penance upon those who having shown their Zeal for the Faith did afterwards Apostatize to obtain Offices: Nevertheless it permits this Penance to be shortned in favour of those who testify much Grief and Remorse.

The 13th renews the ancient Law, which Ordains, That dying Persons shall not be deprived of the last and most necessary *Viaticum*, that is, of Absolution; but upon condition, That if the sick Person recovers his health, he shall be placed only in the Rank of those who are present only at the Prayers of the Church. It leaves it at the Discretion of the Bishop, to give or to refuse the Communion to dying Persons who desire it.

The 14th turns back those Catechumens to the place of Hearers, who Apostatized when they were ready to receive Baptism, and enjoyns them to continue in that place for Three Years, before they can be restored to the place wherein they were before.

The 15th forbids the Translations of Bishops and Priests, and Ordains, That those who shall be Translated, shall return to their First Church.

The 16th forbids the receiving of Priests, Deacons or Ministers of another Church, without the consent of their Bishop.

The 17th Ordains, That Clergymen who are Usurers, or who take sordid Gain, shall be deposed.

The 18th forbids Deacons to give the Eucharist to Priests, because it is against the Canons, and contrary to Custom, and they have not the power to Offer nor to give the Body of Jesus Christ, to those who do Offer. It forbids them also to take the Eucharist before the Bishops, and advertises them, that they are but inferiour Ministers to Priests; That they ought to receive the Eucharist after them from the hand of a Bishop or a Priest; That 'tis not lawful for them to sit in the place of Priests, and threatens those who do not obey this Rule, with the deprivation of their Ministry.

The 19th Ordains, That the *Paulianists* shall be re-baptized, who return to the Church; and that if there be found any who had the Name of Clergy-men among these Hereticks, who are worthy of Holy Orders, they shall be deposed. It Ordains the same thing of Deaconesses who are reckoned among the Clergy, tho' they never received Imposition of Hands, that they shall be placed among the Laity.

The last Canon abolishes the Custom of some Churches, wherein they kneeled on *Sunday* and *Whitsunday*, and Ordains for keeping Uniformity, that they shall pray to God standing at this time in all Churches.

We must add to the History of this Council Two remarkable Stories related by *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, which *Socrates* says he learned from an old Man who assisted at this Council. The First is concerning *Acesius* a *Novatian* Bishop, who being asked by the Emperour, whether he approved the Decision of this Council, answer'd him, That he had received from his Ancestors the Faith which they had decreed, and that he always celebrated *Easter* on the Day which they had appointed. The Emperour having afterwards asked him, why then did he separate from the Communion of the Church? He alledged the Indulgence which the Church had given from the time of *Decius*, and said that those who had faln into Crimes ought never to be received into the Communion of the Church, and that they ought to expect pardon from God only, who only could grant it them. The Emperour hearing this Answer, answer'd him pleasantly, *O* Acesius *take then a Ladder, and mount up to Heaven alone.* The other Story concerns *Paphnutius* a Bishop in *Egypt*, who oppos'd the Canon, which was proposed in the Council for obliging Bishops, Priests and Deacons, to observe Celibacy. This good Man said, that tho' he had lived all his Life-time in Celibacy, yet he did not think, that this Yoke ought to be imposed upon the Clergy. Some question the truth of this Story; I believe they do it rather for fear least this Story might prejudice the present Discipline, than from any solid proof they have for it. But these Persons should consider, that this Canon is purely a matter of Discipline, and that the Discipline of the Church may change according to the Times, and that 'tis not necessary for the Defence of it, to prove that it was always *Uniform in all Places.*

[This would be an excellent Defence for the Discipline of the Church of *Rome* in this particular, if there were some Ages wherein Celibacy could more easily be preserved than it can in others; or if the Constitution of Mankind varied according to the Temporal Interests of any one private Church.]

What we have hitherto said, shews, That the Authentical Monuments of the Council of *Nice* are the Confession of Faith, with the Anathematism subjoined to it, the Letter of the Synod to the *Egyptians*, the Decree concerning *Easter*, and the Twenty Canons. I do not think that there ever were any other Acts of this Council[1], since they were unknown to all the ancient Historians. There

[1] *I do not think that there ever were any other Acts of this Council.*] If there had been any, St. *Athanasius* would have sent them to his Friend, who desired of him the History of the Council of *Nice*, or he would have

The *Councils.*

is a Latin Letter of this Synod to St. *Sylvester*, extant, but it is supposititious [m], which has no Authority, and which has all the Marks of Forgery, that any writing can have, as well as the pretended Answer of St. *Sylvester* [n]. Neither is that Council genuine, which is said to have been assembled at *Rome* by St. *Sylvester* for the confirmation of the Council of *Nice*. The Canons of this Council are also Forged [o], which contain Rules contrary to the Practice of that time, and which it had been impossible to observe.

Constantine sent a Letter to the Catholick Church, which is instead of a Synodical Letter of the Council, because by this Letter he publishes what was decided concerning *Easter*. He says nothing of the cause of the *Arians* and *Meletians*, because that particularly concerned the *Egyptians* to whom the Council gave an account of it. He condemned *Arius* and the *Arians*: He sent this Heretick into banishment with *Secundus* and *Theonas*, who would not subscribe the Decrees of the Synod; and the Council ending happily in the Month of *August*, in the Year 325. at the beginning of the Second Year of his Reign, he gave the Bishops a noble Entertainment, and sent them home loaded with Presents, after he had exhorted them to Unity.

bid him read them: But he never did it, and he gives him an account of his own, of what was done in the Council. There is a Passage cited out of St. *Athanasius*, to prove that he acknowledged other Acts of this Council. 'Tis taken out of the Book of Synods, where mention is made in the Version of it, of the Acts of the Council of *Nice*. But in the Greek it is only τὰ τῶν πάλαι, *which has been written by the Fathers*; and 'tis plain that he speaks in this place of the Confession of Faith. And that which farther shews that there never were any Acts of the Council of *Nice*, is, that the Fathers of the Council themselves, in their Letter to the *Egyptians*, say, that their Arch-Bishop *Alexander*, should inform them particularly of all that passed in the Synod. In a word, neither *Ruffinus*, nor *Socrates*, nor *Theodoret*, nor any ancient Historian, had ever seen or known these Acts. St. *Jerom* says, that he had read the Acts of the Council of *Nice*, but he means only the Creed, the Canons, and the Subscriptions. The Acts which *Gelasius Cyzicenus* attributes to *Dalmatius* were made since the Council, and taken out of *Eusebius*, *Theodoret*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and other Historians.

[m] *The Letter of the Council to St.* Sylvester *is suppositious.*] The Stile of it is barbarous and intricate. It begins with this Period which has no sence: *Gloriam corroborata de divinis mysteriis. Ecclesiastica utilitatis quæ ad robur pertinent Ecclesiæ Catholicæ & Apostolicæ ad sedem tuam Romanam explanata, & de Græco redacta scribere confitemur*; and afterwards, *Nunc itaque ad vestræ sedis argumentum accurrimus roborari*, and so on. It is all made up of such kind of stuff, the date is ridiculous, wherein the Consuls are called *Sovereigns*, an Epithete never given to them, and the Letter is Dated Five or Six Days after the Opening of the Council.

[n] *The Answer of St.* Sylvester.] The Stile is like that of the former Letter; it supposes that St. *Sylvester* added something to the Council of *Nice*, it mentions the Cycle of *Victorinus*, who lived long after St. *Sylvester*. The Date of the Consuls also is false.

[o] *The Canons of this Council are also forged.*] The Inscription of this Council discovers its Imposture: There 'tis said, that the Council was held in the presence of *Constantine*, in the City of *Rome*; but *Constantine* came not to *Rome* that Year. 'Tis also observed, that it consisted of 275 Bishops: Who can think that *Sylvester* assembled so numerous a Synod, and yet that it should be unknown to all Antiquity? Why is it not mentioned in some ancient Author? The First Canon concerning the time of *Easter* is Non-sence. The Second is yet more unintelligible: These are the Words of it; *Ut unusquisque Episcopus rediens ad Parochiam suam, compaginem salutationis plebi tuæ innotescat.* Thus the Stile of it is as barbarous as is possible. The Third Canon forbids the Clergy to appear before Secular Judges for any Cause whatsoever. This is contrary to the Discipline of that time. The Fourth declares, That those who would enter into Holy Orders, should pass through all the Degrees, and be One Year Porters, Twenty Years Readers, Ten Years Exorcists, Five Years Acolyths, as many Years Sub-deacons, and yet as many Deacons, and afterwards Priests, and that they cannot be Bishops till the end of Six Years more; from whence it would follow, that none could be Ordained Bishops till they were more than 60 Years old; which is ridiculous and contrary to the Practice of the Ancient Church.

Of the pretended COUNCIL *of* Antioch *against* Eustathius.

Of *Antioch* against *Eustathius*, 330.

IN this Council which was held in 330. *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and those of his Faction, depos'd *Eustathius*, after the manner which we related, when we gave an Account of the Life and Writings of this Bishop, and they chose in his room *Paulinus* Bishop of *Tyre*. 'Tis probable that in this Council they depos'd *Asclepas* Bishop of *Gaza*, and condemned *Eutropius* of *Adrianople*. However this be, this Council has not left any Monument in Writing.

Of the SYNOD *of* Cæsarea.

Of *Cæsarea*, 334.

ST. *Athanasius* was cited to a Council held at *Cæsarea* in *Palæstine*, in the Year 334. but he did not appear, and there is nothing known of this Synod.

Of the pretended COUNCIL *of* Tyre *against St.* Athanasius.

Of *Tyre*, against St. *Athanasius*, 335.

THE Emperour called a Council in the Year 335. in the City of *Tyre*, to judge the Cause of St. *Athanasius*. He wrote a Letter to the Bishops of this Synod, wherein he exhorts them to settle Peace and Concord in the Church: He recommended it to them to judge justly and without Prejudice, and threatned those with banishment who would not appear at the Council. He sent thither Count *Dionysius*, with Guards to hinder any Disorder. This Council consisted of Sixty Eastern Bishops, or thereabouts. St. *Athanasius* came thither with Forty Bishops of *Egypt*; he was forced to appear there as a Criminal. Several Accusations were proposed which could not be proved, and so they insisted upon that of the Chalice, which they alledged he had caused to be broken in

Maræotis

Maræotis by his Priest *Macarius*. The Council sent Deputies to the places to inform themselves of the Truth or Falshood of this Story. But since the Deputies were the greatest Enemies of St. *Athanasius*, who could not fail of returning their Information to his Disadvantage, he thought himself obliged to retire, and appeal to the Emperour. Some time after, the Deputies returning with an Information, which they had made as they would themselves, the Synod pronounced against him a Sentence of Condemnation and Deposition. The Councils.

Of the SYNOD *of* Jerusalem.

THE Synod of *Tyre* was not yet finished, when the Emperour sent a Letter to the Bishops, wherein he ordered them to come presently to *Jerusalem*, to make there the Dedication of a Magnificent Church which he had built there. They obeyed the Emperour's Orders, and having perform'd this Ceremony with much Pomp, they made a Synod there, wherein they received *Arius*, &c. I know very well that *Valesius* affirms, that *Arius* was then dead, and that the Council received only the Followers of *Arius*. But St. *Athanasius* says plainly, in his Book of the Synods of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia*, That *Arius* and his Followers were received in this Council. We have in St. *Athanasius* the Synodical Letter of this Council, written to the *Egyptians* and *Alexandrians*, wherein they write to them, that they had received *Arius* and his Party, after they were satisfied that they held very Orthodox Doctrines. Of *Jerusalem*, 335.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Constantinople *against* Marcellus *of* Ancyra.

THE Council of *Jerusalem* being ended, the Bishops came to *Constantinople*, where they held also a Synod, wherein they deposed *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, as convicted by his Writings of renewing the Errour of *Paulus Samosatenus* and *Sabellius*. He had been already accused of this Heresy in the Council of *Jerusalem*, and he had promised that he would retract it, and burn his Book; but refusing to do it at *Constantinople*, he was there condemned and deposed. Of *Constantinople*, against *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, 336.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Constantinople *against* Paul *Bishop of that City.*

AFter the Death of *Constantine*, *Paul* of *Constantinople*, who had been banished, returned to *Constantinople*, according to the permission which the *Cæsars* had given to the exiled Bishops to return from their Banishment. But *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* who had a mind to usurp the See of this great City, and the Bishops of his Party being Enemies to *Paul*, because he was a Defender of St. *Athanasius*, stirred up against him his Priest *Macedonius*, who accused him of leading a Life unbecoming the Priesthood, and they presently assembled a Synod at *Constantinople*, wherein they deposed him, and chose in his room *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*. Of *Constantinople*, against *Paul* Bishop of that City, 338.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Alexandria, *in behalf of St.* Athanasius.

ST. *Athanasius* being returned from *Triers*, whither *Constantine* had banished him, re-entred upon the possession of the See of *Alexandria*, and notwithstanding the Condemnation of the Council of *Tyre*, was acknowledged as their Lawful Bishop; yet being opposed a-new by the *Eusebians*, under the Empire of *Constantius*, he caused a Council of a 100 *Egyptian* Bishops, or thereabouts, to assemble in the Year 340. who wrote in his Favour to all the Bishops of the World, and cleared him from the Accusations that were laid against him. This Letter is extant in the Second Apology of St. *Athanasius*. Of *Alexandria*, in behalf of St. *Athanasius*, 340.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Rome, *under Pope* Julius, *in behalf of St.* Athanasius.

THE *Eusebians* desiring to obtain the Favour of Pope *Julius*, sent Deputies to him about the end of the Year 339. to request of him a Council, to judge the cause of St. *Athanasius*, and declared to him at the same time, That if he pleased, they would make him judge of their Difference. *Julius* answered them, That it was just a Council should be assembled in what place they pleased; That there they might propose their Accusations against St. *Athanasius*, and answer what he had to say against them. The *Eusebians* without waiting for this Synod, where they could not be Judges, any more than St. *Athanasius*, assembled often-times at *Antioch*, where they ordained one *Gregory*, to fill the See of *Alexandria*, and sent him to seize upon it by main Force. St. *Athanasius* understanding what they had done, retired to *Rome*, where he was kindly received by Pope *Julius*, who wrote immediately to all the Eastern Bishops, that they should come to *Rome* on the Day which he appointed there to appear before the Synod, which was to be assembled about the end of the Year 341. The *Eusebians* never appeared, and detained the Pope's Legates who brought this Letter, till the Month of *January* in the next Year. However, The Bishops of *Italy* assembled in a Church of *Rome*, and examined the Cause of St. *Athanasius*, and that of *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*. All the Accusations which had been alledged against the former were proposed, and after he had proved them all to be false, he was declared Innocent. *Marcellus* of *Ancyra* perswaded the Bishops that his Faith was Orthodox, and declared that his Books were mis-understood, and so was acquitted also. At last, the Council prayed *Julius* to write to the Bishops of the East; which he did in the Year 342. Of *Rome*, in behalf of St. *Athanasius*, 341.

after

after the return of his Legates. We have often already ſpoken of this Letter of *Julius*; and therefore it is not neceſſary to ſay any thing more of it here.

The *Councils.*

Of the COUNCILS *held at* Antioch.

Of *Antioch*, 341, 342.

THE Eaſtern Biſhops having quitted the Deſign they had of appearing before a Council of the Weſt, or of taking the Pope for Judge of their differences with St. *Athanaſius*, aſſembled at *Antioch*, in the beginning of the Year 341. and there held a Synod of Ninety Biſhops or thereabouts. The occaſion of this Synod was the Celebration of the Dedication of the Church of *Antioch*. But as it was the Cuſtom of the Biſhops, when they were aſſembled to make ſome Eccleſiaſtical Rules, ſo theſe thought fit to compoſe New Confeſſions of Faith, and to make Canons concerning the Diſcipline of the Church.

In the Firſt of theſe Confeſſions of Faith, they declare, that they are not followers of *Arius*, and that they have no other Faith but what they received by Tradition; that they reſtore *Arius*, becauſe they found that his Doctrines were Orthodox, but that they do not follow him. After this Proteſtation there followed a Confeſſion of Faith, wherein they do not uſe the Word *Conſubſtantial, but they declare, That they believe in one only Son of God, coexiſtent with his Father who begot him, by whom all things were made; and in the Holy Spirit.* This was the Firſt Confeſſion of Faith that was made after that of the Council of *Nice*; and it was quickly followed by a Second made by the ſame Biſhops in the ſame place, wherein they enlarge much more upon the Attributes of Jeſus Chriſt: They ſay, *That he was born of the Father before all Worlds, That he is God of God, Whole of Whole, a perfect Being*, &c. *That he is the perfect Image and exact Reſemblance of the Divinity, of the Subſtance, of the Will, the Power and Glory of the Father.* They add, That the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, are not Three different Names, but Three Subſtances, and that they are one in Will. They pronounce an *Anathema* againſt thoſe who ſay, *That there was an Age or a Moment before the Generation of the World*, or who ſay, *That he is a Creature formed like other Creatures.* Theſe expreſſions of *being one by Will, of being a Creature like others*, and ſome others like them, which are in this Confeſſion of Faith, render it very much ſuſpected.

For this reaſon perhaps it diſpleaſed ſome Biſhops of the Synod, which obliged *Theophronius* Biſhop of *Tyana* to make a Third Confeſſion, which was approved by all, wherein they profeſs to believe in Jeſus Chriſt, *The only Son of God, God, the Word, the Power and Wiſdom, by which all things were created, who was begotten of the Father before all Worlds, perfect God of perfect God, who exiſts in the Father Hypoſtatically.* This Confeſſion of Faith has nothing that could render it ſuſpected, but only the omiſſion of the Word *Conſubſtantial.* Theſe are the Three Confeſſions of Faith which were made in this Council.

As to what concerns the Diſcipline of the Church, theſe Biſhops ſuppoſing that St. *Athanaſius* had been fairly judged in the Council of *Tyre*, though they had no more to do but ordain a Biſhop in his room. At firſt they caſt their Eyes upon *Euſebius* of *Edeſſa*, a Diſciple of *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea*, and of *Patrophilus* of *Scythopolis*: But this Prudent Man refuſing it, leſt he ſhould be affronted by the People of *Alexandria* who loved St. *Athanaſius*, they choſe *Gregory*, and prayed the Emperour to ſend him with a ſtrong Force to *Alexandria*, to take Poſſeſſion of that Church.

Afterwards they made 25 Canons concerning the Diſcipline of the Church, whoſe Authority has been Diſputed, upon the account of thoſe who made them. St. *Chryſoſtom* and Pope *Innocent* reject them, as being compoſed by *Arians*; yet they were inſerted into the Code of the Univerſal Church, and cited in the Council of *Chalcedon*, where ſome Canons of this Council of *Antioch* are quoted; and ſince that time they have had a place in all the Collections of Eccleſiaſtical Canons. And indeed, they contain the Wiſeſt and the Juſteſt Rules that ever were obſerved in the ancient Church, which has made ſome Authors believe, That part of them at leaſt were made by another Synod; but their Conjectures will not hold, and it is evident, that the 4th 12th and 15th were made by this Synod, ſince they are the ſame which St. *Chryſoſtom* and Pope *Innocent* reject, becauſe they were made by *Arians*. This being evident, ſay I, 'tis very probable, that all the other Canons were made by the ſame Council, eſpecially ſince in all the Collections, they are attributed to one Synod of *Antioch* only, which was held ſoon after the Council of *Nice*.

But we muſt carefully diſtinguiſh this Council of *Antioch*, of which we have juſt now ſpoken, that was held in the Year 341. from another Synod made up of a part of the ſame Biſhops, who aſſembled in the beginning of the Year 342. for this laſt was held after St. *Athanaſius* was acquitted, when the Biſhops of the Eaſt ſent back the Pope's Legates, after they had been detained till *January*, in the Year 342. 'Twas in the name of this Synod that they wrote a Letter to *Julius*, wherein they excuſe themſelves, for not being able to come to the Synod of *Rome* which he had aſſembled, both upon the account of the War with the *Perſians*, and becauſe of the ſhortneſs of the time between the delivery of *Julius*'s Letter to them, and the Day which he had ſignified to them for the meeting of the Synod. They took it ill that *Julius* had written to them all alone, and had addreſſed his Letter only to *Euſebius*; but above all they complained, that he had taken into his Communion, *Athanaſius* and *Marcellus*, who were condemned and depoſed.

Probably 'twas in this laſt Synod that the Fourth Confeſſion of Faith was compoſed, which is produced by St. *Athanaſius*. It comes very near to that of the Council of *Nice*, ſaving only that it omits the Word *Conſubſtantial*. They made it, as St. *Athanaſius* obſerves, to ſend it into the Weſt to the Emperour *Conſtans*.

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The 1st Canon of the Council of *Antioch* confirms the Decree of the Council of *Nice*, concerning the Celebration of *Easter*.

The 2d condemns those who would never communicate, and who have an aversion to the receiving of the Eucharist, and forbids the holding Communion with those that are excommunicated, under the Penalty of being excommunicated themselves.

The 3d forbids Clergy-men to forsake their Churches to abide in others, and ordains that he who will not return, being recall'd by his own Bishop, shall be deposed, and that the Bishop who detains him shall be punished by the Synod.

The 4th ordains, That in case a Bishop being deposed by a Synod, and a Priest or a Deacon being deposed by his Bishop, shall dare to discharge the Functions of their Offices before they be restored, they can never hope to be restored in another Synod; That they shall not be permitted to defend themselves; and that all those shall be excommunicated who have communicated with them, and knew the Judgment that was given against them.

The 5th is, That if a Priest or a Deacon despising his Bishop, separate from the Church, and make private Meetings, setting up a New Altar, and will not obey his Bishop, when he shall be admonish'd and call'd back again two or three times, he can no longer hope to continue in his Office, and if he continue to trouble the Church, the Aid of the Secular Arm may be implored to chastise this seditious Person.

The 6th forbids the receiving of an excommunicated Person, until he has been restored to Communion by his Bishop.

The 7th ordains, That no Person shall be received into Communion, who has not Letters of Peace, *i. e.* Letters testifying that he is not separated from the Communion of the Church.

The 8th declares, That these Letters cannot be given by the Priests who are in the Country Villages, or at least that they cannot address them but only to their neighbouring Bishops; but that the Suffragans may grant them.

The 9th ordains, That the Bishops of the Province reverence their Metropolitan, and do nothing of consequence without him, but only take care of the Dioceses, to ordain Priests and Deacons, and to regulate the particular Affairs of their Church; but to do nothing more without the Metropolitan, who ought likewise to do no considerable thing without taking the Advice of the Bishops of the Province.

The 10th regulates the Rights of Suffragans. In enjoyns them not to exalt themselves above their Rank; to take care of the Churches which are subject to them, without meddling with the Affairs of others. It permits them in their own Churches to ordain Readers, Sub-Deacons and Exorcists, but it forbids them to ordain Priests and Deacons, tho' they have even received Imposition of Episcopal Hands, that is, tho' they have been ordained Bishops. Lastly, it ordains, That the Suffragan should be ordained by the Bishop of the City.

The 11th ordains, That in case a Bishop, or a Priest, or another Clergyman address to the Emperour without the Consent of the Bishops of the Province, and chiefly of the Metropolitan, he ought to be excommunicated and deposed; but if he has any Affairs which oblige him to wait upon the Emperour, he may do it with the consent of the Metropolitan and and the Bishops of the Province, which shall be expressed in the Letters which they give him.

The 12th forbids Clergymen, who have been deposed by their Bishop, to address themselves to the Emperour, to obtain Restitution; and takes from them who shall do it all hopes of being restored.

The 13th forbids Bishops to pass from one Province to another to ordain there, unless they be called by the Metropolitan of the Province, and nulls every thing which shall be done by one Bishop of a Province.

The 14th says, That in case the Bishops of one Province cannot agree about judging of a Bishop, the Metropolitan may call the Bishops of the neighbouring Province, to judge and decide this Controversy.

But it is ordained in the 15th, That if a Bishop is condemned unanimously by all the Bishops of the Province, he cannot be judged a-new, and that the Sentence of the Synod of the Province ought to remain firm.

The 16th declares, That if a Bishop who has no Bishoprick, invade a vacant Church, without the Authority of a Synod, he ought to be driven away from it, tho' the People of the Church whereof he is Bishop should choose him. It adds, That a Synod cannot be compleat and lawful without the presence of the Metropolitan.

The 17th declares, That if any being ordained Bishop, refuse to accept of the Bishoprick, he is to continue excommunicated, until such time as he accepts it, or that the Synod of the Province has otherwise determined about it: But if it be none of his Fault, that he does not go to his Church, but because the People of the Church will not receive him, it is ordained in the 18th Canon, that he shall have the Honour and Place of a Bishop, upon condition that he do not any wise trouble the Church wherein he shall continue.

The 19th forbids the Ordination of a Bishop without a Synod, and without the presence of the Metropolitan. It adds, That 'tis convenient that all the Bishops of the Province should be present at this Synod with him; but if this cannot be done, yet they must be Summoned to it, and several of them must give their Suffrages, either in the Synod, or by Letters: That if the Ordination be made otherwise, it shall not be good; but if some particular Persons out of a Spirit of Contradiction contest it after it is thus made, the Suffrages of the major part should carry it.

The 20th ordains, That every Year two Synods shall be held in a Province; *viz.* the First, the

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Third Week after *Easter*, and the Second in the Month of *July*, that so Priests, Deacons, and in short, all those who pretend that their Bishop has done them any Injury, may have recourse to the Synod. It forbids also to keep these Synods without the Metropolitans.

The 21st forbids the Translations of Bishops.

The 22d forbids a Bishop to meddle within the Dioceſs of another, and to make any Ordination there.

The 23d forbids a Bishop to ordain his Succeſſor.

The 24th provides for the preſervation of the Church-Lands: It gives the management of them to the Bishops; but it ordains, that the Priests shall take cognizance of the Lands of the Church, lest after the Death of the Bishop his Heirs seize upon them.

The Last regulates the uses to which the Bishop should apply the Revenue of the Church: It ordains, That he shall diſpoſe of them, for the good of the Poor and of Strangers; and that he shall be content with neceſſaries, according to the command of the Apoſtle St. *Paul*; That he shall not keep the remainder to himself; That he shall not give it to his Brethren or to his Children, but that he shall diſtribute it according to the Advice of the Priests and Deacons; That if he does not do it, he shall be accountable to the Synod of the Province; and Lastly, That if the Priests and the Bishop be accuſed of conſpiring together, to appropriate to themſelves the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, the Synod shall examine this Accuſation, and shall puniſh them if it be found true.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Antioch.

Of *Antioch*, 345.

THE *Euſebians* aſſembled also at *Antioch*, about the end of the Year 345. or the beginning of the next Year, and there made a large Confeſſion of Faith, which they sent into the West, by *Eudoxus*, *Martyrius*, and *Macedonius*. 'Tis quoted as well as the others by St. *Athanaſius*. There they make profeſſion of believing in Jeſus Chriſt, the only Son of God, begotten of his Father before all Worlds, God of God, Light of Light; and they condemn those that say, that he is not God, or that he was made of nothing, and those that say, There are Three Gods, and those that confound the Divine Perſons. This Confeſſion is Catholick, tho' the Term *Conſubſtantial* is not found in it.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Milan.

Of *Milan*, 346.

THE Bishops of the West being aſſembled at this Council to find out some means of determining the Differences of the Bishops which troubled the Peace of the Church, the Deputies of the Eaſtern Bishops came thither, and propoſed that large Confeſſion of Faith last mentioned to them: The Western Bishops for their part declared, That the *Nicene* Creed must be approved, and *Arius* condemned. This Propoſition provoked the Deputies of the Bishops of the East who retired in great anger. *Urſacius* and *Valens* were received into Communion in this Council, after they had preſented a *Manifeſto*, wherein they condemn the Hereſies of *Arius* and *Photinus*. The Error of the latter was also condemned in this Synod. This Council was held in the Year 346. For, First, It was aſſembled when the Deputies of the Council of *Antioch* came into the West, and brought with them their long Confeſſion of Faith; and St. *Athanaſius* says, That they did this Three Years after the First Deputation, which they made about the end of the Year 342. Secondly, *Liberius* says, in his Letter to *Conſtantius*, compoſed in the Year 354. That it was then Eight Years since the Legates who came from the East, withdrew from the Council of *Milan* in great diſcontent. Lastly, St. *Athanaſius* says, that *Conſtantius* commanded him to appear at *Milan*, in the Fourth Year of his Abode in the West; and he came in 345. and therefore this Synod was held about the end of the Year 345. or the beginning of the Year 346.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Cologne *againſt* Euphratas.

Of *Cologne*, againſt *Euphratas*, 346.

THere is commonly placed in the Year 346. a Synod which is thought to have been held at *Cologne*, and wherein 'tis said that *Euphrates* Bishop of this City was depoſed, for denying the Divinity of Jeſus Chriſt. The Acts of this Council are extant in the Second Tome of the Councils, *p.* 615. But I find there is great probability that these Acts were forged, and that this Hiſtory is falſe: For this *Euphratas*, who is said to have been depoſed in this Synod, in the Year 346. *i. e.* in the next Year after the Conſulſhip of *Amantius* and *Albinus*, was preſent the Year after at the Council of *Sardica* as a Catholick Bishop, and was also one of the Deputies whom the Council sent into the East, as appears by the Teſtimonies of St. *Athanaſius* and *Theodoret*. Is it poſſible that a Bishop, who was a little before convicted of denying the Divinity of the Son, and then depoſed, should be preſent at the Council of *Sardica* among the Catholick Bishops, and should be chosen for a Deputy by the whole Council? Some say, that this Council was held after that of *Sardica*; but this Hypotheſis which is contrary to the Date of the Acts, may also be eaſily deſtroyed: For *Maximinus* of *Triers* who is thought to have preſided at this Council, as the Acts teſtify, died soon after the Council of *Sardica*, since it is certain, by the Teſtimony of St. *Athanaſius*, in his Epiſtle to those that lead a Monaſtick Life, That *Paulinus* the Succeſſor of *Maximinus*, was Bishop of *Triers* when *Urſacius* and *Valens* retracted, *i. e.* in the Year 349. But from the Year 347 to 349. *Euphratas* was always out of *France*, and conſequently it is impoſſible that he should be Depoſed by *Maximinus* of *Triers*.

There is also another Argument which proves the Acts of the Council of *Cologne* to be forged. *Servatus* Bishop of *Tongres*, says, that he reproved *Euphratas* in the preſence of St. *Athanaſius*. Now this

this Bishop could not have seen St. *Athanasius*, but upon Two Occasions. First, when this Saint was at *Triers*; and Secondly, when *Servatus* was sent into the East by *Magnentius*: But he could not reprove *Euphratas* in the presence of St. *Athanasius*, neither when this Father was at *Triers*, since *Euphratas* could not be accus'd of this Error before the Council of *Sardica*, nor when he was sent Deputy into the East; for then *Maximinus* of *Triers*, who is said to have presided at the Council of *Cologne*, was dead, as we have just now shown. The Councils.

The Subscriptions of these Acts do also plainly discover their Forgery: For there you may read the Names of *Desiderius* of *Langres*, and of *Simplicianus* of *Autun*, who lived in the Fifth Age of the Church; there is also the Name of *Discolus* Bishop of *Rheims*, who is not to be found in the Catalogue of the Bishops of that Church. Lastly, *Severinus* who is said to have been Ordained in the room of *Euphratas*, was still alive in the Year 402. according to the Testimony of *Sulpitius Severus*. 'Tis true the Names of *Desiderius* and *Discolus* are amongst the Names of the Bishops of *France*, in the Subscriptions of the Letter of the Council of *Sardica*; but 'tis probable that he that forged these Acts, took from thence these Names, and added to them the Names of the Bishopricks. However it be, these Acts were unknown to all the ancient Historians, who make no mention of this History, nor of the Council of *Cologne*. The First who cited them is the Author of the Acts of *Servatus* of *Tongres*, which the Learned now own to be supposititious. After him *Servatus Lupus* mentions them in the Life of *Maximius*: *Hogerius* Abbot of *Lobbes*, and some Modern Authors mention them; but their Authority is of little weight in so ancient a Matter as this.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Sardica.

THE Emperours *Constantius* and *Constans* desiring to restore Peace to the Church, called a Synod of the Eastern and Western Bishops at *Sardica*, in the Year 347 [a]. Thither came 100 Bishops from the West, and 73 Bishops from the East [b]. But those of the East having declared to those of the West, that they would not be present at the Council, unless St. *Athanasius*, *Marcellus*, and the other Bishops that were condemned, were excluded from Ecclesiastical Communion, and the Western Bishops refusing to accept of this Condition, the Council was divided, and the Eastern Bishops withdrew. Those of the West, of whom *Hosius* was the Head and President [c], did notwithstanding hold a Synod in their absence, to treat of the Faith, and of the Accusations charged upon St. *Athanasius*, and the other Catholick Bishops, and to make Canons concerning the Dicipline of the Church. In Matters of Faith, they all Agreed, that they must not make any new Creed, but must hold to that of the Council of of *Nice*: Yet some particular Persons would have made a new Creed, in imitation of the Bishops of the East, but all the Council disapproved their Design. The Creed then drawn up is preserved by *Theodoret*, *Ch.* 8. of the 2d *B.* of his History. Afterwards the Council took into their consideration, the personal Accusations against St. *Athanasius* and *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*. The First justified himself and was acquitted; the Second having alledged that *Eusebius* and his Adversaries took for Affirmations what he propos'd as Objections, was also restored. *Asclepas* Bishop of *Gaza* was restored; *Theodorus* of *Heraclea*, *Narcissus* of *Neronius*, *Stephen* of *Antioch*, *George* of *Laodicea*, *Menophantus* of *Ephesus*, *Ursacius* of *Singidunum*, *Valens* of *Mursa*, and *Patrophilus* of *Scythopolis*, were Excommunicated and Deposed. Of *Sardica*, 347.

Lastly, The Council produced Twenty Canons, and wrote Three Letters. The First which was addressed to all the Bishops, is to the Church of *Alexandria* by St. *Athanasius*, and by St. *Hilary* in his Fragments; the Second is to *Julius*, which is in St. *Hilary* in the same place, and the Third produced by St. *Athanasius*. There was also a long Letter to the Emperours, which was in St. *Hilary*'s Book, but is not now in his Fragments, nor any where else.

On the other side, the Eastern Bishops who withdrew from *Sardica*, assembled at *Philippopolis*, and wrote a Letter from thence, which they dated from *Sardica*, addressed to all the Bishops of the World. There they cry out upon St. *Athanasius*, *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, and *Asclepas*, and make them

[a] *The Emperours* Constantius *and* Constans *called a Council at* Sardica *in the Year* 347.] *Socrates B.* II. *Ch.* 20. and *Sozomen B.* III. *Ch.* 11. testify that it was called in this Year. St. *Athanasius* confirms this Epocha, because he says, that it was held a Year after the Council of *Milan*. It appears by the express Testimonies of St. *Athanasius*, that this Council was called by the Emperours. *Hosius* says the same thing in his Letter to the Emperour, and the Historians, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Theodoret* and *Sulpitius*. *Severus* follow this Opinion. *Socrates* indeed says, the Bishops of the East complain'd, that *Julius* had allowed too little time for coming to the Synod; but he confounds what they say about the Council of *Rome*, with what concerns the Council of *Sardica*.

[b] *Thither came* 100 *Bishops from the West, and* 73 *from the East.*] St. *Athanasius* in his Letter to those that lead a Monastick Life, says, that this Council consisted of 170 Bishops or thereabouts. Now it appears by the Subscriptions of the Letter of the Bishops of the East, that these Bishops from the East were 73. St. *Athanasius* indeed says, That the Letter of the Council of *Sardica* containing his Absolution, was signed by 300 Bishops, but this is to be understood not only of those who were present at the Council, but also of those who subscribed after the Council was over, to its Synodical Letter.

[c] *Of whom* Hosius *was Head and President.*] The Name of this Bishop is the First in the Subscriptions which are in St. *Athanasius*, who says, That he was the Head and President of all the Councils where he was present. *Theodoret* says expressly, That he presided in this Council, *B.* II. *Ch.* 15. of his History, as well as *Sozomen*, *B.* 3. *Ch.* 11. and the Council of *Chalcedon* in their Discourse to *Marcianus*, Tome IV. of the Councils, *p.* 825. *Petrus de Marca* has affirmed, That he presided in this Council, in the Name of the Pope, but his Opinion is not founded on any solid Argument. The Pope's Legates signed after him, and declared, That they only represented his Person: *Julius Romæ per Archidamum & Philozenum Presbyteros.*

pass

The *Councils.*

paſs for wicked Rogues. They declare, That they do not join with the Biſhops of the Weſt, becauſe they had received into their Communion thoſe Biſhops who were depoſed in the Eaſt, and upon the account of this pretended violation of their Authority, they excommunicate *Hoſius*, *Protogenes*, *Gaudentius*, *Maximinus* and *Julius*. They complain that the whole World was turned upſide down, and the whole Church diſturbed for the ſake of One or Two wicked Fellows. They accuſe the Biſhops of the Weſt of Arrogance, and reprove them for endeavouring to eſtabliſh a new Law, to give themſelves the liberty of examining a-new what had been determined in the Eaſt. They obſerve that the ancient Diſcipline of the Church is contrary to this Practice, and that the Judgments given in the Eaſt ought to be confirmed in the Weſt, as thoſe of the Weſt were received in the Eaſt. They prove this Rule by ſeveral Examples. Laſtly, they add to this Letter a Confeſſion of Faith, wherein they make profeſſion of Believing *in the Son of God, begotten of the Father before all Worlds, God of God, Light of Light, who created all things*; and they condemn thoſe who ſay, *That the Son was made of nothing, or that he is of another Subſtance than the Divine Subſtance, and that he is not of God, or that there was a time when he was not the Son of God*; as alſo, they anathematize thoſe who ſay, *That there are Three Gods, or that Jeſus Chriſt is not God, or that there is not one Chriſt only the Son of God, or that he is the ſame Perſon with the Father or the Holy Spirit.* This Letter which is preſerved in the Fragments of St. *Hilary*, is addreſſed to *Gregory* of *Alexandria*, to *Amphion* of *Nicomedia*, and to ſeveral other Biſhops, and among the reſt to *Donatus* of *Carthage*. For which reaſon the *Donatiſts* urge it in the Conference of *Carthage*, and the Catholick Biſhops being ignorant of this Hiſtory, ſay, That the Council of *Sardica* was made up of *Arian* Biſhops. Some ſay, That *Paul* of *Conſtantinople* was reſtored in the Council of *Sardica*, others who follow *Epiphanius*, ſay, That *Photinus* was condemned there. They are both miſtaken, for *Paul* was dead, and *Photinus* was not condemned in this Synod.

I have only now to give an Abridgment of the ſubject Matter of the Canons of the Council of *Sardica*. Theſe Canons were not compoſed as thoſe of other Councils in the form of Laws; but they are propoſitions made by *Hoſius* and ſome other Biſhops, which are approved by all the Synod.

In the 1ſt *Hoſius* ſays, *That they ought wholly to abolish a wicked Cuſtom and pernicious Abuſe, by hindering Biſhops to paſs from one See to another.* And having declared that Avarice and Ambition are the only cauſes of theſe Tranſlations, becauſe there is no Example of a Biſhop who ever quitted a great Biſhoprick to take a little one. He propoſes for a ſevere puniſhment of this Fault, that thoſe who are guilty of it ſhall be excluded from Lay-Communion. And all the Fathers of the Council anſwered, *We agree to it.*

In the 2d Canon *Hoſius* adds, That the ſame Sentence ought to be pronounced againſt thoſe who excuſe themſelves, becauſe they were deſired by the Faithful of their Second Church; and the Synod ordains that it ſhall be ſo.

The three following Canons concern Eccleſiaſtical Deciſions. It had been ordained in the Council of *Antioch*, That the Deciſion of the Council of the Province could not be invalidated, and that if the Biſhops of the Province could not agree, they ſhould call in thoſe of the Neighbouring Province.

The Council of *Sardica* falls foul upon theſe Two Deciſions: For in the Third Canon *Hoſius* propoſes, Firſt, that it ſhould be forbidden to appeal to Judges of a neighbouring Province; and Secondly, he ſays, That for the Honour of the Memory of St. *Peter*, he judged it convenient, with the leave of the Council, to Ordain, That if a Biſhop condemned in his own Country thought himſelf innocent, thoſe who had judged him ſhould write of it to the Biſhop of *Rome*, to enquire whether the Cauſe of the Biſhop accuſed ſhould be examined a-new: That if he, and the Judges whom he ſhould name were of this Opinion, they muſt proceed to a new Deciſion upon the place; but if he did not think fit that the Cauſe ſhould be examined a-new, then the Sentence already paſt muſt ſtand good.

Gaudentius adds in the Fourth Canon, That a Biſhop depoſed by a Synod of the Province, who deſires this new Deciſion, muſt not be expell'd his See, till the Biſhop of *Rome* has determined, whether the Cauſe ought to be determined a-new.

Laſtly, In the 5th Canon, according to the Greek, and the 7th according to the Edition of *Dionyſius Exiguus*, *Hoſius* ſays, That when the Biſhop of *Rome* thinks fit that the Cauſe of a Biſhop ſhould be examined a Second time, he ought to write to the Biſhops next adjoyning to his Province, That they examine the whole Matter with Care and Exactneſs; That he muſt alſo be impowred to ſend Legates in his own Name to this New Synod, unleſs he think it more convenient to leave the judging of the Cauſe to the neighbouring Biſhops of the Province only, without ſending thither his Legates. The Biſhops of the Council approve theſe Propoſitions of *Hoſius* and *Gaudentius*. Theſe three Canons have occaſioned great Diſputes, which would quickly vaniſh, if Men would confine themſelves to the Words of the Council of *Sardica*, which ſufficiently diſcover; Firſt, That the Diſcipline which theſe Fathers eſtabliſh is New; Secondly, That they do not give the Biſhop of *Rome* power to judge the Cauſe of a Biſhop, in his own Tribunal at *Rome*; but they only give him Authority to enquire whether it were well or ill determined; and in caſe that he find it was determined wrong to order a New Deciſion of it in the Country, and by the neighbouring Biſhops of the Province where it was determined, whither he might ſend Legates in his own Name to be preſent, if he thought it convenient. This is the Natural Sence of the three Canons of this Council, which I have explained more at large, in my Second Diſſertation of the Diſcipline of the Church.

The 5th Canon, according to the Edition of *Dionyſius Exiguus* declares, That if there remains but one Biſhop in a Province, and he will not ordain other Biſhops, the Biſhops ought to come to him and joyn with him in ordaining; but if he perſiſt in his unwillingneſs and will not meet them

them for ordaining Bishops, the neighbouring Bishops alone may then ordain them without his Consent. This is the Proposition of *Hosius*, to which the Council agreed. The Councils

The 6th is, That a Bishop ought not to be ordained in a Borrough or little City, where a Priest is sufficient, lest the Dignity of a Bishop be lessened.

The following Canons are about the Journeys of Bishops to Court. *Hosius* for hindering them to go thither continually, and importune the Emperour by their frequent Petitions, thought fit to ordain,

First, That none of the Bishops shall go to Court, unless he be required by the Emperour's Letters.

Secondly, That those who shall have Requests or Petitions to make for the Poor of their Churches, shall only send thither a Deacon.

Thirdly, That this Deacon, before he goes to Court, shall address himself to his Metropolitan, to whom he shall make known the occasion of his Petitions, and of whom he shall obtain Letters of Request and Recommendation.

Fourthly, That those who shall go to *Rome*, shall address themselves to the Bishop of that City, who having examined their Petitions, shall write of them to Court if he finds them Just.

Fifthly, *Gaudentius* adds, That for putting these Rules in Execution, the Bishops which lie upon the Road, shall ask the Bishops whom they shall see going to Court, and if they find that they have not observed the Canons above-mentioned, they shall not receive them into their Communion. But because these Rules were New, *Hosius* moderates this Penalty, and says, That they must first make them known to these Bishops, and perswade them to send a Deacon to Court from the place where they shall be, and then return to their own Dioceſs. These Propositions are approved by the Council, and contained in the Canons 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.

In the 13th *Hosius* says, That he thought it necessary to ordain, That Bishopricks shall only be given to those who have discharged the Offices of Reader and Deacon, or Priest, for a considerable time. The Bishops of the Council approve this Proposition.

In the 14th *Hosius* says, That it ought to be ordained, that a Bishop should not continue longer than three Weeks in the Dioceſs of another, and out of his own. All the Bishops are of this Opinion: But *Hosius* moderates this Law in the following Canon, in favour of those who have an Estate out of their Dioceſs, and who are obliged to continue there more than three Weeks for their Affairs, but he would have them forbidden after this time is spent, to go to the great Church of the City, and orders them to be present only at the Offering of a Priest.

In the 16th *Hosius* proposes the renewing of that Law, which forbids a Bishop to give the Communion to him who is excommunicated by his own Bishop: And the Bishops of the Council say, That this Rule will preserve Peace and Concord.

The 17th allows Priests and Deacons, who are condemned by their own Bishop to appeal to the Judgment of the Bishops of the Province.

In the 18th the Bishop *Januarius* desires, that a Bishop may be forbidden to sollicite the Clergy of another Bishop, that he may ordain them in his own Dioceſs. The Council answers, That these Contests occasion Discord among Bishops, and is of Opinion, that it ought not to be done.

Hosius adds in the 19th Canon, That the Ordination of a Clergy-man of another Dioceſs ought to be void, and that the Bishop who shall do it, ought to be punished.

In the 20th the Bishop *Aëtius* having remonstrated, that many Priests and Deacons, Strangers, continued a long time at *Thessalonica*, the Synod ordains, That the Rules made with respect to Bishops may oblige these Persons.

The 21st Canon according to the Edition of *Dionysius Exiguus*, which we have followed, declares, That according to the Remonstrance of the Bishop *Olympus*, the Council is of Opinion, that a Bishop forced away from his own Dioceſs, for the Defence of the Discipline of the Church, or of the Faith and Truth, may continue in the Bishoprick of another, till he can return to his own, for it would be great Inhumanity not to receive him who is persecuted, and that on the contrary, much Civility and Kindness ought to be shewn to him.

There are in the Greek two other Canons which concern a particular Business. The Bishop *Gaudentius* says to the Bishop *Aëtius*, That since he had had no trouble in his Dioceſs, from the time that he was Bishop of it, he thought that he ought to receive those who were ordained by *Musæus* and *Eutychianus*. *Hosius* judged that he ought not to admit those who being ordained would not continue in the Churches to which they are named. He adds, That *Eutychianus* and *Musæus* ought not to be look'd upon as Bishops, but if they desired Lay-Communion, it should not be refused them.

These Canons end with these Words in the Edition of *Dionysius Exiguus*. *The whole Council hath said; The Catholick Church spread over all the Earth, shall observe what has been now ordained.*

However, The Canons of the Council of *Sardica* were never received by the Catholick Church, as general Laws. They were never put into the Code of the Canons of the Universal Church, approv'd by the Council of *Chalcedon*. The East never received them, neither would the Bishops of *Africa* own them. The Popes only used them, and cited them under the Name of the Council of *Nice*, to give them the greater Weight and Authority.

Of the First COUNCIL *of* Sirmium.

THE First Council of *Sirmium* was made up of Western Bishops; it was held in the Year 349. Two Years after that of *Milan*. *Photinus* who had been already excommunicated, was there condemned, but he could not be forced away from his See, and therefore the Western Bishops only gave Of the First of *Sirmium*, 349.

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gave notice to the Eastern of the Judgment they had given against this Heretick. This is related in the Fragments of St. *Hilary*.

Of the Second COUNCIL *of* Sirmium.

Of the Second of *Sirmium*, 351.

THE Second Council of *Sirmium* was made up of Eastern Bishops, assembled by the Emperour *Constantius*, in the Year 351. *Basil* of *Ancyra* entred the Lists there against *Photinus*, and convicted him of Heresy. He was afterwards Deposed by the Bishops, and sent into banishment by the Authority of the Emperour. In this Council was made the First Creed of *Sirmium*, wherein the Bishops make profession of believing *in Jesus Christ the only Son of God, born of his Father before all Worlds, God of God, Light of Light, by Whom all Things were made.* There they anathematize those that said, *He was created of nothing, or of another Substance, or that he was not of God, or that he was made in Time; Those that said there are Two Gods*, or those who on the contrary averr'd, *That the Father, or at least one part of him, was born of* Mary, *and also those who make no distinction of the Three Divine Persons*, or who said, *That the Divinity was changed into Flesh, and that it was subject to Sufferings and Changes.* This is the Sum of that long Creed quoted in Greek by St. *Athanasius*, and in Latin by St. *Hilary*, who has considered and explained it as a very Orthodox Confession of Faith.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Arles.

Of *Arles*, 353.

CONstantius had a long time desired to get *Athanasius* condemned by the Western Bishops. To compass this Design, he assembled a Synod in the Year 353. in the City of *Arles*. The Pope sent for Legates *Vincentius* of *Capua*, and another Bishop of *Campania* called *Marcellus*; and ordered them to desire the Meeting of a Council in the City of *Aquileia*. These Legates being arrived at the Council of *Arles*, desired that they would begin with handling the Doctrine, and with condemning the Errour of *Arius*, before they spoke of the Cause of St. *Athanasius*: But *Ursacius* and *Valens* who had no other Design but to procure the Condemnation of St. *Athanasius*, would not admit this Proposition; and forced the Bishops of the Council, and even the Pope's Legates to subscribe the condemnation of this Saint. There was none but only *Paulinus* Bishop of *Triers* that continued stedfast, and for this Reason he was banished immediately.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Milan.

Of *Milan*, 355.

LIberius being informed of the Fall of his Legates, sendeth *Lucifer* Bishop of *Calaris*, to wait upon the Emperour, and desire of him a new Synod. The Emperour granted him one, and caus'd it to meet at *Milan*, in the Year 355. but it did not answer the Pope's Expectation. The Emperour caused the Bishops of the East and the West to be Summoned to it; but yet it was compos'd only of the Western Bishops. There came almost 300 to it. Thither they brought *Eusebius* of *Verceilles* and *Lucifer* of *Calaris*, who was the Pope's Legate, together with *Pancratius* the Priest, and *Hilary* the Deacon. These were invited to the Synod, and were urged to subscribe the Condemnation of St. *Athanasius*: They answer'd, That they must First handle Matters of Faith; That they saw in the Assembly some Hereticks, or such as were suspected of Heresy; That in the First place they must make profession of the Faith contained in the *Nicene* Creed. *Dionysius* of *Milan* took Pen and Paper, to write down and sign the Creed: But presently *Ursacius* and *Valens* took them by force out of his hands. Thereupon there arose a great Tumult, the People were put in a Commotion, and the Bishops withdrew to the Palace, where they were pressed to sign a Letter written in the Emperour's Name against St. *Athanasius*. There were but few Bishops who could resist the Emperour's sollicitations, and those who were so stedfast as to do it, *viz. Eusebius* of *Verseilles*, *Dionysius* of *Milan*, and some others, were sent into banishment. *Baluzius* in his new Collection of Councils, has caused the new Acts of this Council to be printed, taken out of the Life of *Eusebius* of *Vercelles*, published by *Ughellus* in the First Tome of his *Italia Sacra*; but there is no probability that they are Authentical.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Biterræ, *or* Beziers.

Of *Biterræ*, or *Beziers*, 356.

THE *French* Church had not yet been tossed with the Storms which troubled the Peace of all the Churches in the World. *Saturninus* Bishop of *Arles*, a factious Man, was the First who brought thither the fire of Division. He assembled in the Year 356. a Council at *Beziers*, and us'd all his Endeavours to make it receive the followers of *Arius*; but St. *Hilary* opposed him stoutly, and having desired him to treat of Doctrinal Matters, offered to convict *Ursacius*, *Valens*, and *Saturninus* of Heresy. Instead of harkning to him they wrote to Court against him, and he was sent into banishment, together with *Rhodanius* Bishop of *Tholouse*. After he was forced away, the Bishops of this Council being devoted to the Interests of *Saturninus*, did whatever he desired; but the other Bishops of *France* would never communicate with him, nor with *Ursacius* and *Valens*, and would not suffer other Bishops to be Ordain'd in the room of those that were banished.

Of

Of the Third COUNCIL *of* Sirmium.

THE Second Creed of *Sirmium* was made in that City, in the Year 357. by *Potamius* Bishop of *Lisbon*, a City of *Spain*, in the presence of *Valens*, *Ursacius*, *Germinius*, and some other Bishops. This Creed is *Arian*. In it they reject the Word *Consubstantial*, and they declare, That the Father is greater than the Son, and that the Son had a beginning. Of the Third of *Sirmium*, 357.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Antioch.

THE Eastern *Arians* seeing that those of the West had plainly made Profession of their Error, did also publickly declare themselves in a Council assembled at *Antioch*, in the Year 357. *Eudoxius* Bishop of that City, a Patron of *Aëtius*, *Acacius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palæstine*, *Uranius* Bishop of *Tyre*, and some others, did there condemn the Words *Consubstantial*, and *like in Substance*, and wrote to *Ursacius*, *Valens*, and *Germinius*, to thank them, because by their means the Bishops of the West had embraced their Doctrine. Of *Antioch*, 358.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Ancyra.

THE greatest part of the Eastern Bishops opposed this Design of *Eudoxius*, and could not endure that he should make so publick a Profession of the Impious Doctrine of *Aëtius*. *George* Bishop of *Laodicea* wrote a Circular Letter upon this Subject, wherein he exhorted his Brethren to join together for defending the Faith of the Church. *Basil* of *Ancyra* presented this Letter to many Bishops who were assembled in his City for Dedicating his Church, about the Feast of *Easter*, in the Year 358. These Bishops wrote a Synodical Epistle related by St. *Epiphanius*, wherein they First confirmed the Creeds of the Eastern Bishops made at *Antioch*, at *Sardica*, and at *Sirmium*, and then condemned the Heresy of *Aëtius*, and professed to believe the Son of God to be like his Father. There follow after their Creed 18 Anathematisms, wherein they condemn these following Impious Dogmes, *viz.* That the Son of God is not like to his Father, That he is unlike in Substance, That he is a Creature, That he is another God than God the Father, *&c.* At the end of these Anathematisms there is one against those who say, That the Father and the Son are Consubstantial. St. *Hilary* who explains the others, makes no mention of this last, because the Deputies of this Synod durst not bring it to *Sirmium*. Of *Ancyra*, 358.

Of the Fourth COUNCIL *of* Sirmium.

SOON after the Council of *Ancyra*, there was a Council held at *Sirmium*, wherein the Bishops of *Italy* and the West were present. Therein was made a Collection of the Creeds of *Antioch*, of the First of *Sirmium*, of that of *Sardica*, and that of *Ancyra*, which *Eustathius* Bishop of *Sebastea*, and *Elausius* Bishop of *Cyzicum*, presented to be signed by all the Bishops, who made no Scruple to do it. Of the Fourth of *Sirmium*, 358.

Of the Fifth COUNCIL *of* Sirmium.

Constantius having appointed two great Synods, one in the East at *Seleucia*, and the other in the West at *Ariminum*, some Eastern Bishops before they went to *Seleucia*, met together at *Sirmium*, where they made a new Confession of Faith, which was dictated by *Marcus* of *Arethusa* after a long Conference with the other Bishops, and was signed by those that were present. Therein they make profession of believing the Son of God to be in all things like to his Father; but they reject the name of *Substance*, as a Term that ought not to be used in speaking of the Trinity, because it is not found in Scripture, and is not intelligible by the People. Nevertheless *Basil* of *Ancyra* added in his Subscription, That the Son of God was in all things like to his Father, not only by the consent of Will, but also in Substance and Essence. This Creed has the Names of the Consuls at the beginning, which displeased many. Of the Fifth of *Sirmium*, 359.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Ariminum.

WHile these things were a doing in the East, the Western Bishops assembled from all Parts to *Ariminum*. The Emperour had sent his Letters Mandatory for them, and provided for them publick Carriage, and Money for performing their Journey; but the Bishops of *France* and *Britain* thought it below them to accept of these Offers, and chose rather to travel at their own Expence. There came about 400 to the Synod, which began about the Month of *July*, in the Year 359. *Ursacius* and *Valens* proposed there the Creed which was made a little before at *Sirmium*; but the Council confirmed themselves to that of *Nice*, and would not receive any other. This is declared by a solemn Decree which was sign'd by all the Bishops, and to it they subjoined Anathematisms against the Error of *Arius*, which are related at the end of St. *Hilary*'s Fragments. *Ursacius*, *Valens*, *Germinius* and *Demophilus* refusing to acquiesce in this Definition, were condemn'd by the unanimous consent of all the Bishops. Matters being thus determined in the Council to the advantage of the Faith of the Church, the Bishops sent Deputies to *Constantius*, with a Letter, wherein they give him an account of Of *Ariminum*, 359.

what

The *Councils.*

what they had done: But on the other side *Ursacius*, *Valens*, and their followers, sent also Deputies to the Emperour, and having much greater Interest in the Emperour, they prepossess'd him, and hindred him from giving audience to the Deputies of the Synod. And so he did nothing but write back to them, that he had not time to hear the Twenty Deputies which the Synod had sent to him, because he was obliged to go against the *Persians*; and that he had given them Order to wait till his Return to *Adrianople*, because he would examine Matters of Religion, with a Mind calm and disengaged from all other Businesses. The Council answered him, That they would never depart from what they had done, and they earnestly prayed him to permit the Bishops to return to their Churches before the rigour of the Winter. In the mean time, the Deputies of the Council assembled at *Nice*, a City of *Thrace*, and declared all that was done at *Ariminum*, null and void. *Ursacius*, *Valens*, and *Germinius*, approved a Confession perfectly, like that of *Sirmium*, wherein they declare that the Son of God is like his Father in all things, and reject the Terms of *Substance* and *Hypostasis*. *Ursacius* and *Valens* recited this Confession of Faith at *Ariminum*, and the Emperour sent his Commands to the Governour, that he should not suffer any Bishop to go away till he had Signed it, and gave order to send those into banishment who should continue Obstinate, provided they were no more than Fifteen. At first they all testified much Constancy, but by little and little they suffered themselves to be overcome through Emulation, and the greatest part of them Sign'd the Confession of Faith: There were but Twenty that held out to the last, but in the end they were overcome also, and Signed as well as the others. Nevertheless some of them, as *Phegadius* Bishop of *Tongres*, added Professions of Faith to their Subscriptions, wherein they expressly condemn the Heresy of *Arius*. When all the Bishops had Signed the Confession of Faith, they wrote to the Emperour, that they had fully satisfied his Commands, by agreeing with those of the East, and rejecting the Word *Substance*; and therefore they prayed him earnestly to give Order to the Governour to suffer them to go to their Churches. The Emperour gave them leave: And thus ended this Council, whose beginning was Glorious, and end Deplorable.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Selucia.

Of Seleucia, 359.

WHile these things were doing in the West, the Eastern Bishops assembled at *Selucia*, and there raised Disputes, which they maintained with extream Heats. There came to this Synod 160 Bishops of two different Parties, altogether opposite to one another. One of them were pure *Arians* who maintained, That the Son of God was not at all like in Substance to his Father. There were about 40 of this Party. The others called *Semi-Arians*, made profession of believing the Son of God to be like in Substance, and rejected the Errours of *Arius* and *Aetius*; those of this Party were 105. The other Bishops were probably Catholicks, Defenders of the Consubstantiality. There was an Officer from the Emperour's Court, called *Leonas*, present at the Council, for hindering any Tumult. The First Assembly was held on the 23d of *September*, in the Year 359. *Leonas* required the Bishops to propose what they were to treat of. The *Semi-Arians*, whereof the chief were *George* of *Laodicea*, *Eleusius* of *Cyzicum*, *Sophronius* of *Pompeiopolis*, *Silvanus* of *Tarsus*, *Macedonius* of *Constantinople*, *Basil* of *Ancyra*, *Eustathius* of *Sebastea*, and St. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, maintain'd, That Personal Causes should be first examined, before they handled Matters of Faith. On the contrary, the *Arians*, whereof the Heads were *Acacius* of *Cæsarea*, *George* of *Alexandria*, *Uranius* of *Tyre*, *Eudoxius* of *Antioch*, maintained, That they should first begin with matters of Faith; and they carried it against the others. They proposed, that the *Nicene* Creed should be rejected, and a new one should be made: But the Bishops of the other Party said, That they received the Council of *Nice*, and found nothing to be blam'd in it, but only the Word *Consubstantial*. Hereupon there arose a great Dispute which lasted till Night. To put an end to it, *Sylvanus* of *Tarsus* said with a loud Voice, That it was needless to make a New Creed, that they had nothing to do, but Sign that which was made at *Antioch*, by a Synod held there for the Dedication of the Church. The *Acacians* seeing that this Proposition was approv'd, withdrew, and the next Day the other Bishops being shut up in the Church, caused the Creed of *Antioch* to be Signed by all the Bishops. On the third Day, *Leonas* re-assembled the Bishops of both Parties. The *Acacians* desired that the Bishops who were divided from them and depos'd, should withdraw; they complained that they were not suffer'd to speak freely in the First Assembly; and they proposed a Confession of Faith, wherein they declare, That they did not refuse to approve the Creed made at *Antioch*, but that they were obliged to reject more expressly the Terms, *Consubstantial* and *like in Substance*, which troubled the Church; That they did also condemn those who said, that the Son of God was not like the Father, and that they made profession of believing with the Apostle, that he was the Image and Resemblance of the Father. They add, That the Creed of *Sirmium* was perfectly like theirs. This Confession of Faith is related by St. *Epiphanius* with the Subscriptions of 39 Bishops of this Party. St. *Hilary* observes, That the greatest part of those who Signed it being *Anomœans*, were forced to explain the Profession which they then made, by saying, That the Son was like his Father as he was his Father, but he was not like him as he was God. The Fourth Meeting was spent in Disputes which came to no end. Wherefore *Leonas* seeing that there was no means left to reconcile them, declared that he would put an end to the Council, and that he would not be present the next Day at the Assembly of the Bishops. The *Acacians* took occasion from thence to appear no more. The other Bishops, after a Citation of them, depos'd *Acacius*, *George* of *Alexandria*, *Uranius* of *Tyre*, and Six other Bishops of their Party, and excommunicated Nine of them. They restored *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, and ordained one named *Anianus* Bishop of *Antioch*, in the room of *Eudoxius*; but this *Anianus* was immediately sent into banishment.

The

The Succeſs of what was done both by the one and the other Party in this Council, depended upon the Will of the Emperour; the buſineſs was, who ſhould firſt engage him. The Deputies of the *Acacians* came firſt to *Conſtantinople*; and they were quickly followed thither by thoſe of the *Semi-Arians*, whereof the chief were *Euſtathius* of *Sebaſtia*, *Baſil* of *Ancyra*, *Sylvanus* of *Tarſus*, and *Eleuſius* of *Cyzicum*; they were aſſiſted by St. *Baſil*, who was as yet but a Deacon. The Emperour would have the Cauſe of the Faith diſcuſs'd in his own preſence. 'Tis ſaid that *Aetius* entred upon a Conference with *Baſil* of *Ancyra*, and was convicted of Hereſy. However this be, *Theodoret* ſays, that *Euſtathius* of *Sebaſtea* preſented to the Emperour a Confeſſion of Faith, wherein it was ſaid, That the Son of God was not like his Father, and accus'd *Eudoxius* of maintaining it; that the Emperour having given it to this Biſhop he denied it, and ſaid that it was *Aetius*'s, and that *Aetius*, having acknowledged it for his, was driven out of the Palace. While theſe things are doing, the *Nicene* Creed, which was ſign'd at *Ariminum*, was brought to *Conſtantinople*, and the Emperour having propos'd it, it was Sign'd by all the Biſhops of both Parties. The Councils. [That made in *Nico* a City of Thrace.]

Of the COUNCIL *of* Conſtantinople.

THE *Acacians* having ſtay'd at *Conſtantinople*, aſſembled there a Council of 50 Biſhops, in the beginning of the Year 360. Thither they invited the Biſhops of *Bithynia* who were of their Party, and they approv'd and publiſh'd in this Synod the Creed of the Council of *Ariminum*, changing only a few things in it. Afterwards they condemn'd *Aetius*, and Excommunicated three Biſhops who would not Conſent to his Condemnation. But as they condemn'd this Heretick only out of Policy, that they might obtain the favour of the Emperour who could endure him no longer; ſo they revenged themſelves afterwards upon all the Biſhops which oppos'd them in the Synod of *Seleucia*, and depos'd the Heads of the *Semi-Arian* Party, who were *Macedonius* of *Conſtantinople*, *Baſil* of *Ancyra*, *Eleuſius* of *Cyzicum*, *Euſtathius* of *Sebaſtea*, *Heortaſius* of *Sardis*, and *Dracontius* of *Pergamus*. In the Second Seſſion, they added to theſe *Silvanus* of *Tarſus*, *Sophronius* of *Pompeiopolis*, *Elpidius* of *Satala*, and *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*. They alledg'd many Pretences for depoſing of them, and ordain'd in their room Perſons of *Aetius*'s Party. *Eudoxius* poſſeſs'd himſelf of the See of *Conſtantinople*. Of *Conſtantinople*, 360.

Of the SYNOD *of* Melitine.

THere is mention made in the Council of *Conſtantinople*, whereof we have juſt now ſpoken, of a Synod held at *Melitine* about the Year 357. This Synod was compos'd of Biſhops of *Acacius*'s Party, ſince they alledge his Authority in the Council of *Conſtantinople*, and condemn *Elpidius* for having received a Prieſt who had been depos'd in this Synod. St. *Baſil* in Letter 74 teſtifies, That *Euſtathius* of *Sebaſtea* was depos'd in this Council. St. *Cyril* was preſent there, if we may believe the Biſhops of the Council of *Conſtantinople*. This is all that we could learn of this Synod, of which we have very little in Antiquity. Of *Melitine*, 357.

Of the SYNOD *of* Antioch.

THE Church of *Antioch* continuing vacant by the departure of *Eudoxius*, *Meletius* was ordain'd Biſhop of it by a Synod which *Conſtantius* call'd in 361. 'Tis ſaid that ſome time after being invited to preach before the Emperour upon theſe words of the *Proverbs*, *God hath Created me in the beginning of his ways*, he declared openly for the Faith of the Church; whereupon the *Eudoxians* call'd a Second Synod at *Antioch*, and depos'd him, under pretence that he had receiv'd into his Communion ſome Clergy-men who were depos'd by *Eudoxius*, and ordain'd *Euzoius*, in his room. Afterwards they made a Confeſſion of Faith, wherein they diſcover plainly their impious Doctrine, making no ſcruple to declare, That the Son of God was not at all like his Father in Subſtance, and that he was created of nothing. This was the laſt Synod held under *Conſtantius*, and the laſt of the Creeds made by his Order. Of *Antioch*, 361.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Alexandria.

ST. *Athanaſius* being returned to *Alexandria* after the Death of *Conſtantius*, held a Council there to enquire what way they ſhould take with the *Arians* who were willing to be reconciled to the Church. In this Council the State of the Church of *Antioch* was conſidered, and the Biſhops deputed, *Aſterius* Biſhop of *Amaſea*, and *Euſebius* of *Verceilles*, to make Peace in that Church. The Queſtion of the three Hypoſtaſes was debated in this Council; and it was determin'd that it did not concern the Faith, and that thoſe who ſay there are three Hypoſtaſes in the Trinity, are of the ſame Opinion with thoſe who ſay there is but one, becauſe they underſtand the ſame word differently. In it they alſo ſpeak of the Myſtery of the Incarnation, and determine, That the Word did not only take a Body but alſo a Soul, and a Mind. We have loſt the Synodical Letter, but the Letter which St. *Athanaſius* wrote to the Church of *Antioch* by the Order of the Council, is ſtill extant. He enjoyns them to receive the Chriſtians who aſſembled in the ancient Church of *Antioch*, without exacting of them any other Condition, ſave only, that they condemn the Hereſy of *Arius*; and be oblig'd to receive the Of *Alexandria*, 362.

The *Councils.* Faith of the *Nicene* Council, and that they reject their Error who believed the Holy Spirit to be a Creature. He advertiſes them, that no New Creed was made in the Council of *Sardica*; he gives them an Account of what was determined in the Council of *Alexandria*, concerning the Hypoſtaſis, and the Incarnation: He exhorts them to labour for Peace, and to ſhun ſuch Queſtions as tended only to foment Diviſions. This Letter was Sign'd by the Deputies of *Lucifer*, of *Paulinus* and *Apollinarius*, and by *Paulinus* himſelf who approv'd it when it was brought to *Antioch*.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Paris.

Of *Paris*, 362. THE Weſtern Biſhops who had been abuſed in the Synod of *Ariminum*, being conſcious of their Fault, endeavour'd to repair it by aſſembling many Synods to annul what had been done there, and to maintain the *Nicene* Faith. *France* was none of the laſt that teſtified her Zeal upon this occaſion. St. *Hilary* aſſembled there many Councils for Re-eſtabliſhing the Faith of the Council of *Nice*. We have yet in the Fragments of St. *Hilary*, a Letter of a Council held at *Paris*, wherein the Biſhops that were there preſent acknowledge, That they had done ill to conſent in the Synod of *Arminium*, that they ſhould ſpeak no more of the Word, *Subſtance*. They profeſs to believe, that the Three Perſons of the Trinity are of the ſame Nature, and of the ſame Subſtance, and they condemn *Auxentius*, *Urſacius*, *Valens* and *Saturnius*. This Council was in the Year 362.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Italy.

Of *Italy*, 362. 'TWas not only in *France* that the Synod of *Ariminum* was rejected: The Biſhops of *Italy* alſo nulled and voided all that had been done in this Synod, and Anathematiz'd *Urſacius* and *Valens* as the Heads of the *Arians*. We have in the Fragments of St. *Hilary* a Letter written upon this ſubject in the name of the Biſhops of *Italy* to the Biſhops of *Illyricum*.

Of the COUNCIL *of the* Egyptian *Biſhops, held at* Antioch.

Of the *Egyptian* Biſhops held at *Antioch*, 363. THE Emperour *Jovian*, a moſt pious Prince, being at *Antioch* in the Year 363, deſir'd of St. *Athanaſius* and the *Egyptian* Biſhops, who were come to wait upon him in that City, that they would explain to him the Faith of the Church. Theſe Biſhops being aſſembled, propos'd to him no other Creed but that of the Council of *Nice*, and rejected the Error of the *Macedonians* who denied the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. It is commonly thought that this Council was aſſembled at *Alexandria*: But it appears by the Letter which it preſented to the Emperour, related by *Theodoret* Ch. 3. of the 4th. B. of his Hiſtory, That it was compos'd of ſome *Egyptian* Biſhops, repreſenting all the other Biſhops of their Province, who had deputed them: Which plainly ſhews, That this Council was held out of *Egypt*, in the place where the Emperour was, that is, in *Antioch*, where 'tis certain St. *Athanaſius* came to wait upon *Jovian*.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Antioch *under* Meletius.

Of *Antioch*, under *Meletius*, 363. THE *Acacians* ſeeing that the Emperour *Jovian* favoured the Catholicks, joyned themſelves with *Meletius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, and held a Council in that City, wherein they declared, That they would embrace the Faith of the Council of *Nice*, and receive the Term, *Conſubſtantial*: But at the ſame time they add, That this Term muſt be underſtood in the ſence, which ſignifies, That the Son of God was begotten of the Subſtance of his Father, and that he is like in Subſtance to his Father; That we muſt not believe that there was any Paſſion in this ineffable Generation; That we muſt not make uſe of the Word, *Subſtance*, according to the natural ſence of this Term; That it was not us'd but to deſtroy the Error of *Arius*, who ſaid, That the word was made out of nothing, an Error which was revived by the *Anomæans*. Theſe Biſhops having made this Declaration in their Letter to the Emperour, approve the whole and entire Creed of the Council of *Nice*.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Lampſacus.

Of *Lampſacus*. 365. HYpatianus the Deputy of the Biſhops of the *Helleſpont*, deſired a Council of the Emperours *Valens* and *Valentinian*. They appointed one at *Lampſacus*, where the Biſhops aſſembled in the Year 365. After they had deliberated for the ſpace of Two Months what they ſhould do, they null'd all that had been done at *Conſtantinople* by the Intriguing of *Eudoxius* and *Acaſius*. They declared that the Son of God was like in Subſtance to his Father, and adher'd to that Profeſſion of Faith which was made in the Synod of *Antioch*, while the Dedication of the Church of that City was celebrated. They Ordain afterwards, That the Biſhops depos'd by the *Anomæans*, ſhould re-enter into their Churches, from which they had been unjuſtly forced away, and they appointed them for Judges the Orthodox Biſhops of their Province, and ſome of thoſe that were neareſt to it. They ſent Deputies to *Valens* who was then at *Heraclea*; but they were not well receiv'd, becauſe *Eudoxius* had prepoſſeſſed the Emperour, who Ordain'd, That the Churches ſhould be given thoſe of his Party. He oblig'd alſo *Eleuſius* of *Cyzicum*, in a Synod held in the Year 366, to agree with *Eudoxius*; but this Biſhop repented of it, and publickly teſtified the ſorrow he had for being overcome by the Sollicitations of the Emperour.

Of

Of the COUNCIL *of* Singedunum, *Compos'd of* Arian *Bishops.*

Of *Singedunum*, of Arian Bishops, 366.

Germinius Bishop of *Sirmium* made in 366. a Confession of Faith, wherein he makes profession of believing *in Jesus Christ the only Son of God, our Lord and our God, the true Son of God, of the true Father, God, begotten before all Worlds, like in all things to his Father, in Divinity, in Majesty, in Greatness, in Power and in Wisdom.* This Confession of Faith displeas'd *Ursacius*, *Valens* and the other *Arian* Bishops, who desired of him an Account of his Faith. The only Answer that he made to them was, that he would not separate from them: Wherefore they assembled at *Singedunum* a City of *Mœsia*, and from thence wrote to him to dissuade him from maintaining that the Son of God was in all things like his Father. This Letter is preserved in the Fragments of St. *Hilary*. 'Tis Dated *December* 16th. in the Year 366. *Germinius* answer'd them, [*That he made Profession of believing the Son of God to be in all things like to his Father, except the Innascibility, God of God, Light of Light, Begotten before all Ages, who is not made of nothing, but begotten of God his Father.* In short he says, That he does not depart from the Creed drawn up by *Marcus* of *Arethusa*, which had been formerly sign'd by *Ursacius* and *Valens*.

Of the SYNODS *held by the* Semi-Arians.

The *Synods* of 365. & 366.

THE Bishops who are call'd *Semi-Arians*, assembled many Councils after the Synod of *Lampsacus*: They held one at *Smyrna* composed of the Bishops of *Asia*, one in the Province of *Pamphylia*, another in *Isauria*, and one in *Lycia*. These Councils wrote Letters not now extant, that were carried to Pope *Liberius* by *Eustathius* the Deputy of these Bishops, who sent him into the West to make a Reconciliation with those who made Profession of adhering to the *Nicene* Creed. *Eustathius* discharged his Deputation, approv'd the *Nicene* Creed, and obtained Letters of Commendation from *Libertius*. He brought these Letters to a Synod which was held in *Sicily*, wherein the Faith of the Consubstantiallity was approved; and returning afterwards into the East, he receiv'd the Letters of a Synod of *Illyricum* held in the Year 367, which declared the Trinity to be Consubstantial, and particularly established the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. The Letter of this Council is related by *Theodoret* B. IV. of his History. About the end of this Letter the Bishops of this Council exhort those of the East to choose for filling up the vacant Bishopricks, either the Children of Bishops which were dead, if they found them capable, or the ancient Priests, and not to Ordain for Priests or Deacons such Persons as came out of the Palace or the Army, but to take them out of the inferiour Clergy. The Decision of this Synod was confirm'd by an Edict of the Emperour, address'd to the *Asiaticks*, wherein he declares that the Term *Consubstantial*, signifies not only that the Son is like to his Father, but that he is of the same Nature and the same Substance.

Of the SYNOD *of* Tyana.

Of *Tyana*, 368.

Eustathius being returned from the East with Letters of Commendation from the Western Bishops, came to a Synod assembled at *Tyana* in the Year 368, composed of the Bishops who had declared in *Jovian*'s time, That it was necessary to maintain the Faith of the Consubstantiality. *Eustathius* having read there the Letter of *Liberius* and the other Western Bishops, was there admitted to Communion, and the *Anomœans* were reconciled to the *Semi-Arians*. A Synod was appointed at *Tarsus*; but the Emperour *Valens* hindred its Meeting there, and caused one to be held in *Caria*, wherein the Term *Consubstantial* was rejected.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Gangra.

Of *Gangra*, 370.

THE precise time of this Council is not known. Some have thought that it was held between the Council of *Antioch* and that of *Nice*. Others following the Testimony of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, place it after the Council of *Seleucia*. This Opinion is confirmed, because that *Eusebius* who first sign'd the Canons of this Council, was probably the Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, the Predecessor of St. *Basil*, who held the See of this Church from the Year 362, to the Year 371. This Council condemns the Errors of one *Eustathius* who is different from the Bishop of *Sebastea*, who under pretence of leading a more perfect and austere Life, established such Practices as were contrary to the Laws of the Church. In the Letter of the Synod, he and his followers are Accus'd, First, Of condemning Marriage, and parting Wives from their Husbands; Secondly, Of forsaking the Publick Assemblies of the Church to keep private Meetings; Thirdly, Of reserving the Oblations for themselves only; Fourthly, Of parting Servants from their Masters, and Children from their Fathers, under pretence of making them lead a more austere Life; Fifthly, of permitting Women to be habited like Men; Sixthly, Of despising the Fasts of the Church, and observing others, according to their own fancy, even on *Sundays*; Seventhly, Of believing that it was forbidden in all Times to eat Meat; Eighthly, Of rejecting the Oblations of married Priests; Ninthly, Of despising Holy Places, and the Tombs of the Martyrs; Tenthly, Of believing that none can be Sav'd without parting with all their Goods. These Errors are condemned in Twenty Canons, which have been plac'd in the Code of the Canons of the Universal Church.

The 1st. condemns those who disallow Marriage, and believe that a Married Person cannot be Sav'd:

The

The *Councils.*

The 2d. thunders an Anathema againſt thoſe who condemn ſuch as eat Fleſh, excepting only the Blood of thoſe things that have been offered to Idols, and things ſtrangled.

The 3d. is againſt thoſe who teach their Slaves to deſpiſe their Maſters, inſtead of ſerving them with reſpect.

The 4th. is againſt thoſe who ſay, we muſt not take the Communion from the hand of a married Prieſt.

The 5th. againſt thoſe who deſpiſe the Houſe of God, and the Aſſemblies there kept.

The 6th. condemns thoſe who would have another than the Publick Church, who deſpiſe it, and would have the Eccleſiaſtical Functions performed without a Prieſt approved by the Biſhop.

The 7th. and 8th. are againſt thoſe who receive the Eccleſiaſtical Offerings out of the Church, without the conſent of the Biſhop, or of thoſe whom he has entruſted.

The 9th. is againſt thoſe who keep their Virginity, not becauſe of its Excellency, but becauſe they think Marriage to be an abominable thing.

The 10th. againſt thoſe who inſult over Married Perſons.

The 11th. againſt thoſe who deſpiſe the *Agapæ*, that's to ſay, the Feaſts of Charity.

The 12th. againſt thoſe who fanſie themſelves to be more Holy than others, becauſe they wear a ſingular Habit, and condemn thoſe that wear decent Apparel.

The 13th. pronounces an Anathema againſt thoſe Women who leave off their own Habit, and wear Men's Appearl.

The 14th. againſt thoſe who forſake their Husbands out of Deteſtation of Marriage.

The 15th. againſt thoſe who abandon their Children, who do not Feed them, nor Educate them in Piety, but neglect them under pretence of Devotion.

The 16th. againſt thoſe Children, who under pretence of Piety forſake their Parents, and ſhow them no more that reſpect which they owe them next to God.

The 17th. againſt thoſe Women who cut their Hair, to deſtroy the Sign of that Submiſſion which they owe to their Husbands.

The 18th. pronounces an Anathema upon thoſe who Faſt on *Sundays*, under pretence of leading a more auſtere Life.

The 19th. is againſt thoſe who break the Faſts of the Church without Neceſſity, and in Contempt.

The 20th pronounces an Anathema againſt thoſe who abhor the Aſſemblies and the Sacrifices which are made in honour of the Martyrs, and deſpiſe their Memories.

At laſt, the Fathers of this Council conclude with theſe excellent Words: "We ordain theſe things "not to conclude thoſe who would, according to the Advices of Holy Scripture, exerciſe themſelves in "the Church by theſe practices of Continence and Piety, but againſt thoſe who uſe theſe kinds of "Auſterities for a Pretence to ſatisfy their Ambition, who deſpiſe thoſe who lead an ordinary Life, "and who introduce Innovations contrary to Scripture and the Eccleſiaſtical Laws. We admire Vir"ginity when it is accompanied with Humility; we praiſe Abſtinence which is joyn'd with Piety and "Prudence. We reſpect that Retirement which is made with Humility; but we alſo honour Mar"riage. We do not blame Riches when they are in the hands of Perſons that are juſt and Benefi"cent; we eſteem thoſe who cloath themſelves Modeſtly, without Pride and Affectation, and we "abhor uncivil and voluptuous Apparel: We have a Reverence for Churches, and we approve the "Aſſemblies which are there made as Holy and Uſeful: We do not confine Piety to Houſes. We "honour all places built to the Name of God; we approve the Aſſemblies which are kept in the "Church for the publick Good: We praiſe the Largeſſes which the Faithful give to the Church to be "diſtributed among the Poor. In a word, We wiſh and deſire that theſe things may be obſerv'd in the "Church, which we have learn'd from the Scripture and the Tradition of the Apoſtles.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Laodicea.

Of *Laodicea*, between 360 & 370.

IT has been commonly believed, That this Council was more ancient than that of *Nice*, but the Regulations which are contain'd in its Canons, do ſufficiently diſcover, that it was held at a time wherein the Church flouriſhed, and had been a long time delivered from the Pagan Perſecutions; which ſhows that this Council could not have been aſſembled before the middle of the Fourth Century. 'Tis very probable that it was celebrated between 360 and 370. We know nothing of its Hiſtory; but we have 60 Canons of this Aſſembly, which regulate many conſiderable Points of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and have been received by the whole Church, and put into the Code of the Canons of the Univerſal Church.

The 1ſt. of theſe Canons declares, That by a kind of Condeſcention, the Communion ought to be given to thoſe who are married a Second time, after they have for ſome time given themſelves to Faſting and Prayer.

The 2d. is, That the Communion out to be given to thoſe Sinners who have done Penance for their Crimes.

The 3d. is, That thoſe ought not to be promoted to a Biſhoprick who were lately baptiz'd.

The 4th. That Clergy-men ought not to be Uſurers.

The 5th. That Ordination ſhould not be made in the preſence of thoſe who are in the Rank of Hearers.

The 6th. That Hereticks ſhould not be ſuffered to enter into the Houſe of the Lord.

The 7th. That in order to the receiving of Hereticks, ſuch as the *Novatians*, the *Photinians*, the *Quarto Decimani*, they ought firſt to abjure and anathematize all Hereſies, and chiefly that whereof they made Profeſſion; and then after they are inſtructed in our Doctrine, they ought to be anointed with Chriſm; and laſtly, made partakers of the Holy Myſteries.

The

The 8th. That they must be wholly baptiz'd a new who come from the Sect of the *Montanists.*

The 9th. That the Faithful ought to be forbidden to go to the Cœmiteries or Churches of Hereticks to pray there with them, and that those who do it ought to be excommunicated, and do Penance for their Fault. The *Councils.*

The 10. That Catholicks should not give their Daughters in marriage to Hereticks.

The 11th. That Prieſteſſes should not be ordained in the Church.

The 12th. That the choice of Biſhops should be approv'd by the Metropolitan, and by the Biſhops of the Province.

The 13th. That the choice of a Biſhop should not be wholly left to the People.

The 14th. That the Holy Myſteries ought not to be ſent at *Eaſter* as a Benediction.

The 15th. That none but the Canon-Chanters who ſit in high Chairs, and read in Books, ſhall ſing in the Church.

The 16th. That the Goſpel ſhould be read together with the other Books of Scripture, on *Saturday.*

The 17th. That many Pſalms ſhould not be read together, but between every Pſalm a Leſſon.

The 18th. That the ſame Prayers ſhould be read at *Mattins* as at *Veſpers.*

The 19th. That after the Biſhop's Sermon, the Prayers of the Catechuments ſhall be read apart by themſelves, and when theſe are gone forth, then ſhall be the Prayer of the Penitents; and Laſtly, after theſe have withdrawn having received Impoſition of Hands, the Prayer of the Faithful ſhall be made at three times ſucceſſively: That the Firſt Prayer ſhall be made in ſilence, but the Second and Third Prayers ſhall be pronounced with a loud Voice, and after that the Peace ſhall be given; that when the Prieſts ſhall give it to the Biſhop, The Laity ſhall give it to themſelves, and afterwards the Oblation ſhall go on till it be finiſhed; and that none but thoſe who are Holy ſhall be ſuffered to approach the Altar to receive the Communion.

The 20th. forbids Deacons to ſit in the preſence of a Prieſt without his leave, and it ordains likewiſe, That the other Miniſters and all the inferiour Clergy ſhall ſhow the ſame reſpect to Deacons.

The 21ſt. forbids Miniſters to do the Offices of Deacons, and to touch the Holy Veſſels.

The 22d. and 23d. forbids Miniſters and Readers to carry the Stole.

The 24th. forbids all the Eccleſiaſticks to go to a Publick Houſe.

The 25th. declares, That Miniſters muſt not give the Holy Bread nor bleſs the Cup.

The 26th. That thoſe who were never ordained by Biſhops, muſt not meddle with exorciſing in the Church, or in Houſes.

The 27th. That thoſe Eccleſiaſticks who are invited to the Love-Feaſts, muſt not carry any Meat away with them to their own Houſes.

The 28th. That theſe Feaſts muſt not be made in Churches.

The 29th. That Chriſtians muſt not obſerve the Ceremonies of the Jews, nor Feaſt on *Saturday*; but they muſt labour on this Day, and abſtain from labour on *Sundays.*

The 30th. That an Eccleſiaſtick or Monk, muſt not waſh in the Baths with Women.

The 31ſt. That Men ought not to give their Children in marriage to Hereticks.

The 32d, That the Bleſſing of Hereticks ought not to be received.

The 33d. That the Faithful ought not to pray with them.

The 34th. That a Chriſtian ought not to forſake the Martyrs of Jeſus Chriſt to go and honour falſe Martyrs which have been Hereticks.

The 35th. That Chriſtians ought not to forſake the Church to invoke Angles, and keep Meetings in private.

The 36. That thoſe ought to be caſt out of the Church who practice Magick, Judicial Aſtrology, and Witchcraft, *&c.*

The 37. That the Faithful ought not to celebrate the Feaſts of Jews or Hereticks.

The 38th. That they ought not to uſe the unleavened Bread of the Jews, nor follow their Ceremonies.

The 39th. That they ought not to celebrate the Feaſts of Pagans.

The 40th. That the Eaſtern Biſhops ought to be preſent at a Synod to reform others there, or to be reform'd themſelves.

The 41ſt. and 42d. That a Clergy-man muſt not go out of his Dioceſs, without Canonical Letters, without the permiſſion of his Biſhop.

The 43d. That the Porters ſhould not leave the Gates of the Church for a moment under pretence of Praying.

The 44th. That Women ought not to come near the Altar.

The 45th. That none ought to be baptized in the Second Week of Lent.

The 46th. That he who is to be baptized, ought to be inſtructed in the Faith, and that he ought to give notice on *Holy-Thurſday* to the Prieſts or the Biſhop, that he will preſent himſelf to Baptiſm.

The 47th. That thoſe who were baptized during their Sickneſs, ought to be inſtructed when they recover their health.

The 48th. That thoſe who are baptized, after Baptiſm, ſhould be anointed with Heavenly Chriſm.

The 49th. That no Offerings ſhould be made during Lent but on *Saturdays* and *Sundays.*

The 50th. That they ſhould not break their Faſt in the laſt Week of Lent; but Faſt throughout the whole Lent, eating nothing but dry Meats.

The 51ſt. That the Feaſts of the Martyrs ought not to be obſerved in Lent, but on *Saturdays* and *Sundays.*

The 52d. That Marriages ſhould not be celebrated in Lent.

The Council's.

The 53d. That Christians ought not to behave themselves disorderly at Marriage-Feasts, nor Dance there but take their Repast Modestly.

The 54th. That Clergy-men ought not to be present at the Shows or Balls, that are made during Marriage-Feasts, but arise and be gone before the Mask begins.

The 55th. That neither Clergy-men nor Lay-men, ought to make Feasts at Taverns, by paying every one their Club.

The 56. That Priests ought not to enter, nor go up into the Pulpit, before the Bishop be come into the Church, unless he be sick or absent.

The 57th. That Bishops must not be plac'd in Towns, nor Villages, but Visitors, who ought to do nothing without the Advice of the Bishop who is in the City, and that the Priests ought to observe the same thing.

The 58th. That neither Bishops nor Priests ought to make the Oblation in their own Houses.

The 59th. That private Psalms ought not to be sung in Churches, nor any Books read there which are not Canonical, but only the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament.

The 60th and Last Canon contains an Enumeration of the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament. It places in the number of the Canonical Books of the Old Testament those which the Jews acknowledged; and in this number it places *Esther*, *Job* and *Ruth*, but not *Tobit*, *Judith*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Wisdom*, nor the Books of the *Maccabees*. The Canonical Books of the New Testament are the Four Gospels, the *Acts*, and the Seven Canonical Epistles, and the Fourteen Epistles of St. *Paul*, but the *Revelation* is not in this Catalogue.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Rome *under* Damasus.

Of *Rome*, under *Damasus*, 370.

IN the Year 370, Pope *Damasus* assembled a Council at *Rome*, in whose Name a Synodical Letter was written against the *Arians*, produced in Greek by *Theodoret*, *B.* VI. of his History, *Ch.* 23. and by *Sozomen*, *B.* II. *Ch.* 22. and published in Latin by *Holstenius*. It is address'd to the Bishops of *Illyricum*, and not to the Bishops of the East, since these last are mentioned in the Third Person. This Synod confirms the Faith of the Council of *Nice*; and declares that *Auxentius* Bishop of *Milan* was condemned by the Bishops of *France*. It excommunicates those who do not believe that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are one and the same Divinity, and one and the same Substance. It observes, That the Council of *Ariminum*, could not prejudice the Decisions of the Council of *Nice*, because those who made the Creed of *Ariminum*, protested afterwards against what they had done, and also because neither the Bishop of *Rome*, whose Judgment was chiefly to be waited for, nor *Vincentius* of *Capua*, nor many other Bishops, did ever consent to the Decision of the Council of *Ariminum*. Lastly, they say, That they hope that the Bishops who hold not the Doctrine established by the *Nicene* Creed, should quickly be deprived of their Bishopricks, and they exhort the Bishops of *Illyricum* constantly to defend the true Faith.

Of the COUNCIL *Of* Rome *against* Ursicinus.

Of *Rome*, against *Ursicinus*, 372.

THIS Council was held in the Year 372. against *Ursicinus* the *Anti*-Pope. In it the Associates of this pretended Bishop are condemned, and among others *Florentius* of *Puteoli*, and the Bishop of *Parma*.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Valence.

Of *Valence*, 374.

IN the Year 374, *Phœbadius* or *Fegadius* Bishop of *Agen*, and 20 Bishops more assembled at *Valence* to settle some Commotions of this Church, and having regulated this Affair, they made Four Canons for the Reformation of Discipline.

In the First they forbid those to be Ordained for the future who have been twice Married, or those who have espous'd a Widow, whither they did it before or since their Baptism: But they do not meddle with the Ordinations of *Bigamists* made before their Decision, lest they should disturb the Church.

In the 2d. Canon they Ordain, That Penance shall not immediately be allowed to those Virgins, who Married after they had made a Vow of Virginity, and that they shall not be receiv'd until they have made full satisfaction.

The 3d. Canon delays Absolution of those till death, who having been baptized, did partake in the Profane Sacrifice of Devils, and exhorts them in the mean time to do Penance for their Fault, and to wait for the Remission of it from the Mercy of God.

In the last place they declare, That all those Deacons, Priests, and Bishops must be deposed, who confess themselves guilty of some great Crime, whether they did really commit it, or only accuse themselves falsly of it. There is a Letter prefixed to these Canons, wherein they address to the Bishops of the Five Provinces, and of *Gaul*, after which there follows another Letter written to the Church of *Frejus*, wherein the Synod acquaints it, That tho' the Bishop *Concordius* had spoken in behalf of one *Acceptus*, who probably had accused himself of some Crime whereof he was not guilty, yet the Synod did not think fit to make an Exception in his favour from the general Rule which they had made. To give a Reason of this Rule they add, That tho' they knew that many Persons accuse themselves of those Crimes which they have not committed, from the dread they have of the Priesthood, yet Men being more inclined to judge ill than well, they thought fit that all those who had said

said ill of themselves should be removed from the Priesthood, whether it were true or false, for fear of giving occasion of Disputes, by those Accusations which might be urged against the Ministers of Jesus Christ of such Crimes, whereof they might be convicted by their own Testimony. This Synod consisted of 21 Bishops. *Phœbadius* of *Agen* is the first; in it there is found also the Name of *Rhodanius* of *Tholouse*, of *Justus* of *Lyons*, of *Britto* of *Triers*, of *Florentius* of *Vienna*, and of *Concordius* of *Arles*. 'Tis observed in some Manuscripts, That it consisted of 30 Bishops, but perhaps this number ought to be corrected, by making it 21. The Councils.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Antioch *for restoring* Peace *in that Church.*

THE Church of *Antioch* for a long time had been rent in Pieces with Divisions. After the Deposition of the Great *Eustathius*, some rigid Catholicks had always maintain'd themselves without a Bishop, till *Lucifer* Ordain'd one *Paulinus*; but the greatest part of the Catholicks acknowledged *Meletius* for their lawful Bishop. The East favoured this last, *Egypt* and the West adher'd to *Paulinus*. St. *Basil* us'd all his Endeavours in vain to reconcile them, for he could not compass it; but Nine Months after his Death, as is observ'd by St. *Gregory Nyssen* in the Life of St. *Macrina*, in the Year 378, a Council was held at *Antioch*, wherein the Two Parties were reconciled, upon condition that no Bishop should be Ordain'd in his room who should die first, but the Survivor should continue sole Bishop. *Theodoret* says, That *Paulinus* would not accept this Condition, but the Bishops of *Italy* affirm the contrary in the Letter of the Council of *Aquileia*, and in the Fifth Letter of the Council of *Italy*. There was receiv'd in this Synod a Confession of Faith sent from the West, which is call'd the *Tome of the West*, as it is declar'd in the Fifth Canon of the Council of *Constantinople*. 'Tis probable, That this *Tome* is either the Synodical Letter of *Damasus*, or the Anathematisms which follow it. *Baronius* says, That Deputies were named in this Council, and he grounds this Conjecture upon a Passage of St. *Gregory Nyssen*, who says, That he was deputed by a Council; but it cannot be known at present, whether he speaks of this Council or of another. Of *Antioch*, 378.

In short, *Valesius* attributes to this Council the Letter 69 of St. *Basil*, written by several Bishops, to the Bishops of *Italy* and *France*, wherein mention is made of a Writing of the Bishops of the West: but this Conjecture cannot be maintain'd, since there are among the Bishops, in whose Name this Letter was written, the Names of St. *Basil* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, and *Theodotus* of *Nicopolis*, who were dead when the Synod, which we now speak of, was held; besides that there is no mention in it of the Reconciliation of *Meletius* and *Paulinus*, which was not till after the death of St. *Basil*.

Of the COUNCILS *of* Constantinople.

FOR the better understanding the History of the Council of *Constantinople*, which is called the Second General Council, we must distinguish Three Assemblies of Bishops held at *Constantinople* at Three several times. Of the First of *Constantinople*, 381.

The First was held in the Month of *May* in the Year 381. It was compos'd of all the Bishops of the Eastern Empire, except *Egypt*. *Meletius* of *Antioch* presided in the Assembly, and confirmed St. *Gregory Nazianzen* in the See of the Church of *Constantinople*. There is some probability that in this Synod the Canon was made, wherein the Election of *Maximus* is condemned, who endeavoured to invade the See of the Church of *Constantinople*, and also the Canon wherein the second place of Honour is granted to the Bishop of *Constantinople*. However this be, *Meletius* died before the end of this Synod, his Body was carried back to *Antioch*, and the Eastern Bishops chose in his room, *Flavianus*, contrary to the Promise that was made while *Meletius* was alive, That no Person should succeed in the room of the Bishop that died first.

Of the Second COUNCIL *of* Constantinople.

WHEN *Flavian* was Ordain'd, the Eastern Bishops returned to *Constantinople*, at the beginning of the Year 382. They were never after so favourable to *Gregory Nazianzen*, because he reprehended the Ordination of *Flavianus*, as a thing contrary to the Agreement that was made; and therefore this Saint had no sooner proposed to withdraw, but almost all the Bishops consented to it. After his retirement, the Council Ordained *Nectarius* Bishop of *Constantinople*. 'Tis to this Synod that the Canon and Creed of the General Council of *Constantinople* are attributed. In it was read the Letter of the Western Bishops assembled at *Aquileia*, wherein they desire that a General Council of the East and West may be held at *Alexandria*. The Eastern Bishops answer'd, That they could not go farther off, and they only sent Three Deputies into the West, to acquaint them with their desires of Peace, and to inform them of the truth of their Doctrine. Of the Second of *Constantinople*, 382.

The Western Bishops being dissatisfied with this, and with what was Ordain'd in the Council of *Constantinople*, complained to the Emperour, First, That they had Ordained *Flavianus* in the Room of *Meletius*, contrary to the Promise made while he was alive; Secondly, That they had Ordain'd *Nectarius* Bishop of *Constantinople* without any regard to *Maximus* who had been Ordain'd by the Patriarch. Thirdly, That they had avoided the calling of a General Council, that they might hold one at *Constantinople*. At last, they pray that a General Council may meet at *Rome* to determine all Differences: For say they, 'tis fit that the Eastern Bishops should not despise the Judgment of the Bishop of *Rome*, and the Bishops of *Italy*, since they have waited for the Judgment of *Ascolius* of *Thessalonica*.

We

The Councils. *We do not,* add they, *aſſume to our ſelves the Prerogative of this Examination, but we expect to have a part in the Judgment, becauſe the Judgment ought to be common to all thoſe who are of one and the ſame Communion.*

Of the Third COUNCIL *of* Conſtantinople.

Of the Third of *Conſtantinople*, 383.

THIS Letter from thoſe of the Weſt, was deliver'd in the Year 383, to a Synod aſſembled at *Conſtantinople*, whereof *Nectarius* was Preſident. The Biſhops of this Council made anſwer, That they wiſhed they could be preſent at *Rome* to treat there of the Affairs of the Church; but not being able to do it leſt they ſhould leave their Churches in a forlorn condition, they thought it would be ſufficient to give them an account of all that they had ordain'd. They ſay therefore, That they have approved the Creed of the Council of *Nice*, That they admit one and the ſame Divine Majeſty in Three Perſons, That as to the Incarnation they have a very Orthodox Doctrine, being perſuaded that Jeſus Chriſt took a Body, Soul and Spirit, and that he is a perfect Man. They prove that this is their Doctrine by the *Tome of the Weſt*, which they approved at the Synod of *Antioch*. As to the manner of Governing the Churches, they declare, That according to the Canons of the Council of *Nice*, they believed that the Biſhops of each Province, ought to ordain the Biſhops of their own Province, and call in to their aſſiſtance their Neighbours alſo, if they thought fit: That according to this Law *Nectarius* was ordained Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* in the General Synod, with the Conſent of the People and Clergy of *Conſtantinople*, and in the preſence of the Emperour; that after the ſame manner *Flavianus* was ordain'd by all the Biſhops of the Province and of the Dioceſs of the Eaſt, and that St. *Cyril* was ſome time ago ordain'd Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* by the Biſhops of the Province. They exhort the Weſtern Church to approve of what they had done, and to admoniſh them to preferr the Edification of the Church, before the Inclinations they might have to any particular Perſons, that ſo they might re-eſtabliſh a perfect Union among all the Members of the Church. This is what is contained in the Letter of this Synod related by *Theodoret*. This Council is not different from that mention'd by *Socrates Ch.* 10. of *B.* V. of his Hiſtory, and by *Sozomen*, *Ch.* 12. of *B.* VII. In which were preſent the Chief Biſhops of all the Sects, ready to defend their own Opinions: But *Nectarius* confounded them all, by asking them if they would referr themſelves to the ancient Catholick Authors, who lived before the beginning of theſe Diſputes: For ſome being willing to accept of theſe Terms, and others refuſing to do it, the Emperour who ſaw them divided, deſired of every one their Confeſſion of Faith, and when they had preſented them to him, he tore all thoſe in which there was not Profeſſion made of believing the Conſubſtantial Trinity, and made an Edict againſt all Hereſies.

The Creed of the Council of *Conſtantinople* is not very different from that of *Nice*. The Fathers of this Council have only added ſome more expreſs Terms, to denote the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, by calling him, *The quickning Lord who proceedeth from the Father, who is to be worſhipped and glorified together with the Father and the Son, who ſpake by the Prophets.* They make *Profeſſion* alſo, *of believing one only Holy and Apoſtolick Church, of confeſſing one Baptiſm only for the Remiſſion of ſins, of looking for the Reſurrection of the dead, and the Life of the World to come.* This Creed was not at firſt received by all Churches, and there were ſome that would add nothing to the *Nicene* Creed. For this cauſe it was perhaps, that no other Creed but that of *Nice* was read in the Council of *Epheſus*, and there it was alſo forbidden to make uſe of any other: But this of *Conſtantinople* was authentically approved in the Council of *Chalcedon*, where it was read after that of *Nice*.

It was a long time before the Canons of this Council was approv'd by the Weſtern Biſhops: Not only St. *Leo* rejected them in his Epiſtle 53, now the 80, but alſo *Gelaſius* in his Epiſtle to *Dardanus*, and St. *Gregory* in his Epiſtle 25 of *B.* VI. rejects them, as not being received in the Weſt; but however, they have been received in the Eaſt, and are put in the Code of the Cannons of the Univerſal Church. 'Tis not eaſy to tell how many Canons were made in the Three Councils of *Conſtantinople*, whereof we have juſt now ſpoken, nor to which of the Three they are to be attributed, and whether they are all made in one and the ſame Synod. The Verſion of *Dionyſius Exiguus* contains but Three of them; but the Second contains that which is the Third in the Greek, and the Laſt is reckon'd for the Fourth which concerns the Ordination of *Maximus*. But the Code of the Canons of the Univerſal Church, adds to theſe a Fifth, which concerns *the Tome* of the Weſtern Biſhops, a Sixth about the Form of Eccleſiaſtical Deciſions, and a Seventh concerning the manner of receiving Hereticks. *Photius*, *Zonaras*, *Balſamon*, and the other Greeks, acknowledged theſe laſt Canons, and attribute them to the Council of *Conſtantinople*, ſo that there can be no Queſtion, but they were made by one of thoſe three Councils of which we have ſpoken, but it is more probable, that they were made by the Laſt. Firſt, Becauſe *Dionyſius Exiguus* has not put them in his Collection of Canons; Secondly, Becauſe *Socrates* and *Sozomen* mention only the Four firſt when they ſpeak of the firſt and Second Council of *Conſtantinople*; Thirdly, Becauſe 'tis plain that theſe Canons are an Addition, or Supplement to the Three other Canons; Fourthly, becauſe it appears that the Fifth Canon was made by ſome Biſhops, who had a Confeſſion of Faith of the Biſhops of the Weſt, which they call *a Tome*, and which they approv'd. Now the Biſhops of the Third Council of *Conſtantinople* ſpeak of this Confeſſion in their Letter to the Biſhops of the Weſt, and give it the Name of *a Tome*; which ſhows that the Fifth Canon and this Letter were from the ſame hand. Laſtly, *Nicholas* the I. in his Letter to the Emperour *Michael*, cites the Sixth Canon of this Council, as belonging to the Council of *Conſtantinople*; but he obſerves that it is not to be found in his Code of the Canons. Theſe Reaſons ſhew, That the Four firſt Canons of the Council of *Conſtantinople*; belong to the Firſt and Second Synods, but

but rather to the First than the Second, because of the Fourth which is against the Ordination of *Maximus*, and that the three following belong to the Third Synod held in 383.

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The 1st. of these Canons confirms the Creed of the Council of *Nice*, and pronounces an Anathema against all the Heresies that are contrary to it, especially against the *Eunomians*, the *Anomæans*, the *Arians*, the *Eudoxians*, against the *Semi-Arians* who were Enemies to the Holy Spirit, against the *Marcellians*, the *Photinians* and *Apollinarists*.

The 2d. Canon consists of Four Parts: In the First the Bishops of one Dioceſs are forbidden (taken the name of Dioceſs for many Provinces) to go out of their own Dioceſs; and 'tis ordained according to the Canons, That the Bishop of *Alexandria* shall govern *Egypt* only; That the Bishops of the East shall govern the East, saving always to the Church of *Antioch* its Privileges and Prerogatives, which are mention'd in the Sixth Canon of the Council of *Nice*; That the Bishops of the Dioceſs of *Asia* shall regulate what concerns their own Dioceſs; That those of *Thrace* shall govern only the Churches of *Thrace*, and those of *Pontus* the Churches of *Pontus*.

The Second Part forbids every Bishop in particular to go out of the Bounds of his own Country to Ordain, or to meddle with the Affairs of the Churches in another Dioceſs.

The Third ordains, That the Synod of every Province shall regulate what concerns its own Province, as had been ordain'd by the Council of *Nice*.

The Last Part declares, That the Churches which are among the *Barbarians*, that's to say, those that are without the *Roman* Empire, shall be governed according to their ancient Customs, because in these Countries there is no distinction of Dioceſſes or Provinces.

The 3d. Canon grants to the Bishop of *Constantinople* the first Place of Honour next to the Bishop of *Rome*: Some have pretended that this Canon is to be extended to Jurisdiction; but this Explication is contrary to the Terms in which it is conceiv'd, and was never approv'd by Practice, tho' the Bishop of *Constantinople* taking occasion of this Prerogative of Honour, endeavoured afterwards to usurp the Dioceſſes of *Thrace*, of *Asia*, and of *Pontus*, which at last were subjected to him by the Determination of the Council of *Chalcedon*. The Reader may see this more largely explained in the first Dissertation about the ancient Discipline of the Church.

The 4th. Canon declares, That *Maximus* was never Bishop, that his Ordinations are null, and that all that he did ought to be made void.

The 5th. Canon, which is the first of those of the Third Council, approves the *Tome* of the Bishops of the West, and of those of *Antioch* who acknowledge one and the same Divinity in the Three Persons of the Trinity. There is also mention made of this *Tome* in the Council's Letter, and 'tis probable that this was the Synodical Letter of *Damasus*, sent to the Council of *Antioch* held in the Year 378.

The 6th. Canon regulates the Form of Ecclesiastical Decisions, and ordains, First, That all sorts of Persons shall not be admitted to accuse Bishops of Crimes which concern Religion; That no Hereticks, Schismaticks, Persons excommunicated, condemned, and in a word, all those that are separated from the Communion of Bishops shall not be allowed to do it. Secondly, That the Accusation of a Bishop shall be carried to the Bishops of his own Province. Thirdly, That if the Bishops of the Province cannot judge of the Crimes whereof a Bishop is accus'd, recourse must be had to the Synod of the Dioceſs. Fourthly, That those who accuse a Bishop, ought in writing to subject themselves to the same Penalty, to which they expose him that is accus'd, if they be convicted of Calumny. Lastly, That if any one slighting these Laws, shall address himself either to the Emperour or Secular Judges, or shall desire a General Council, without acquiescing in the Judgment of the Bishops of the Dioceſs, he ought to be heard no longer, since he has violated the Canons, and overthrown the Discipline of the Church.

The last Canon is concerning the manner of receiving Hereticks, who offer themselves to return into the Bosom of the Church. It ordains, That the *Arians*, *Macedonians*, *Sabbatians*, *Novatians*, *Quartodecimani*, *Tetratites* and *Apollinarists*, shall be receiv'd after they have made Profession of Faith, and Anathematiz'd their Errours, *By the Unction of the Holy Spirit, and the Chrism wherewith they shall be anointed on the Forehead, the Eyes, the Hands, the Mouth, the Ears at the pronouncing of these Words: This is the Seal of the Holy Spirit.* As to the *Eunomians*, the *Montanists*, the *Sabellians*, and all the other Hereticks, the Council ordains, That they shall be received like Pagans; that's to say, That at first they shall receive Imposition of Hands to give them the Name of Christian; That afterwards they shall be plac'd in the rank of Catechumens; That they shall be exorcis'd by blowing three times upon their Faces, and into their Ears; That they shall be catechiz'd, and that for a long time they shall be permitted to hear only the Holy Scripture in the Church; and at last they shall be baptized.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Aquileia.

Of *Aquileia*, 381.

THE Council of *Aquileia* was assembled in the Month of *September* of the Year 381. It should have been compos'd of the Bishops of the East and West; but St. *Ambrose* having declared that it was needless to weary the Eastern Bishops with such a Journey, none but the Western Bishops were obliged to come thither, and those of the East were only left at their Liberty to come there if they thought fit. There were about thirty Bishops present at the Council, together with the Deputies of the Bishops of *France* and *Africa*. *Valerian* was President. In it two Bishops of *Dacia* and *Mœsia*, nam'd *Palladius* and *Secundianus*, were accus'd of *Arianism*; there was read to them before the Council, a Letter of *Arius*, but they would neither approve, nor condemn it, and answered

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only, That they should see in two Days time, that they were both Catholicks. This Day being come they appeared before the Council; but they would not acknowledge it for a Judge, desiring a General Council compos'd of the Eastern and Western Bishops; nevertheless they examined them, convicted them of the Heresy of *Arius*, and condemned them. The Acts of this Council, the Letter which they wrote to the Bishops of *France* and *Spain*, to thank them for the Deputies they had sent, and the Letter addres'd to the Emperours, wherein there is an account of what they had done, and prays them to hinder the Hereticks from entering into the Church, are still extant. It complains afterwards of the Crimes of an *Arian* Bishop named *Valens*; and Lastly, it supplicates the Emperours to hinder the Assemblies of the *Photinians*. All these Monuments are extant in St. *Ambrose*.

The Bishops of this Council wrote a Letter to the Emperour, praying him to drive away *Ursicinus*, which was publish'd by *Sirmondus*, and is in the Second Volume of the Councils, *p.* 998.

They wrote also a Letter which is found in the same place, in which they give the Emperour an Account of the State of the Eastern Empire, they thank him for restoring to the Catholicks the Eastern Churches; but they complain that many things were chang'd there, and that those were not kindly us'd, who had always been in the Communion of the Western Churches, as *Timotheus* of *Alexandria* and *Paulinus* of *Antioch*. They pray that a General Council may be assembled at *Alexandria*, to examine those who ought to be admitted into Communion, and those to whom Communion must be denied. This Letter was delivered to the Emperour, at the time of the Second Council of *Constantinople*, and was read in this Council.

At last, when the Bishops understood what had been done in the East without consulting them concerning the Ordination of *Flavianus* and *Nectarius*, they complained of it by another Letter, whereof we have already spoken, preserved in the same Volume of the Councils, *p.* 345. They testifie also by a Fourth Letter which precedes these, how much they could have wished that the Council which they desired had been held, and how necessary it would have been. These Letters do not properly belong to the Council of *Aquileia*, but were written some time after in the name of those Bishops which were there assembled, and for executing what they had Order'd. For which Reason, it was thought necessary to mention them here.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Saragosa.

Of *Saragosa*, 381.

WHile the Bishops of *Italy* were thus labouring to procure the Peace of the Church of *Rome*, those of *Spain* were no less busied in allaying the Commotions which were rais'd upon occasion of *Priscillian* and his Disciples. The Council of *Saragosa* was assembled upon this account about the Year 381, where having condemned *Priscillian* and his followers, they made some Canons against their Practices.

The 1st. forbids Women to meddle with Teaching and Expounding Articles of Faith.

The 2d. pronounces an *Anathema* against those who fasted on *Sundays* from a superstitious or false Principle; and against those who entred not into the Churches during *Lent*, but hid themselves in their Houses or in the Fields.

The 3d. anathematizes those who having receiv'd the Eucharist did not eat it in the Church.

The 4th. forbids any to be absent from the Church from the 15th. of *December* until the *Epiphany*.

The 5th. forbids Bishops under pain of Excommunication to receive those who are excommunicated by their own Bishops.

The 6th. declares, That those of the Clergy must be cast out of the Church, who abandon the Ministry out of vanity to turn Monks.

The 7th. declares, That it is not lawful for any to take to himself the Title and Name of Doctor, but only those to whom it is granted.

The 8th. forbids Virgins to be veiled, that are devoted to Jesus Christ, except they be Forty Years old.

'Tis easy to perceive that all these Canons are made against the *Priscillianists*, who affected a singular Way of living.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Sida *in* Pamphylia.

Of *Sida* in *Pamphylia*, 383.

ST. *Amphilocius* assembled in 383, a Council of 25 Bishops at *Sida*, a City of *Pamphylia*, against the Heresy of the *Massalians* or the *Euchaitæ*. This Council condemned the Errors of these Hereticks, and wrote a Synodical Letter to *Flavianus* Bishop of *Antioch*: It is not now extant. *Photius* had read it, and he tells us of it in Volume 52 of his *Bibliotheca*.

The same *Photius* speaks in this place of a Synod held against these Hereticks at *Antioch* by *Flavianus*. There were present in it Three Bishops and 30 Priests and Deacons of the Church of *Antioch*. There *Adelphius* a Ring-leader of the Heresy of the *Massalians* was condemned, and they would not receive him tho' he should have abjur'd his Heresy, because they were persuaded that he would not do it sincerely. These Hereticks making no scruple of renouncing their Doctrine with their mouth. *Flavianus* sent an account to the *Osroenians* of what pass'd in this Synod.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Bourdeaux.

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THIS Council was assembled by the Order of the Emperour *Maximus*, and condemned *Instantius* a follower of *Priscillian*, and had condemned *Priscillian* himself if he had not appeal'd to the Emperour. See what we have said upon this Subject *p.* 191. 'Tis said, That afterwards there was a Council held at *Triers* where St *Martin* was present. But this Assembly of Bishops who came to Court to desire the condemnation of the *Priscillianists*, deserves not the Name of a Council. See *Sulpitius Severus*'s Account of it in his Dialogues of the Life of St. *Martin*. The same *Sulpitius Severus*, at the end of his Second Dialogue, mentions a Council held at *Nismes* in St. *Martin*'s time, but he acquaints us with nothing that pass'd in it.

Of *Bourdeaux*, 383.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Capua.

THE Council of *Capua* was assembled by the Emperour *Valentinian* in the Year 390, to determine the Difference which was between *Flavianus* and *Evagrius*, the Successor of *Paulinus* in the See of *Antioch*. In it *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* and the Bishops of *Egypt* were named for Judges of this Cause. But *Flavianus* would not acknowledge them for Judges, and told the Emperour boldly, who had order'd him to come to *Constantinople*, that he might send him to *Alexandria*. *Sir, if they accuse my Manners or my Faith, I am ready to submit my self to the Judgment of my Accusers themselves; but if they would have my Primacy and See, I will have no Dispute with any body about it, neither will I resist those who aspire to this Dignity; And therefore give the See of* Antioch *to whom you please.* This resolute Answer, made the Emperour wonder, who sent him back to *Antioch* to govern his Church. But tho' the Synod of *Capua* had not been assembled but for this Affair, yet in it they treated of other things. *Bonosus* a Bishop was informed against there, because he had the boldness to affirm that the Virgin *Mary* had Children by *Joseph* after the Birth of Jesus Christ. The Council referr'd this Cause to *Anysius* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, and the other Bishops of *Macedonia*. They forbid him to enter into his Church. This Bishop being disgraced by this Judgement, consulted St. *Ambrose*, whether it were lawful for him to enter into it. This Saint answered him, That he ought to do nothing contrary to the Judgment given by the Bishops of *Macedonia*: And they desiring to ratify their Judgment by the Opinion of the Bishop of *Rome*, wrote an account of it to *Siricius*, who answered them, *That the Council of* Capua *having referred this Cause, it did not belong to him to Judge of it, but to them to determine it.* We learn all this from the Letter of *Siricius*, which was formerly attributed to St. *Ambrose*.

Of *Capua*, 390.

This Synod treated also of Re-baptization, of Re-ordinations, and Translations of Bishops, as it is observ'd in the 48th. Canon of the Code of the Canons of the Church of *Africa*, which is conceiv'd in these Words, *We have declared what was Ordained in the Council of* Capua, *That it was not lawful to use Re-baptization, Re-ordination, and the Translation of Bishops.* This is all we know of this Council.

Of the COUNCILS *of* Rome, *and of* Milan, *against* Jovinian.

Siricius condemned *Jovinian* and his followers in a Synod of his Clergy, and his Condemnation was confirmed by a Synod of *Milan*. We have the Letters of these Two Synods. In the First it is determined, That tho' we ought not to despise nor condemn Marriage, yet Virgins are more to be honoured. The Second contains the Proofs of this truth, and in it is shown, That the Blessed Virgin lost not her Virginity by bringing forth Jesus Christ into the World.

Of *Rome*, and of *Milan*, against *Jovinian*, 390.

Of the COUNCIL *of the* Novatians *held at* Sangarus.

Socrates mentions in the 21st. *Ch.* of the 5th. *B.* of his History, a Council of the *Novatians* held at *Sangarus* about the end of this Century, wherein it was declared a thing indifferent to celebrate the Feast of *Easter* on *Sunday* or another day, against what was Ordained in another Synod held before that at *Pazus*.

Of *Sangarus*, 390.

Of the First COUNCIL *of* Carthage.

THO' this Council was celebrated in the Year 348, yet we have hitherto delayed to speak of it that we might give an *Idea* of all the *African* Councils of the Fourth Age together. This was a general Council of the *African* Bishops, and *Gratus* Bishop of *Carthage* who was present at the Council of *Sardica*, presided in it. He spoke first to his Brethren, and said, "That we must first give thanks to "God who hath put an end to the Schism, and inspired the Emperour *Constantine*, (it must be read "*Constans*) to send *Paulus*, and *Marcarius* into *Africa* to procure Peace there, and for the Liber- "ty which the *African* Bishops have enjoyed of meeting together in Provincial Councils, and as- "sembling from all the Provinces of *Africa*; that afterwards we must examine the Heads, about "which it will be necessary to make some Decrees, according to the Divine Laws, and the Instructi- "ons of Holy Scripture; but then we must have such a regard to this time of Peace, that we neither "weaken the Obligation of the Laws, nor yet prejudice the present Unity by too much severity.

Of the First of *Carthage*, 348.

The 1st. Head which he proposed was about Rebaptization. He ask'd, whether that Man ought

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to be re-baptiz'd who at his Baptiſm made Profeſſion of believing the Trinity. The Biſhops anſwer'd: *God forbid, We declare that this Re-baptization is unlawful, contrary to the Orthodox Faith and the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline.*

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The 2d. Head was to remedy the abuſe which the *Donatiſts* were guilty of in giving the Name of Martyrs to Fanaticks, who laid violent Hands on themſelves, or threw themſelves head-long from Precipies. *Gratus* was of Opinion, That they ſhould be forbidden for the future to honour theſe falſe Martyrs, and that thoſe Lay-men ſhould be put under Penance, who medled with Depoſing of Clergy-men. The Biſhops approved his Opinion, and ſaid, That the ſame was Ordained in the Provincial Councils.

In the 3d. they forbid thoſe Perſons who profeſs Virginity, to cohabit or have any familiarity with any Perſons of the other Sex, under the pain of Excommunication for the Laity, and of Depoſition for the Clergy. The Reaſon which they give for this Law is excellent: *We muſt*, ſay they, *ſhun the occaſions of Sin, remove all kind of Suſpicion, and avoid the Snares which the ſubtilty of the Devil uſes to deſtroy ſimple Souls which are not upon their guard, under pretence of Charity and Love to our Neighbour.*

The 4th. contains the ſame Prohibition to Widows.

In the 5th. the Biſhop *Privatus* remonſtrates, That a Biſhop ought not to be permitted to receive a Clergy-man belonging to another Biſhop, unleſs he has the Permiſſion of his own Biſhop; neither ought he to Ordain a Lay-man of another Dioceſs without the conſent of his own Biſhop. He alledges the Authority of the Council of *Sardica* to prove that this Order ought to be obſerv'd.

In the next, another Biſhop nam'd *Nicaſius* remonſtrates, that it does not become clergy-men to take upon them the charge of Secular Affairs. *Gratus* confirm'd this Remonitrance by the Authority of Scripture, and the Biſhops approved it.

In the 7th. another Biſhop propos'd, That a Prieſt or a Layman of another Dioceſs ſhould not be receiv'd into Communion, unleſs he had a Letter from his own Biſhop.

In the 8th. 'tis Ordain'd after the Propoſition made by *Evagrius*, and according to the Opinion of *Gratus*, That thoſe ſhall not be Ordained, who have been Guardians, or managed ſeveral other ſorts of buſineſs, till their Accounts be made up and ended.

The 9th. forbids them to chooſe Clergy-men to be Treaſurers or Collectors of the Publick Taxes.

The 10th. forbids Biſhops to invade the bounds of the neighbouring Dioceſſes.

The 11th. regulates the numbers of Judges neceſſary to ſit upon a Clergy-man. A Deacon who is accus'd ought to be judg'd by three neighbouring Biſhops, a Prieſt by ſix, and a Biſhop ought not be judg'd by leſs than twelve.

In the 12th. *Antigonus* Biſhop of *Madaura*, complains, that after he had made and ſign'd an Agreement with *Optantius*, (who probably was his Rival in the Biſhoprick) by which they agreed to divide the People between them, yet this *Optantius* continued ſtill contrary to this Agreement, to win the Affections of all the People. The Biſhops decree that the Agreement ſhould ſtand good.

In the 13th. *Abundantius* Biſhop of *Ardrumetum* ſays, That in the Council of his Province, Prieſts were forbidden to take Intereſt. *Gratus* repreſented that it was not neceſſary to make any Canon about this, that they needed only put the Law in Execution which was written in the Goſpel; and that if Uſury was to be condemned in Lay-men, it was much more damnable in Clergy-men. All the Biſhops approv'd his Judgment.

The Laſt Canon enjoyns Clergy-men and Laymen to obſerve theſe Canons, and thoſe which had been made by other Councils, under the pain of Excommunication for Lay-men, and Depoſition for Clergy-men.

Of the Second COUNCIL *of* Carthage.

Of the Second of *Carthage*, 390.

FRom the Inſcription of this Council corrected by a Manuſcript of the *Vatican* we learn, that it was aſſembled under the third Conſulſhip of *Valentinian* and *Neoterius*, that's to ſay in the Year 390, on the 14th. of *June*, at *Carthage* in the Church of St. *Perpetua*; That *Genethlius* Biſhop of *Carthage* preſided there, and that Biſhops came thither from different Provinces. *Genethlius* opens the Council by giving thanks to God for the coming of the Biſhops to *Carthage* according to the Letters which he had written to them. He ſays, That tho' all the Biſhops were not preſent at this Council, yet it was to be believ'd that thoſe who were abſent were united in Spirit with it. He recommends afterwards the Biſhops to defend the Faith of the Trinity.

The 2d. Canon renews the Law eſtabliſhed in the preceding Council concerning the Celibacy of Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons.

The 3d. forbids Prieſts to bleſs the Chriſm, to conſecrate Virgins, and to reconcile Penitents at a *Publick Maſs*. This is one of the moſt ancient Monuments where the name of *Maſs* occurs to ſignify the Publick Prayers which the Church made at offering the Euchariſt.

The 4th. Canon permits Prieſts to reconcile Penitents who are Sick and in Danger, with the Biſhop's leave.

The 5th. forbids the making New Biſhopricks without the leave of the Biſhop of the place.

The 6th. forbids the admitting any Perſons of bad Reputation as Accuſers of Biſhops.

The 7th. confirms the Rule made in many Councils, which forbids a Biſhop to receive a Perſon excommunicated by his own Biſhop.

The 8th. declares, That if a Prieſt excommunicated by his own Biſhop, undertake to offer up Sacrifices

crifices in private, and to set up Altar against Altar, thereby making a Schism, he ought to be anathematiz'd, because there is but one Church, one Faith, and one Baptism. The *Councils.*

The 9th. forbids Priests to celebrate *Mass* in all kinds of places: It is call'd in this place, *Agenda.*

The 10th. ordains, That a Bishop accus'd, who would justify himself, if he cannot call together more, ought at least to defend his Cause before Twelve Bishops, a Priest before Six, and a Deacon before Three, one of which ought to be their own Bishop.

The 11th. forbids Bishops to intermeddle in the Dioceses of others.

The 12th. declares, That Bishops shall not be ordained without the Consent of the Primate, that's to say, the Metropolitan, and that in a case of necessity three Bishops are sufficient to ordain a Bishop, provided they have the Consent of the Metropolitan.

The 13th. is the Conclusion of this Council, which ordains, That all the Bishops shall observe the Canons which shall be sign'd by all the Bishops present. Some Criticks have doubted of the Truth of this Council, because the Names of *Aurelius* and *Alypius* are found in it, who were not Bishops when it was assembled: But these Names are not found in the Edition corrected by the *Vatican* Manuscript, but in their places there are the Names of *Genethilus* and *Felix.*

Of the COUNCILS *of* Cabarsussa *and* Bagais.

THese two Councils are two Assemblies of *Donatist* Bishops of contrary Parties: In the First of which *Primianus* head of one Party, Bishop of *Carthage*, was depos'd, and *Maximian* in the Second. St. *Austin* quotes the Synodical Epistles of these two Councils; that of the First in the Commentary upon *Psal.* 36. and that of the Second in divers places of his Books against *Cresconius* and *Petilian.* This Father says, That the First Council was held in the Year 393, and consisted of a 100 Bishops; and yet there are but 43 in the Subscriptions of the Council: The Second which was celebrated the next Year, consisted of 310 Bishops. Of *Cabarsussa* and *Bagais*, 393, 394.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Hippo.

THis Council was held at *Hippo* under the Third Consulship of *Theodosius* and *Abundantius*, that's to say, in the Year 393, on the 5th. of *October.* Its Canons were inserted into the Council of *Carthage*, in 397. Of *Hippo*, 393.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Carthage, *in the Year* 394.

THis Council is mentioned in the Code of the Canons of the *African* Church, where it is observ'd, that it was held under the Third Consulship of *Arcadius*, and the Second of *Honorius* on the 24th, of *June*, and that Deputies are nam'd in this Council to attend at the Council of *Ardrumetum.* Of *Carthage*, 394.

Of the COUNCILS *of* Carthage, *in the Year.* 397.

UNder the Consulship of *Cæsarius* and *Atticus*, who were Consuls in the Year 397, according to the vulgar *Æra*, the Bishops deputed from the Provinces of *Africa*, came to *Carthage*; but they were not all present there at the same time: Some came on the 26th. of *August*, a Day appointed for the Council, others came not till some time after. Nevertheless, *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage*, having conferr'd with the Bishops who came first, and received Letters from the Bishops of the Provinces, who had not yet sent their Deputies, caus'd the Canons which the Bishops, with whom he had conferred, thought fit to make, and those which were propos'd by Letters from the Bishops of *Byzacena*, to be read to those that were present. These Canons were received in the Council, which confirmed those which had been made in the Council of *Hippo.* Of *Carthage*, 397.

The 1st. Canon orders all the Churches of *Africa*, to inform themselves every Year by the Bishop of *Carthage*, on what Day *Easter* should be celebrated.

The 2d. ordains, That every Year a Council shall meet, to which every one of the Provinces of *Africa* was to send three Deputies, excepting only the Province of *Tripolis*, which could send but one, because of the small number of Bishops in that Province.

The 3d. requires, That the Canons should be read to those who were to be ordain'd, that they might not be ignorant of them.

The 4th. forbids the Ordination of Deacons, and Consecration of Virgins before the Age of 25 Years, and forbids Readers to Salute the People, that's to say to address any Speech to them, when they read the Gospel in the Church.

The 5th. ordains, That the Sacraments should not be given to the Catechumens during the Solemnity of *Easter*, but only the Salt which was usually given them; because if the Faithful do not change the Sacraments during these Feasts, the Catechumens ought much less to do it. 'Tis hard to say, what this Sacrament is, which the Council forbids to give to the Catechumens during the Feast of *Easter.* It cannot be the Eucharist, for that was forbidden to be given them at all times. But the 37th. Canon of the Greek Code of the Canons of the *African* Church explains it, by observing that the Catechumens were forbidden to offer Honey and Milk on any other Day, but *Easter*-Day.

The 6th. forbids the giving of the Eucharist to the Dead.

The 7th. regulates the delays of Accusations brought against a Bishop: It orders that their Causes

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ſhall be carried to the Tribunal of the Metropolitan; but that a Biſhop cannot be excluded from Communion, for not appearing till one Month after he ſhall be cited by the Metropolitan's Letters; and that if he bring a lawful Excuſe for his abſence, one Month more of delay ſhall yet be given him; but if he appear not in that time, he ſhall be excluded from Communion till he be acquitted. And if he be not preſent at laſt at the Univerſal Synod which is held every Year, he is to be look'd upon as ſelf condemn'd; he ought not ſo much as to communicate with his People, while he is excluded from the Communion of other Biſhops; that his Accuſer ought not to be excommunicated, unleſs he fail to appear on the Day when the Cauſe is to be heard, and that no Perſon of a bad Reputation ought to be admitted to accuſe a Biſhop, unleſs the Buſineſs be about perſonal Cauſes which are not Eccleſiaſtical.

The 8th. regulates the number of Biſhops which are requiſite to judge Prieſts and Deacons. It requires five for judging a Prieſt, and two for judging of a Deacon. It ordains, That the delays ſhall be obſerv'd which are contain'd in the forementioned Canon; and as to others of the Faithful, it declares, That the Biſhop of the place may take cognizance of them, and judge them alone.

The 9th. ordains, That if a Clergy-man being accus'd before the Eccleſiaſtical Tribunal, remove the Cauſe to the Civil Magiſtrates, tho' he even gain the Cauſe, he ſhall loſe his Place, if it be a Criminal Cauſe; and if it be a Civil Cauſe, he ſhall loſe what he had gain'd.

The 10th. declares, That if a Perſon who has appeal'd from one Eccleſiaſtical Tribunal to other Eccleſiaſtical Judges of greater Authority, be by them acquitted, the Sentence given by the former Judges ought not to prejudice the latter, unleſs they be convicted of being byaſs'd by Paſſion, or corrupted by Favour. It adds, That it is never lawful to appeal from thoſe Judges that are choſen, even tho' they were not a ſufficient number.

The 11th. forbids the Children of Biſhops and Clergy-men, to act in profane Shows, or to be preſent at them, becauſe it is unworthy of Chriſtians to be preſent in a place where Blaſphemies are ſpoken.

The 12th. forbids Clergy-men to give their Daughters in marriage to Pagans, or Heriticks and Schiſmaticks.

The 13th. forbids Clergy-men to make Donations while they are alive, or by their laſt Will, to ſuch Perſons as are not Catholicks, tho they ſhould be of their Kindred.

The 14th. forbids them to emancipate their Children unleſs they be advis'd by their Kindred, or the Children be come to ſuch an Age, that the Sins which they commit can no longer be imputed to their Parents.

The 15th. forbids them to be Farmers or Procters, or to get their Livelyhood by diſhoneſt Traffick.

The 16th. forbids them to receive more than they had lent.

The 17th. forbids them to co-habit with Strange Women, and permits them only to live with their Mothers, their Grand-Mothers, their Aunts, their Siſters, their Neeces, and thoſe of their Domeſticks who dwelt in the Houſe with them before their Ordination.

The 18th. Ordains, That none ſhall be Ordain'd Prieſts, Biſhops, and Deacons, unleſs they have converted all thoſe who liv'd in the Houſe with them.

The 19th. declares, That Readers are to be obliged, when they come to Age, to Marry, or to make the Vow of Chaſtity.

The 20th. forbids Biſhops to undertake any thing in the Dioceſſes of their Neighbours.

The 21ſt. forbids them to detain the Clergy of their fellow-Biſhops.

The 22d. Ordains, That no Clergy-man ſhall be Ordained who has not been examined by the Biſhops, and approved by the Suffrages of the People.

The 23d. That in the Prayers the Name of the Father ſhall not be put in the place of the Name of the Son, That at the Altar the Prayers ſhall always be addreſſed to the Father; That thoſe who have compoſed private Prayers ſhall not make uſe of them, until they have conferred about them with Clergy-men of good Learning.

The 24th, That nothing but Bread and Wine mingled with Water ſhall be offered for the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt.

The 25th. That Clergy-men and thoſe who make Profeſſion of Chaſtity, ſhall not go to ſee Widows or Virgins without the permiſſion of the Biſhop or ſome Prieſts, that they ſhall not be with them alone, but with other Eccleſiaſticks, or ſuch Perſons as the Biſhops or the Prieſts ſhall appoint them: That Biſhops and Prieſts alſo ſhall not viſit them alone, but in company with other Eccleſiaſticks or Chriſtians of known Probity.

The 26th. forbids the Metropolitan to aſſume the Title of Prince of the Prieſts, or the Sovereign Prieſt, and declares, That no other Name ought to be given him but that of Biſhop of the Firſt See.

The 27th. forbids Eccleſiaſticks to eat or drink at an Inn unleſs it be in a Journey.

The 28th. forbids Biſhops to undertake a Voyage beyond Sea without the conſent of the Metropolitan, from whom they ſhould receive Letters recommendatory.

The 29th. declares, That the Sacraments of the Altar ought not to be celebrated by any Perſons but by ſuch as are faſting, except on Holy *Thurſday*: So that if the Memory of one that is dead is to be celebrated in the Afternoon, the Prayers muſt only be read without adminiſtring the Sacrament.

The 30th. forbids Clergy-men and Biſhops to make Feaſts in the Churches, and Orders, That the People ſhall be hindred from doing it, as much as is poſſible.

The 31ſt. leaves Biſhops the liberty to regulate the time of Penance.

The 32d. forbids Prieſts to reconcile Penitents without asking leave of the Biſhop, unleſs urgent neceſſity enforce the doing of it in his abſence. It adds, That Penitents whoſe Crimes are very publick

and

and known by all the Church, should receive Imposition of Hands in an high Place near the Bishop's Throne.

The 33d. Ordains, That when Virgins happen to lose their Relations who took care of them, the Bishop, or in his absence, the Priest, ought to place them in a Nunnery, or commit them to the care of Women of known Probity.

The 34th. That Sick Persons shall be baptized, who cannot answer any longer, when those who are by them testify that they desired it.

The 35th. That the Grace of Reconciliation shall not be denied to Sorcerers, Comædians, and other Infamous Persons, nor even to Apostates, when they are converted.

The 36th. hinders Priests from consecrating Virgins without the Bishop's permission, and absolutely forbids them to make the holy Chrism.

The 37th. forbids Clergy-men to dwell in strange Cities, unless the Bishop or the Priests of both Places be satisfied, that they have just and lawful Reasons to do so.

Almost all the Canons which we have now mentioned were made by the Council of *Hippo*, except some which were added by the Bishops of *Byzacena*. These last are the 35th. and so on to the 47th. in the Code of the *African* Canons: There is one besides of the Council of *Hippo*, which is the 47th. in the 3d. Council of *Carthage*. This contains a Catalogue of the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, in the number of which are the Five Books of *Solomon*, the Books of *Tobit*, of *Judith*, of *Esther*, the *Maccabees*, the Three Epistles of St. *John*, that of St. *Jude*, and the *Revelations*. 'Tis added in the Council of the Bishops of *Byzacena*, That it shall be lawful to read publickly the Passions of the Martyrs.

What concerns the Canonical Books was also repeated in a Council held in 418, under Pope *Boniface*, wherein it was proposed, That the Churches of *Italy* should be consulted about this Canon.

There were Two or Three Canons besides of this Council which were explained in the Synod of *Carthage*, that we now speak of, whereof the First declares, That a Bishop shall not be Ordained but by Three Bishops; the Second, That those who have no Testimonials, and do not remember that they were baptized, shall be baptized a-new; and the last declares, That the *Donatists* shall be receiv'd only to the Rank of Lay-men.

The other Canons were made in this Council of *Carthage*. The First, as appears by the Code of the Canons of the *African* Councils, is the 48th. wherein *Honoratus* and *Urbanus* Legates from the Province of *Mauritania*, say, That they have for a long time expected those of *Numidia*, and declare, That they approve the *Nicene* Creed, and the Canon which forbids any to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice unless he be fasting. They say that *Siricius* and *Simplicianus* ought to be consulted about the case of Infants baptized by the *Donatists*, whether they may be Ordain'd in the Church or no.

In the 37th. the same Legates say, That Re-baptizations, Re-ordinations, and Translations of Bishops being forbidden in the full Synod of *Capua*, they beg leave to address themselves to the Governour of their Province, to drive away *Cresconius*, who had removed from *Rhegium* to *Tuburnia*, and would not depart from thence tho' he had been many times admonished. The Council granted them this leave.

In the 39th. the same Persons desire, that it may be Ordain'd, that the Ordinations of Lay-men cannot be made but by 12 Bishops: But *Aurelius* having remonstrated that this was impossible in some Provinces, it was Ordain'd, That Three of them at least should meet. But he adds in the next Canon, That if there be any difference, some other Bishops shall be called in to examine what is said against the Person who is to be Ordain'd.

The 41st. declares, That the Bishop of *Carthage* shall publish *Easter*-day immediately after the Synod, which shall be assembled every Year at *Carthage*.

The 42d. forbids the erecting a Church into a Bishoprick which was put under the Jurisdiction of a Bishop without his consent.

The 43d. is against those who satisfy themselves with governing their Dioceses without attending at Synods.

The 44th. declares, That Clergy-men ought not to be taken from their own Bishops to make them Bishops, without their consent.

In the 45th. *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage* remonstrates, That commonly leave is desired by him from the Bishop of the place to Ordain one of his Clergy-men; but he desires to know what is to be done if he refuses it.

Numidius observes upon this Proposal, that it was always lawful for the Bishop of *Carthage*, to take those who were desir'd of him, and Ordain them tho' they were of another Dioceses. *Epigonius* declares in the name of the Bishops, That it is his Right: But *Posthumianus* remonstrates, That it may happen that a Bishop shall have but one Priest, and it is not just to take him away from him. *Aurelius* answers, That a Bishop may easily ordain many Priests, but that it is more difficult to find fit Persons to be Bishops; and therefore tho' a Bishop should have but one Priest, he ought to give him that he may be made a Bishop. *Posthumianus* replies, That therefore it is just, that another Church which has many Clergy-men, should furnish that which has given the one Priest to be a Bishop; and *Aurelius* answers him, That the Bishop who has many Priests, shall be persuaded to give some of them to him who has given his own Priest to be a Bishop.

The 46th. Canon, which should be the last, declares, That the Bishops which have been ordain'd in a Church, where there was never any before, with the consent of the Bishop of the Place, shall continue in their Bishopricks; but that they shall only govern the People whereof they have been ordain'd Bishops.

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After

After this Canon follows the Approbation and Subscription of the Bishops, which is found in Canon Fifty.

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Of the COUNCIL *of* Carthage *held in the Year* 398, *call'd the Fourth.*

Of *Carthage*, 398.

THere are 104 Canons which contain the Ordination and Manners of Bishops, Priests, and other Ecclesiasticks, which are attributed to a Council of *Carthage* call'd the Fourth. The Preface declares, That it was held under the Consulship of *Honorius* and *Eutychianus*, that's to say, in the Year 398, and, that *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage* presided in it. But there is some difficulty about the truth of these Canons; they are neither in the Code of the *African* Church, nor in the Collection of Canons entitled, *The Council of* Africk, nor in the Collection of *Ferrandus*, nor in that of *Dionysius Exiguus*, and there is not so much as one of them cited in these places. In a Manuscript of Cardinal *Barberini*, these Canons are entituled *Ancient Statutes of the Eastern Church*; but this cannot be the true Title, because the Ceremonies of the Ordination of the lesser Orders, as they are described in the Canons of this Council, are agreeable to the Practice of the Western Church, who gave them by delivering the Holy Vessels, and is not agreeable to the Practice of the Eastern Church which never made use of this Ceremony, but conferr'd them by Imposition of Hands. In other Manuscripts they are entituled, *Ancient Statutes of the Church.* They agree well enough to the Church of *Africa*, as appears by the First Canon, where it is Ordain'd, That a Bishop shall be interrogated, about the Errors common in *Africa*, whether he believes the Consubstantial Trinity; if he believes the Resurrection of this Flesh; if he believes that 'tis the same God who is the Author of the Old and New Testament, of the Law and the Gospel; if he held that the Devil is not wicked by Nature, but become so by his own Will; if he did not condemn Second Marriages; if he did not find Fault with those who eat Meat; if he believed that Baptism pardoned all Sins, Original Sin, as well as the other actual Sins: Lastly, if he held that a Person may be saved out of the Church. These are the Errors of the *Manichees*, *Donatists*, and *Pelagians* which were common in *Africk*. As to the Article which concerns Original Sin, it is something surprizing that it should be found so expresly set down in a Synod held in 398, since *Pelagius* did not publish his Error in *Africa* till 411, and was not condemned till 412. But it may be this Error was already known, tho' *Celestius* was not yet come into *Africa*; and there is no doubt, but the Church of *Africk* from that time maintained Original Sin. Howsoever this be, this discovers that these Canons belong to the Western Church, and even to the Church of *Africa*. I see no reason strong enough to convince me that this Preface is suppositious. The other Canons agree well enough with the Discipline of the *African* Church. The Reason why they are not found in the Ancient Collections, may be, because they made a Body of Canons a-part by themselves for Ecclesiasticks. They are cited under the name of the Council of *Carthage*, by *Isidore*, by *Hincmar*, by *Burchardus*, by *Ivo Carnutensis*, and by *Gratian.*

The 1st. of these Canons ordains, That he who is to be promoted to the Episcopal Dignity shall be examined as to his manner of Life, his Learning and his Faith. As to his manners, it commands that Enquiry be made, if he be Prudent, Teachable, Moderate, Charitable, Humble, Affable and Merciful: As to his Learning, if he be Enlightned and Instructed out of the Law of God, if he be Skilful in the Understanding of the Scriptures, and Vers'd in the Knowledge of the Dogmes of the Church: As to his Faith, the Canon requires that he be examin'd whether he believes the Consubstantial Trinity; whether he believes that the Son of God assum'd real Flesh and a Soul, and that there are two Natures and one Person only in Jesus Christ; and whether he affirms, That he was really dead, and shall rise again to judge the Quick and Dead. It adds, That he who is to be ordained must also be ask'd, If he believes that the same God is the Author of the Old and New Testament; If he believes that the Devil was not wicked by Nature, but became so by his own Free-will; If he believes that the same Flesh which we now carry about with us shall be rais'd again; If he be persuaded of a future Judgment, of future Punishments and Glory; If he does not condemn Marriage and second Marriages; If he does not blame the use of Meats; If he communicates with Penitents that are reconcil'd; and if he holds that Baptism blots out Actual and Original Sin. These are the things about which the Fathers of this Council would have him to be examin'd who is to be ordain'd; and they add, that if he be found well instructed in all these Points, he may be ordain'd Bishop with the Consent of the Clergy and the Laity, in the Assembly of the Bishops of the Province, by the Authority, and in the Presence of the Metropolitan. That after he has received the Holy Orders of Bishop, he ought not to govern himself according to his Passion or Fancy, but according to the Canons of Councils. They add, That Care should be taken, that none be ordain'd but such as are arriv'd at the Age which the Holy Fathers require for the Ordination of a Bishop.

The 2d. ordains, That when a Bishop is ordain'd, two Bishops ought to lay the Book of the Gospels upon his Head and Neck, and hold it there, and that while one of the Bishops who are present, pronounces the Blessing upon him, all the other Bishops who are present, must touch his Head with their Hands.

The 3d. That at the Ordination of a Priest all the other Priests should lay their Hands upon his Head, while the Bishop Consecrates him, and lay Hands upon him.

The 4th. That none but the Bishop shall lay Hands upon a Deacon, when he is ordain'd because he is not ordain'd for the Priesthood, but for the Ministry.

The 5th. That the Sub-Deacon who does not receive Imposition of Hands at his Ordination, ought to receive the Pattin and Chalice empty from the Hand of the Bishop; and the Flaggons with Water, and the Bason and Towel, from the Hand of the Arch-Deacon.

The

The 6th. That the *Acolyth* at his Ordination ought to learn from the Bishops after what manner he should behave himself in his Ministry; That he receive from the Archdeacon a Candlestick with a Wax-Candle, to instruct him, that he is design'd for lighting the Wax-Candles in the Church; and that he also receive an empty Flagon to give Wine for the Eucharist of the Blood of Jesus Christ. The *Councils.*

The 7th. That the Exorcist receive at his Ordination from the Hand of the Bishop a Book wherein are written Exorcisms, and that the Bishop speak to him these Words; *Receive these, and get them by heart, and have thou the Power of laying hands upon the Possess'd and Catechumens.*

The 8th concerns the Ordination of a Reader, which was made in *Africk*, by giving him the Book of the Gospels, and saying to him, *Be Thou a Reader of the Word of God.*

The 9th. concerns the Ordination of a Porter, to whom the Bishop gave the Keys, saying unto him, *Behave your self as one that must give an account to God of those things which are lock'd up under these Keys.*

The 10th. Commands, That Virgins who would be consecrated by the Bishop, should present themselves in Habits agreeable to their Profession and Vocation, like to those which they are to use for the future.

The 11th. declares, That Widows and Nuns who are employ'd about the Baptism of Women ought to be capable of instructing others, and giving an account of their own Faith.

The 12th. That those who are contracted, and present themselves to receive the Benediction of Marriage, ought to be accompanied with their Kindred, and to abstain from the use of Marriage the Night after the Benediction.

The 13th. That the Bishop ought to have a Lodging near the Church.

The 14th That his Houshold-Stuff should be of little worth, his Table and Diet mean, and that he ought to acquire Authority by his Faith and his Merit, and not by external Pomp.

The 15th. That he ought not to read the Books of Pagans, nor those of Hereticks, but in case of necessity, and when occasion requires it.

The 16th and 17th. That he must not take upon him the Care of Widows, of Orphans and Strangers, but that he discharge this Care upon his Arch-Priest, or Arch-Deacon.

The 18th. That a Bishop ought not to be Executor of a Last Will and Testament.

The 19th. That he ought not to plead a Cause.

The 20th. That he ought not to trouble himself with Domestick Affairs, but apply himself wholly to Reading, Prayer, and Preaching of the Word of God.

The 21st. That he ought not to dispense with his going to the Synod, unless there be great necessity, and that if he does not go, he must send a Deputy to approve every thing that shall be ordain'd by the Synod, without prejudice to the Truths of Faith.

The 22d. That a Bishop shall not ordain Ecclesiasticks without the Consent of his Clergy, and that he shall desire the Testimony and Approbation of the Laity.

The 23d. That he shall hear no Cause but in the presence of his Clergy, and that the Sentences which he shall give in the absence of his Clergy shall be null and void.

The 24th. That he shall be excommunicated who goes out of the Church in Sermon-time.

The 25th. That if the fear of God does not reconcile the Bishops, they ought to be reconciled together by the Synod.

The 26th. enjoyns Bishops to exhort the People of their Dioceses to live in Peace.

The 27th. forbids the Translations of Bishops which are made through Ambition; and as for those which are made for the Good of the Church, it says, they ought to be made upon the Request of the Clergy and People by Order of the Synod: neither does it permit Clergy-men to remove unto another Church, without the leave of their Bishops.

The 28th declares, That a Synod may examine a-new the Condemnation of a Bishop.

The 29th. That a Bishop who accuses a Clergy-man or Lay-man, ought to exhibit his Information against him to the Synod.

The 30th. forbids Ecclesiastical Judges to judge in the absence of the Party accus'd.

The 31st. declares, That Bishops ought to use the Goods of the Church, not as their own proper Goods, but as such of which they have only the use.

The 32d. declares all Sale or exchange of Ecclesiastical Goods to be null and void, which is made without the Consent of the Clergy.

The 33d declares, That the Bishops and Priests who are forced to go into their Neighbour's Churches shall be received, and that they shall be invited to Preach and to Celebrate the Eucharist there.

The 34th. That a Bishop being seated, shall not suffer a Priest to continue standing before him.

The 35th, That a Bishop shall sit on a Seat rais'd on high in the Church, or in the Assembly of his Priests; but in his House he shall converse with them as his Collegues and Brethren.

The 36th. That the Priests who govern the Churches, shall send for the Holy Chrism before *Easter.*

The 37th. That the Deacon should look upon himself as the Minister of the Priest, as well as of the Bishop.

The 38th. That he may give the Eucharist to the People in the presence of the Priest, if necessity enforce it, and the Priest be willing.

The 39th. That he shall not sit down but with the Priest's leave.

The 40th. That in a meeting of Priests, he must not speak but when he is ask'd.

The 41st. That he shall not make use of a Surplice but at the time of Oblation.

The 42d. That a Minister who discharges faithfully his Ministry ought to be preferred to a higher Dignity.

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The 43d. That Chriſtians who ſuffer for Religion, ought to be honoured, and their neceſſities provided for.

The 44th. forbids Clergy-men to ſuffer the Hair of their Heads or Beards to grow.

The 45th. exhorts them to make known their Vocation by their Modeſty in their Apparel and Countenance, and forbids them to diſtinguiſh themſelves by their Habit or their Shooes.

The 46th. forbids them to co-habit with Strange Women.

The 47th. and 48th. forbids them to walk in publick Places, and appear at Fairs.

The 49th. deprives them of their Rewards who are not preſent at *Vigils.*

The 50th. declares, That thoſe Miniſters ſhould be depriv'd of their Miniſtery who do not do their Duty, or do it negligently.

The 51ſt. 52d. and 53d. require all Miniſters, how able ſoever they be, to earn their living by an honeſt Trade, yet without failing in their Duty.

The 54th. forbids the Advancement of thoſe Miniſters higher, who envy the Prerogative of others.

The 55th. commands Biſhops to excommunicate thoſe who accuſe their Brethren unjuſtly, and forbids the admitting of them into the Clergy, even tho' they ſhould amend.

The 56th. ordains thoſe Miniſters to be degraded who are Traytors or Flatterers.

The 57th. obliges Slandering Miniſters to make Satisfaction.

The 58th. declares, That his Teſtimony is not to be received without Examination, who often goes to Law.

The 59th. That the Biſhop ought to reconcile thoſe Miniſters that are at difference, and that he who will not obey him ſhall be puniſhed by the Synod.

The 60th. declares, That a Miniſter ought to be remov'd from his Miniſtry, who ſpeaks laſcivious words.

The 61ſt. That thoſe Miniſters ought to be reprimanded who Swear by the Creatures, and if they continue to do it, they muſt be excommunicated.

The 62d. That the ſame ſeverity muſt be us'd to a Miniſter who ſings at Meals.

The 63d. is againſt thoſe Eccleſiaſticks who break a Faſt without inevitable neceſſity.

The 64th. declares, That he ought not to be accounted a Catholick who Faſts on *Sundays.*

The 65th. That the Feaſt of *Eaſter* ought to be celebrated on the ſame day.

The 66th. That an Eccleſiaſtick who believes that his Biſhop has condemned him unjuſtly, may have recourſe to the Judgment of the Synod.

The 67th. That ſeditious Perſons, Uſurers and revengful Perſons, ought not to be Ordain'd.

The 68th. That thoſe muſt not be ordain'd who are in the Rank of Penitents, and that if a Biſhop has ordain'd any of them through miſtake they ought to be depoſed, but if he knew their condition, he ſhall be deprived of the Power of Ordination.

The 69th. makes a Biſhop liable to the ſame Penalty, who ſhall ordain a Widow, or a Woman divorced.

The 70th. enjoins Eccleſiaſticks to ſhun the Society and Feaſts of Hereticks and Schiſmaticks.

The 71ſt. Ordains, That the Name of a Church ſhall not be given to the Aſſemblies of Hereticks.

The 72d. That none ſhall Pray or ſing with them.

The 73d. That thoſe ſhall be excommunicated who ſhall Communicate or Pray with them.

The 74th. That the Biſhop ſhall impoſe Penance upon him that deſires it, without reſpect to the Quality of the Perſon.

The 75th. That negligent Penitents ſhall be later received.

The 76th. declares, That if a Perſon having deſired Penance, perceive himſelf to be ſeiz'd with a Diſeaſe, and loſe his Underſtanding before the Prieſt can come to him, Penance ſhall be granted him upon the Teſtimony of thoſe who affirm that he deſired it, and if it be thought that he will quickly die, he ſhall be immediately reconciled, and the Euchariſt ſhall be put into his Mouth; but yet if he recover his health, he ſhall be put under Penance.

The 77th. That Penitents who fall ſick ſhall receive the *Viaticum*, that's to ſay, the Euchariſt.

The 78th. That thoſe who are thus receiv'd, ought not to think themſelves abſolv'd, if they recover their health, without Impoſition of Hands.

The 79th. That if Penitents die in a Journey or at Sea, before the Communion can be given them, yet they ſhall ſtill be commemorated in the Prayers and Oblations.

The 80th. That Impoſition of Hands ſhall be given to Penitents during all the times of Faſting.

The 81ſt. That Chriſtian Burial ſhall be given to Penitents.

The 82d. That Penitents ought to uſe Kneeling even at thoſe times when the Faithful are exempt from it.

The 83d. The Poor and Aged muſt be honoured.

The 84th. That the Biſhop ought not to hinder any Perſon to enter into the Church, whether he be a Heretick, Jew or Pagan, until the Maſs of the Catechumens begins.

The 85th. That the Catechumens who would be baptized, ought to give in their Names, and after that be prepar'd for Baptiſm by abſtaining from Wine and Meat, and by Impoſition of Hands.

The 86th. That Novices, or thoſe who are newly baptiz'd, ought for ſome time to abſtain from Feaſts and Shows, and to live in Continence.

The 87th contains the Sentence of Excommunication againſt a Catholick, who carries his Cauſe juſt or unjuſt before a Judge of another Religion.

The 88th. excommunicates him who forſakes the Aſſembly of the Church to be preſent at Shows.

The

The 89th. casts those out of the Church who practice Sooth-saying or Enchantments, and who are addicted to *Jewish* Superstitions.

The 90th. declares, That the Exorcists ought every day to lay Hands on the Possess'd.

The 91st. charges the Possess'd to take care that the Churches be swept.

The 92d. declares, That the Exorcists shall feed the Possess'd who continue in the Churches.

The 93d. That Oblations shall not be received from the Brethren that are separated from the Church.

The 94th. That their Presents shall be rejected who oppress the Poor.

The 95th. blames those who refuse to give, in Memory of the dead, wherewithal to feed the Poor.

The 96th. says, That in judging a Cause, the Faith and Conduct of the Accuser and Accused must be inquired into.

The 97th. That the Superiour of Nuns ought to be approved by the Bishop.

The 98th. That a Lay-man ought not to teach in the presence of Priests, unless they command him.

The 99th. That a Woman how Skilful and Holy soever she be, ought not to take upon her to teach in an Assembly.

The 100th. That she ought not to take upon her to baptize.

The 101st. That the young Widows which are weak ought to be maintain'd at the Expence of the Church to which they belong.

The 102d. declares, That it is the fault of the Bishop or the Curate of the Parish, if the Widows and Nuns, are forced through necessity, to have too much familiarity with the inferiour Ministers.

The 103d. That the Widows who are maintained at the Expence of the Church, ought to be very diligent and constant in the Service of God, that they may edify the Church by their Prayers and Works.

The 104th. excommunicates Widows who marry again, after they have made Profession of Celibacy.

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Baluzius has added yet one Canon more to these, which is against those who cause Schisms and Divisions in the Church of Jesus Christ, which is the Pillar and Foundation of the Faith of Christians. There were many Bishops at this Council, and they all subscribed, but there are none now extant, besides the Subscriptions of *Aurelius* of *Carthage*, of *Donatianus* of *Talabreca*, or *Telepta*, and of St. *Austin*.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Carthage *in the Year* 399.

IT was a settled Custom in *Africk*, that National Councils should be held at *Carthage* very often. There was one in 399, in the Month of *April*, which is mentioned in the Code of the Canons of the *African* Church, which informs us, That this Council sent *Epigonius* and *Vincentius* Deputies to the Emperour, to obtain a Law to forbid the taking of those out of Churches who had fled thither, whatsoever Crimes they had been guilty of.

Of *Carthage*, 399.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Carthage *in the Year* 401, *commonly call'd the Fifth.*

IT is commonly thought this Council was in the Year 398, but it appears by the Code of the Canons of the *African* Church, that the greatest part of the Canons attributed to this Council were made in Two Assembles held in the Year 401, in the Months of *June* and *September*; and therefore we follow this Code in the Abridgment of the Canons of this Council.

Of the Fifth of *Carthage*, 401.

Aurelius remonstrates, That it was necessary for relieving the Churches of *Africk*, which were under great Necessity and Grief, to depute some Bishops into the West, and particularly to St. *Anastasius* Bishop of the Apostolical See, and to *Venerius* Bishop of *Milan*. He represents that the Church of *Africk* was so abused and had suffered so great a Desolation, That it had no Deacon who was sufficiently learned, and much less a Priest; that therefore one might hear every day the Complaints of an infinite number of languishing People, and that if the Bishops did not relieve them they must be accountable to God for the loss of their Souls.

The 1st. Canon of this Council, which is the 57th. in the Greek Code of the *African* Church, confirms what had been ordain'd in a former Synod, That it should be lawful to Ordain those, who having been baptized in their Infancy among the *Donatists*, were afterwards reconciled to the Church; and it leaves it to the Prudence of the Bishops to consider, whether or no they might not receive a whole *Donatist* Church with its Bishop, who should desire to be re-united to the Catholicks.

In the 2d. *Aurelius* says, That the Emperours ought to be intreated to destroy the Remainders of Idolatry, and to demolish some Temples which were yet standing.

In the 3d. That they must also be desired to give Orders, that it shall not be lawful to Summon a Clergy-man for a Witness before a Secular Judge, who has been Arbitrator or Judge of some Difference.

The 4th. That they must be desired to forbid the Feasts and Dancings which are made to the honour of False Gods.

The 5th. That they must be prayed to hinder the showing of Sports, Plays and Comedies, on *Sundays* and Festivals, particularly at *Easter*-time, when it happens sometimes that more People go to the *Circus* than to the Church.

The 6th. That they must be entreated to give Order, that no Person shall defend an Ecclesiastick condemned by the Bishops, under the pain of Correction and a Fine.

The

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The 7th. That they muſt be deſired to hinder Commedians who turn Chriſtians from being forced to exerciſe their Profeſſion.

The 8th. That the Power of enfranchiſing Slaves in the Church muſt be deſired.

The 9th. declares, That if one *Equitius* a Biſhop, be found in *Italy*, who had been condemned in *Africk*, leave ſhall be deſired to make a Proceſs againſt him.

Theſe are the Canons of the Firſt Aſſembly in the Year 401.

The other Aſſembly was held the ſame Year on the 13th. of *September*. In it were read the Letters of Pope *Anaſtaſius*, who exhorted the Biſhop of *Africk* not to diſſemble the Vexations which they ſuffer from the *Donatiſts*. Nevertheleſs the Biſhops were of Opinion, that they ſhould be treated with gentleneſs, and that a Letter only ſhould be written to the Governours of Cities, to pray them to cauſe thoſe Churches to be reſtored to the Catholick Church, which the *Maximianiſts* had uſurped. This is found in the Canons 66 and 67, of the Greek Code of the Canons of the *African* Church.

The 68th. permits the Biſhops for Peace-ſake, to receive into the Catholick Clergy, thoſe Clergy-men of the *Donatiſts* who ſhould be converted.

The 69th. declares, That ſome ſhall be deputed to the *Donatiſts*, to remonſtrate to them, that they ought to be reconciled to the Church.

The 70th. Ordains Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons to have no more to do with their Wives, under pain of Degradation; for the leſſer Orders, it does not oblige them to Celibacy.

The 71ſt. forbids a Biſhop to forſake the principal Church of his Dioceſs and make his abode at another.

The 72d. declares, That Children ought to be baptized, when there is no proof, nor teſtimony that they have been already baptized.

The 73d. renews the Canon which Ordains, That the Biſhop of *Carthage* ſhall publiſh *Eaſter*-day.

The 74th. forbids him, who has the care of a Church committed to him after the death of its Biſhop, to continue there more than one Year; and obliges him to cauſe a Biſhop to be choſen; and if he neglects it, the Canon ordains that at the end of the Year, another Steward ſhall be choſen for the Church.

The 76th. is againſt the Biſhops who abſent themſelves without cauſe from the National Council.

The 77th. is againſt a particular Biſhop named *Creſconius*, who refuſed to come thither. The Council Ordains, That he ſhall come to the Firſt National *African* Council, and if he did not, that a Sentence ſhould be paſs'd againſt him.

The 78th. names Deputies for deciding a Difference of a Church in *Africa*.

The 79th. declares, That thoſe Clergy-men are not to be admitted to juſtify themſelves who have continued a Year without taking pains to take off the Excommunication which was pronounced againſt them.

The 80th. ordains, That if a Biſhop give Holy Orders to a Stranger, or if he make a Monk of another Monaſtery, Superiour of his own Monaſtery, he ſhall be ſeparated from the Communion of the other Biſhops, and ſhall enjoy only that of his own Church, and that he who was made Clergy-man or Superiour, ſhall not enjoy that Honour.

The 81ſt. is againſt thoſe Biſhops who ſhould make Hereticks or Pagans their Heirs, tho' they ſhould be of their Kindred.

The 82d. declares, That the Emperour ſhall be deſir'd to grant the Power of ſetting Servants free to the Church.

The 83d. is concerning the Care which Biſhops ought to take, to hinder the Faithful from honouring Falſe Relicks and Falſe Martyrs.

The 84th. declares, That the Emperour ſhould be requeſted to demoliſh the remaining Temples and Idols.

The 85th. and Laſt gives Power to the Biſhop of *Carthage* to Dictate and Subſcribe, in the name of the whole Council, the Letters which the Council thought fit to write and ſend. Theſe are the Canons of the Fifth Council of *Carthage*, which is commonly plac'd in the Year 398, but was indeed in the Year 401, according to the two Codes of the Canons of the *African* Church.

The Reflections which may be made on the Councils of *Africa* of which we have juſt now ſpoken, are theſe; Firſt, That there were in *Africa* a great number of Biſhops; Secondly, That the Title of Metropolitan in *Africa*, was not as in other places, affixed to the Biſhop of the Civil Metropolis, but to the Antiquity of the Biſhoprick; Thirdly, That the Biſhop of *Carthage* had much Authority over all *Africk*; That he enjoy'd great Juriſdictions and Prerogatives; in a word, That he was as it were, the Exarch or Patriarch of all *Africa*; Fourthly, That Synods were very often held in *Africa*, and they were diſtinguiſhed into two ſorts, one Provincial and the other National or General, which were commonly held at *Carthage*, where the Biſhops deputed from the Provinces aſſembled under the Authority of the Biſhop of that City; Fifthly, That they handled Matters of Diſcipline, and made ſuch Canons as they ſaw the Juncture and State of Affairs requir'd; Sixthly, That their Diſcipline with reſpect to Clergy-men, was very Regular and Exact; Seventhly, That they endeavour'd to maintain the Eccleſiaſtical Authority by the Aſſiſtance of the Imperial Laws; Laſtly, That they made many Canons very uſeful for all Chriſtians. Theſe Reflections ſeem'd neceſſary for explainnig what I have ſaid of theſe Councils, and they may conduce to repreſent and diſcover the uſefulneſs of Councils in general.

Of

The Councils.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Constantinople, *in the Year* 394.

Of Constantinople, 394.

Balsamon has preserv'd a Fragment of this Council held at *Constantinople* on the 27th of *September*, in the Year 394. It was compos'd of three Eastern Patriarchs, *Nectarius* of *Constantinople*, *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, and *Flavianus* of *Antioch*, and of Sixteen Bishops of the East and of *Asia*. In it the Difference was examin'd that was between *Agapius* and *Bagadius*, who both pretended to the Bishoprick of *Bostra*. *Bagadius* had been depos'd by two Bishops. The Council disapproves this Judgment, and declares, That as a Bishop cannot be ordained but by three Bishops, so neither can he be depos'd by less than three. *Theophilus* says, That three Bishops are not sufficient, but all the Bishops of the Province should assemble if it be possible, and all the Synod approv'd his Judgment. This is all we know of this Council.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Alexandria, *in the Year* 399.

Of Alexandria, 399.

Theophilus assembled in the Year 399, a Council at *Alexandria*, wherein he condemned the Books of *Origen*. *Justinian* quotes a Fragment of the Letter of this Council in his Epistle to *Menas*.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Cyprus, *at the same time.*

Of Cyprus, 399.

Within a little time after St. *Epiphanius*, being perswaded by the Letters of *Theophilus*, held a Council in the Isle of *Cyprus*, and there also caus'd the Books of *Origen* to be condemned.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Turin.

Of Turin, 400.

THE Bishops of *Africk* were not the only Bishops who took care to maintain the Discipline of the Church about the end of the Fourth Century: Those of *Gaul* and *Spain* have also left us authentical Monuments of their Pastoral Vigilance. The former in the Canons of the Council of *Turin*, and the latter in those of the Council of *Toledo*, for these two Councils were assembled in the Year 400, or thereabouts.

The Council of *Turin* determined several Differences between the Churches and Bishops of *Gaul*.

The 1st is, That which *Proculus* Bishop of *Marseilles* had with the Bishops of *Gallia Narbonensis*, of which he would be acknowledged Metropolitan. The Council, for Peace-sake granted to the Person, and not to the See of *Proculus*, the Jurisdiction of a Primate over all the Churches in the Second *Narbonensis*.

The 2d Difference was between the Bishops of the Churches of *Arles* and *Vienna*, who contested the Right of Primacy. The Synod declares, That this Right belongs to him who shall prove that his City is the Metropolis; but in the mean time it ordains, as a Provision for preserving Peace, That the Bishops of these two Churches shall have under their Jurisdiction the Churches which are neareſt to their own Cities, and that they shall live hereafter in Peace, without disturbing one another, by usurping the Churches that are remote.

The third Question which was to be determined in this Synod, concerned Four Bishops, who had made Ordinations contrary to Order: The Council remits their Fault, on condition that they will not relapse into it any more, and Ordains, That for the time to come, those who shall relapse into it, shall be disabled from coming to Synods, and that those who shall be so ordained, shall be depriv'd of the Priesthood.

The 4th is concerning a Lay-man called *Palladius*, who complained of a Sentence given against him by his own Bishop *Triferius*, before whom he was not able to prove a Crime of which he had accus'd a Priest. The Council confirms the Sentence of *Triferius*, leaving him nevertheless the Liberty to show favour to *Palladius*.

It confirms also in the 5th Canon another Sentence of the same Bishop, given against the Priest *Exuperantius*, who had vomited forth many Calumnies and Reproaches against him.

The 6th Canon is against those who communicated with *Felix* Bishop of *Triers*, who was of the Faction of the *Ithacians*.

The 7th forbids Bishops to take Clergy-men from any one of their Brethren, to ordain them in their own Churches, and to receive those into Communion who have been excommunicated in some other place.

The 8th declares, That those who have been ordained contrary to the Canons, and who being ordain'd have had Children, ought not to be advanc'd to higher Orders.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Toledo.

Of Toledo, 400.

THIS Council was held in the Year 400. and compos'd of Nineteen *Spanish* Bishops assembled at *Toledo*, who having made Profession of the Faith, and condemned the Errors of the *Priscillianists*, made Canons concerning Discipline. The First thing which they ordained was, That the Canons of the Council of *Nice* should be observ'd: And afterwards they made 20 other Canons.

In the 1st they permit the Order of Deacon to be given to married Persons, provided they be chaste, and preserve Continence; but they impose no other Penalty upon a Deacon or a Priest who

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[Continence in theſe Canons is to be underſtood of abſtaining from the Rites of Marriage.

has not liv'd in Continence, and who had Children before the Law which the Biſhops of *Luſitania* made upon this Subject: They impoſe upon them, no other Penalty, but that they ſhall not be capable of riſing to a higher Dignity.

The 2d Canon forbids the ordaining of a Perſon who has done publick Penance: It adds, That if neceſſity require, he may be made a Porter, or at moſt a Reader; but upon Condition, that he neither read the Epiſtles nor Goſpels; and that if any ſuch Perſon has been Ordain'd Deacon, he ſhall be only in the rank of Sub-Deacons, without being capable of laying on of Hands, or touching *Holy Things*. 'Tis obſerved afterwards, that a Penitent is he, who having done Publick Penance after his Baptiſm, for Murder, or ſome other Crime of like Nature, has been publickly reconcil'd at the Altar of God.

[*i.e.* The Elements of the Euchariſt.

The 3d Canon declares, That if a Reader marry a Widow, he cannot be advanced to higher Orders, and that at moſt he ſhall only be a Sub-Deacon.

The 4th, That a Sub-Deacon who Marries again, ſhall be put in the rank of Porters or Readers, without being capable of reading the Epiſtles or Goſpels; That he who ſhall Marry a third time ſhall be ſeparated from the Church for the ſpace of two Years; and after he is reconciled, he ſhall never riſe higher than the rank of Lay-men.

The 5th deprives a Clergy-man of Eccleſiaſtical Orders, who being deſign'd for the Service of ſome Church in the City or Country, ſhall not be preſent at the Sacrifice which is made there every Day.

The 6th forbids Virgins conſecrated to God, to have any familiarity with Eccleſiaſtical Men, who are not of their near Kindred.

The 7th gives leave to Clergy-men who have Wives that do not behave themſelves well, to bind them and ſhut them up in their Houſes, and forbids them to eat with them till they have done Penance.

The 8th excludes thoſe from Holy Orders, who have been in the Wars after they have received Baptiſm.

The 9th forbids Virgins and Widows to pray with Strangers in their Houſes, except in the preſence of the Biſhop, a Prieſt, or a Deacon.

The 10th declares, That thoſe muſt not be ordain'd, who have a dependence upon ſome Family, or who are engaged in ſome Farm, unleſs thoſe upon whom they depend, conſent to it.

The 11th declares, That if a Man in Power has robbed a Clergy-man, or a poor Monk, and will not appear before the Biſhop to give an account of what he has done, he ought to be excommunicated till he reſtores the Goods which do not belong to him.

The 12th forbids to receive a Clergy-man from another Biſhop, unleſs he be a Schiſmatick, and declares all thoſe Excommunicated, who ſeparate from Catholicks to join with Schiſmaticks.

The 13th Ordains, that thoſe who come to Church and do not receive the Communion ſhall be admoniſhed, that they muſt either communicate, or be put in the rank of Penitents, and if they will do neither, they ſhall be excommunicated.

The 14th ordains, That he ſhall be driven away as a Sacrilegious Perſon, which having received the Euchariſt from the hand of the Biſhop, does not eat it.

The 15th declares, That we muſt neither eat nor converſe with a Lay-man or Clergy-man who is excommunicated.

The 16th impoſes a Penance of ten Years for Adultery.

The 17th declares, That he who has a Concubine and a Wife both together, ought to be excommunicated, but that he ought not to be excommunicated who has only a Concubine; ſo that it is neceſſary for every one that is a Member of the Church, to ſatisfie himſelf either with one Wife or one Concubine. This Canon may give ſome trouble to thoſe, who know not that the Word *Concubine*, which is at preſent odious, was formerly taken for a Woman, to whom the Marriage Promiſe was given, tho' ſhe was not married with all the Solemnities which the Laws required in Marriage; as St. *Auſtin* has explained it in the 5th Chap. of the Book, about the advantages of Marriage.

The 18th declares, That we ought not to communicate with the Widow of a Biſhop, a Prieſt, or a Deacon, if ſhe marries again, and that ſhe ought not to be reconciled until the Point of Death.

The 19th inflicts the ſame Penalty upon the Daughter of a Biſhop, a Prieſt, or a Deacon, who marries after ſhe has been conſecrated to God.

The 20th is expreſſed in theſe Words: Altho' it is obſerved almoſt every where, not to conſecrate Chriſm without the Biſhop, yet becauſe we are informed that in ſome places the Prieſts do conſecrate it, we have ordain'd, that for the future, none but the Biſhop ſhall conſecrate the Holy Chriſm; and that he ſhall ſend it through all his Dioceſs. And to the end that this Canon may be put in execution, every Church ſhall ſend to the Biſhop a Deacon or Sub-Deacon about *Eaſter*, that he may fetch Chriſm for that day. 'Tis certain, that the Biſhop can conſecrate Chriſm at all times, which the Prieſts cannot do without the Authority and Permiſſion of the Biſhop. The Deacons cannot adminiſter the Holy Chriſm, 'tis only lawful for the Prieſts to do it in the abſence of the Biſhop, or by his Order, if he be preſent.

Theſe are the Eccleſiaſtical Canons which were made at the end of the Fourth Century, and the beginning of the Fifth.

An

An Abridgment of the Doctrine *of the* Fourth AGE *of the* Church.

THO' there was nothing taught in the Fourth Age of the Church, which was not believed in the Three Firſt; yet it muſt be confeſſed, that in it the chief Myſteries of Religion were very much clear'd up and explained. As to the Divinity and Attributes of God, there was nothing almoſt added to what was ſaid by the ancient Fathers, and they were even leſs handled in this Age then in the preceding. But the Myſtery of the Trinity, as we have ſeen, was the Subject of an infinite number of Books written by the Authors of this Age, and of many Synodical Deciſions. The Divinity of the Son of God and the Holy Spirit was eſtabliſhed. It was proved, That theſe two Perſons are of the ſame Subſtance with the Father; Eſſence and Subſtance was carefully diſtinguiſhed from the Perſon; many Arguments were urged whereon to ground this Doctrine; and the Objections which the Hereticks proops'd againſt it, were anſwered.

There was ſome Difference among the Catholicks, about the Word *Hypoſtaſis*; Some would have it ſaid, That the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, were Three *Hypoſtaſes*, and others maintain'd that we ought to ſay, That they were but one and the ſame *Hypoſtaſis*; but this ſeeming Difference conſiſted only in a Queſtion about a Word, which depended upon the ſignification of the Word *Hypoſtaſis*, which one Party took for the Perſon, and the other for the Nature. All the Fathers of this Age acknowledged, that the Word was a Perſon, diſtinguiſhed from the Perſon of the Eternal Father, and that his Generation was Eternal; but they did not think of explaining how this Generation is made; and they confeſs'd, That it is ineffable and incomprehenſible: neither did they inſiſt upon a multitude of ſubtle Queſtions concerning the Myſtery of the moſt Holy Trinity, and they always continued in the Simplicity of the Faith, which they eſtabliſhed upon the Authority of Scripture and of Tradition. They taught alſo, That the Word appeared to the Patriarchs, and in this ſence they ſaid that he was viſible. Tho' they treated not ſo much in this Age of the Myſtery of the Incarnation, as in the next, yet it was explained very clearly, and not only the Errors of *Arius* and *Apollinarius* were condemned, who denied that Jeſus Chriſt had a Soul or Humane Underſtanding different from the Divinity; but even the Errors of *Neſtorius*, *Eutyches*, and all the other Hereticks were rejected beforehand, who either diſtinguiſh Two Perſons in Jeſus Chriſt, or confound the Two Natures and their Properties. They believed the Incarnation to be neceſſary for the Redemption of Mankind, and acknowledged, that none can be ſaved without Faith in Jeſus Chriſt. Some taught alſo, that Jeſus Chriſt preached the Goſpel to thoſe in Hell, but this Opinion was rejected by many. They affirmed that there were great numbers of Angels and Devils. They determined nothing about the Day of Judgment, and they did all almoſt confeſs, that Men are wholly ignorant of it. They looked upon what the Ancients ſaid concerning the Reign of Jeſus Chriſt upon Earth, for the ſpace of a 1000 Years as a mere groundleſs Imagination. They almoſt all acknowledged, that the Souls which are innocent and purified from their Sins, enjoy Happineſs before the Day of Judgment; and that the Souls of the Wicked are condemned to Eternal Fire, immediately after their Death: Yet they confeſs'd, that after the Reſurrection, their Happineſs or Miſery ſhould ſtill be encreaſed. They believed, that the Souls of Men were Spiritual and Immortal; but they doubted, Whether they were immediately created by God, or produced by the Souls of their Fathers and Mothers. They ſpoke more of Grace than thoſe who lived in the preceding Ages, and yet they aſcribed always very much to Free-Will. Original Sin, begun to be better known. They excluded from the Kingdom of Heaven, Children who died without Baptiſm; but they did not affirm that they ſhould endure the Torments of Fire. They acknowledged the Efficacy and neceſſity of Baptiſm. The Impoſition of the Hands of the Biſhop, or the Anointing with Holy Chriſm, was looked upon as a Sacrament which brought down the Holy Spirit upon the Baptized. They maintained againſt the *Novatians*, that the Church had power to impoſe Penance, and to forgive the moſt Enormous Sins. They taught clearly, That the Bread and Wine of the Euchariſt, were changed into the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt. They gave the Name of a Sacrifice to the Celebration of the Euchariſt, and performed it with particular Ceremonies. They were perſwaded that Men ought to be Ordained, to make them capable of diſcharging the Eccleſiaſtical Functions. They approved of Marriage, and would have the Perſons to be married, contracted in the Face of the Church, and in the preſence of a Prieſt who gave a Bleſſing. They honoured Virginity, and commended thoſe who profeſſed it; and looked upon thoſe as Sacrilegious Perſons who violated that Profeſſion. They had much Reverence and Veneration for the Bleſſed Virgin, and for the Saints; they prayed to them, and alſo honoured their Reliques. They prayed for the Dead. We have often taken Notice of their Opinion concerning the Authority of Holy Scripture and Tradition. They taught, that there was but one Catholick Church, out of which there was no Salvation, and to whoſe Authority all Men ought to ſubmit, becauſe it can neither ceaſe to be, nor Err in Matters of Faith.

Wherefore one may ſay in general, That the Doctrine of the Fourth Age was the belief of the Church of that Age, and ſo the Church not being capable of changing her Belief, it neceſſarily follows, That the Doctrine of that Time, is not at all different from that which the Church teaches ſtill at this Day.

An Abridgment of the Diſcipline *of the* Fourth AGE *of the* Church.

THE Diſcipline of the Church, conſiſts either in the Government, or in the Policy, or in the Ceremonies, or in the Practiſes which concerns Manners and Chriſtian Perfection. It cannot be doubted but theſe Three Points, and eſpecially the Two former, were very much improved in the

Fourth

Fourth Age of the Church. For before this time, the Church which had been continually toſs'd and troubled with Perſecutions, could never ſettle one conſtant and uniform Form of Government, nor celebrate the Myſteries with the Pomp and Splendor of Ceremonies: But when once ſhe was perfectly delivered from the Yoke of Tyranny, under which ſhe had groaned before, and eſtabliſhed by the Authority of a Chriſtian Emperour, ſhe made Rules and Laws for the Government of her ſelf, and joined to the purity of Faith the Magnificence of Ceremonies. Thus, tho' there had been ſome Rules for the Government of the Churches of the Firſt Ages, which were eſtabliſhed by Cuſtom and Tradition, and there were already many Ceremonies practis'd; yet it may be affirm'd that theſe things were very much improv'd in the Fourth Age of the Church, as will eaſily appear by comparing what was Ordain'd and Practis'd in that Age, with what was done in the foregoing.

Firſt, As to the Government of the Church. It was in the Fourth Age that the Body of the Churches were perfected, and that certain Rules were eſtabliſhed for Eccleſiaſtical Deciſions. The Diſtinction, Diſtribution and Subordination of Churches were ſettled for the moſt part according to the Form of the Civil Government. The Civil Provinces form'd the Body of an Eccleſiaſtical Province. The Biſhop of the Civil Metropolis was look'd upon as the firſt Biſhop of the Province. Some Rights and Prerogatives were aſſigned to him, and the care of overſeeing the whole Province was committed to him. In every Province there was held twice a Year Provincial Councils, which the Metropolitan called together, and over which he preſided. When a Biſhop died, all the Biſhops of the Province were called together to ordain a Succeſſor in his room. He was commonly choſen by the Clergy and People of the Vacant Church; the Metropolitan was to be preſent at this Ordination, and he could not do it unleſs two Biſhops of the Province were with him, and the reſt conſented to it. As many Civil Provinces made one diſtrict, which was called a Diœceſs, ſo many Eccleſiaſtical Provinces made one Eccleſiaſtical Dioceſs, of which the Biſhop of the Principal City was the Head. This Biſhop had the Rights, Prerogatives, Privileges of Honour and Juriſdiction over the whole Dioceſs; he enjoyed alſo the Right of Ordaining Metropolitans, which belong'd formerly to the Biſhops of the Province. The Biſhop of the Church of *Rome* was in poſſeſſion of the Primacy which he receiv'd from Jeſus Chriſt, as being Succeſſor to St. *Peter* Prince of the Apoſtles. This Primacy gave him great Rights and Prerogatives in the whole Church, to maintain the Faith, and cauſe the Holy Canons to be obſerved. It happened ſometimes, but ſeldom, that he abuſed his Power and Authority, but when this happened, the Church was ſatisfied that ſhe could remedy the Abuſe. So when *Liberius* had ſubſcribed to an *Arian* Creed, and condemned St. *Athanaſius*, the other Biſhops did not think themſelves obliged to follow his Example. The Churches of *Alexandria*, of *Antioch*, and ſome others, had alſo their Privileges founded upon Eccleſiaſtical Cuſtom. The Church of *Jeruſalem* had a degree of Honour, and acquired by little and little ſome Juriſdiction. Laſtly, the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* procured to himſelf the Second Rank of Honour, and in a little time aſſumed to himſelf the Juriſdiction over *Thrace*, *Pontus*, and leſſer *Aſia*. The Suburbicary Churches had in a manner no other Metropolitan but the Biſhop of *Rome*. The Churches of *Gaul* and *Spain* were Governed by Metropolitans and Provincial Synods. The Churches of *Africa* had no fixed Metropolitan; this Dignity belong'd to the moſt ancient Biſhop of the Province: But the Biſhop of *Carthage* had great Rights and Prerogatives, and even a kind of Juriſdiction over all *Africk*. As to the Churches without the *Roman* Empire, they had no certain Form, and they were for the moſt part govern'd by one Biſhop only, who had under him many Prieſts. The Prieſts took care of the People together with the Biſhops: There were alſo Churches in the Cities and the Country, where they preſided over the Aſſemblies of the People, as Pariſh-Prieſts do now. There were alſo Suffragans who held a middle place between Biſhops and Prieſts: There was no Biſhop, Prieſt, Deacon or Miniſter ordain'd, but who was engaged to do his Duty in one certain Church, and this he was obliged to diſcharge.

As for Eccleſiaſtical Deciſions, a Biſhop never judged any thing without the Advice of his Clergy. Provincial Councils were commonly held Twice a Year, where the Determinations and Differences of the Biſhops of the Province were examined: There all Eccleſiaſtical Differences were firſt decided, Matters of Faith only excepted. But thoſe who thought them-

[Whoever has attentively read the foregoing account of the Controverſies by which the Church was divided in this Age, and of the Synods that were convened to determine them, can make a very true Judgment whether this is not ſaid (to ſave himſelf) by a Man, who having in his other Writings appeared ſo zealouſly for the Privileges of the *Gallican* Church againſt the Pretenſions of the Court of *Rome*, thought himſelf obliged to inſert this Period for the ſatisfaction of his ſcrupulous Brethren. Theſe Abridgments are deſigned to be heaps of Concluſions from Premiſes already laid down in the precedent Work, ſo that tho' this Propoſition were true in it ſelf, it were here impertinent, becauſe it cannot be collected from what went before, which makes me think that this Period belongs more to the Licenſers than the Author. I need only appeal to this very Hiſtory, from which two Concluſions may be certainly drawn. Firſt, That the Orthodox Biſhops who were perſecuted by *Conſtantius* and *Valens* in the Eaſt, were glad to fly to *Rome* for ſhelter, and would, as all Men naturally do, make the moſt of the Aſſiſtance they found, that poſſibly they could. Secondly, that every Metropolitical See was equally concerned to preſerve its own Rights, and the reſt of the Church thought it only a Matter of Diſcipline inſtituted for the ſake of Order and Decency, that one Church had the Rights of a Metropolis, rather then another. This laſt Mr. *Du Pin* takes pains himſelf to prove, from whence at leaſt this muſt be plain, That he muſt believe that in the Fourth Age of the Church, all the Supremacy that was allowed to the Church of *Rome* was only Titular out of its own Juriſdiction; and then the Primacy granted to St. *Peter* could not have then been underſtood to belong to any of his Succeſſors, (even tho' we ſhould allow them to have thought that St. *Peter* had a real Authority) ſince the reſt of the Church plainly acted without any regard to it, and teſtified no remorſe for it afterwards.]

themselves injured, quickly had recourse to the Bishop who presided over the Diocess, and to his Synod. The Bishop of *Rome* pretended to have this Jurisdiction over all the rest, and the Council of *Sardica* granted him something like it. But the Eastern Churches and many others maintained the Authority of their Diocesan or National Synods: All the Bishops thought themselves Judges of Matters of Faith. When any question of Faith became a publick Dispute, the Bishops of the Great Sees were consulted, and chiefly the Bishop of *Rome*, whose Opinion was of great weight, as well upon the account of his Primacy, as because he answered in the Name of all the Western Bishops, and was a Witness of their Doctrine. The General Council of the Eastern and Western Bishops, was looked upon as the Sovereign Judge for deciding all sorts of Ecclesiastical Controversies. Excommunication or Separation from the visible Communion of the Church, was the Ecclesiastical Penalty, which was made use of against all those who were convicted of an Error or a Crime; if they repented they were put under Penance, and then they might be restored to the Communion of the Church; but if they were obstinate, they were wholly cast out. The Churches were united together by Letters of Communion. 'Twas forbidden to receive any one into the Church who had been Excommunicated, by his own Bishop, without his Consent. And so those who were excommunicated, were separated from the Communion of all the Churches in the World. If any particular Church, any Bishops, or any other Persons separated themselves from the Body of the Church, or continued separated from it, they were looked upon as Schismaticks. Translations of Bishops were forbidden; they were very rare in the West; but the Ambition of some Bishops made them common in the East. Many Canons were made for hindering Bishops and Clergy-men from going to Court. A Bishop was forbidden to meddle with the Affairs of another Diocess, or to Ordain any Persons out of his own. Persons of an unblameable Life, were made choice of to enter into Holy Orders; they were deposed when they committed any Crime. In many Churches the Age and the necessary Times were prescribed, at which any one could be raised to Ecclesiastical Orders. The Bishops, Priests and Deacons, were obliged to Celibacy in the West; which Law was not established in the East. The Church begun then to have great Riches, which came to her from the Liberality of the Emperours, and others of the Faithful. The Sacraments were administred *gratis*, and it was forbidden to take or give any thing for a Spiritual Benefit. Many very useful Canons were made concerning the Life and Manners of Ecclesiasticks. In a word, Nothing can be greater or Wiser than the Laws which were made at this time, concerning the Government of the Church; but it must be confessed, That they were not always very exactly observed, and that the Interests and Passions of Men, the Ambition of Bishops, and the Will of Princes, caused them often to be violated, contrary to the Intention of the Church, which used all her Endeavours to maintain them.

When Christians began in the Reign of *Constantine* to perform Divine Service publickly with Pomp and Solemnity, there is no doubt but the Ancient Ecclesiastical Ceremonies were then perfected, and that new ones were added to render the Celebration of the Holy Mysteries more venerable to the People. Some of the chief of them were these:

Baptism was administred to Infants and Adult Persons with many Ceremonies. They were dipped Three times into the Water. Exorcisms and Anointings were in use. Milk and Honey were given to the Catechumens. The Solemn times for Administring Baptism were *Easter* and *Whitsunday*, and also *Epiphany* in some Churches. The Adult were prepared for Receiving this Sacrament a considerable time before, and there were many Degrees of Catechumens, as we have already observed. After Baptism the Bishop conferred the Fulness of the Holy Spirit, by Imposition of Hands in the Latin Church, and by Unction in the Greek. The Times and Degrees of Publick Penance for Crimes committed after Baptism, were settled by an Infinite number of Canons, yet it was always left to the Discretion of the Bishop, to lessen or encrease them. Publick Penance was imposed for all the great Crimes, which the Penitents were either convicted of, or confessed themselves to be guilty of. Absolution was not commonly refused for any Crime; but Penance was never granted twice. The Holy Sacrifice of the Eucharist was celebrated with Ceremonies. The Eucharist was commonly given to the Laity in both Kinds; but upon certain occasions they gave it in one kind only. The Bread which was consecrated was ordinary Bread, broken into many pieces. The Faithful were often present at the Holy Sacrifice; Catechumens and Penitents were debarred from it; the Eucharist was received in the Act of Adoration. The Laity received also the Bread of the Eucharist into their hands, but the custom of carrying it to their Houses was very rare, and it was commonly spent all in the Church, while they were fasting. The Love-Feasts or Feasts of Charity, were removed in most Churches; almost all those that were present at the Sacrifice received the Communion; and so Christians receiv'd the Body of Jesus Christ very often, and yet were perswaded, that they ought to be Holy and Innocent to receive it worthily. Before the Communion-Office began, there were some Prayers which were made for Catechumens and Penitents. The Holy Scripture was read in the Assemblies of Christians, and the Bishop or one of the Priests preached the Word of God. These Assemblies were held in Churches consecrated to God, and built magnificently; they were made very splendid, and Divine Offices were celebrated there with much Pomp and Splendor. Singing of Psalms was also used; Wax-Candles were lighted chiefly during the Nocturnal Offices. The Dead were buried with much Ceremony and Pomp, the great Festivals were celebrated with much Solemnity. Processions began to be introduced. Prayer for the Dead was a common Practice in the Church; they were commemorated at the celebration of the Eucharist. The Invocation of Saints and Martyrs, and the Celebration of their Festivals were common in all the Churches; the use of Crosses was frequent; the Sign of the Cross was made very often; there were Images in many Churches. A Blessing was given for Marriage; but the Church never gave it

for Second Marriages, and they even put Bigamiſts under Penance for ſome time. Marriages contracted between Perſons who could not lawfully Marry according to the Civil Laws, were looked upon as null. Divorce for Adultery was permitted in ſome Churches. Orders were conferred by Impoſition of Hands. Biſhops had the ſole Power of Ordaining Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, and of Confirming. Solemn Baptiſm alſo, and the Abſolution of Publick Penitents was reſerv'd to them. The number of leſſer Orders was not fixed; there were more or fewer of them in different Churches. There were Deaconeſſes in almoſt all Churches. The Myſteries were carefully concealed from thoſe who were not yet baptized. The Biſhops, Prieſts, Deacons, and the Laity, had their Places in the Churches. In ſhort, Divine Service was performed with much Decency, Modeſty, Gravity and Pomp.

Faſting is one of the chief external Practices which concern Manners: The Chriſtians of the Fourth Age were very Religious in obſerving it. Lent was eſtabliſhed in all Churches, tho' it was longer or ſhorter in different Places. The Feaſts of *Wedneſday* and *Friday*, (or *Saturday* in the Church of *Rome*) were alſo Religiouſly obſerved. During the time of Faſting, they waited till Night in Lent before they eat any thing, and till three a Clock in the Afternoon in other Faſts; and all this time they commonly abſtained from Meat and Wine in almoſt all Churches. The Monaſtick State was eſtabliſhed in this Age, and became very common in a little time. There quickly appeared a great number of Monaſteries full of an infinite number of Monks, who retir'd from the World, obſerv'd Celibacy, liv'd in Obedience, kept exceſſive Faſts, and perform'd very great Auſterities. Many Virgins were alſo conſecrated to God, made a Vow of Virginity, and liv'd in common under the Government of an Abbeſs. The Monks and Nuns were both under the Juriſdiction of their Biſhops. There were very few Monks who were Prieſts; ſome were taken out of Monaſteries to be made Biſhops. There were alſo ſome Hermits, who dwelt alone in the Deſarts. The Chriſtians were conſtantly at Prayers, and gave great Alms to the Poor, aſſiſted the Sick, viſited Priſoners, and did ſeveral other Works of Charity. They ſometimes undertook Pilgrimages to viſit the Holy Places; but tho' the Holy Fathers approved the Devotion, yet they feared the Accidents which might happen upon it, and were not of Opinion, that theſe kind of Journies ſhould be undertaken raſhly and lightly. They did not tolerate ſuperſtitious Practices, nor any new Devotions founded upon the Imaginations of private Perſons, but they recommended the Practice of Evangelical Counſels, and exhorted all Chriſtians to go on to that Perfection which is deſcribed in many Places of the Goſpel.

Theſe are ſome part of the Points of Diſcipline of the Fourth Age of the Church: I ſhall not ſtay now to obſerve many others, nor to prove theſe by Authentical Teſtimonies: becauſe my Deſign is not to make a Diſſertation upon this Subject, which would be longer then all this Volume, but only to give a ſlight *Idea* of the Diſcipline of that Time. Neither ſhall I undertake to Collect or Abridge what the Writers of this Age have ſaid of Morality, which would be an infinite Work; and the Reader ought to be ſatisfied with the Extracts that are made in the body of our Book, taken from the fineſt Paſſages of the Authors here mentioned.

The End of the Second Volume.

A CHRO-

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORS

Mentioned in this VOLUME.

Giving an Account of the Time of their Birth, their Names, Country and Employments, when they Flouriſhed, with the Time of their Deaths.

EUSEBIUS.

BORN in the Reign of *Galienus*, about the Year 264. Ordained Biſhop of *Caſarea* in *Paleſtine*, in 313. Flouriſhed under *Conſtantine*. Died in the Year 338.

CONSTANTINE.

Born in the Year 273. The firſt Chriſtian Emperour. Elected the 6th of *Auguſt* 389. Died *May* 22. 337.

C. VECTIUS AQUILINUS JUVENCUS,

A Prieſt of *Spain*. Flouriſhed about the Year 329.

RHETICIUS,

Biſhop of *Autun*. Flouriſhed at the beginning of the Fourth Century.

EUSTATHIUS,

Born about the end of the Third Century. Elected Biſhop of *Antioch*, in the Year 323. Flouriſhed from that time to the Year 330. Died about the Year 335.

PETER,

Ordained Biſhop of *Alexandria* in the Year 300. Suffered Martyrdom in 311.

ALEXANDER,

Ordained Biſhop of *Alexandria* in 305. Died about the end of the Year 325.

St. *ATHANASIUS,*

Born about the Year 300. Ordained Biſhop of *Alexandria* in 326. Maintained the Faith of the Church until the Year 373. Died about the Year 373.

St. *JACOBUS NISIBENUS,*

Flouriſhed at the end of the Third, and the beginning of the Fourth Century. Died about the Year 340.

MARCELLUS,

Biſhop of *Ancyra*, Flouriſhed about the Year 325. till the Year 336.

HOSIUS,

Born *Anno* 267. Biſhop of *Corduba*. Flouriſhed from the beginning to the middle of the Fourth Century. Died in 358.

JULIUS,

Ordained Biſhop of *Rome* in the Year 335. Died in 352.

ASTERIUS,

An *Arian* Philoſopher. Wrote about the Year 330.

THEODORUS,

Biſhop of *Perinthus*. Flouriſhed about the Year 330.

TRYPHILIUS,

Biſhop in *Cyprus*. Flouriſhed under *Conſtantius*.

HELIODORUS,

A Prieſt. Under the ſame.

DONATUS,

Under *Conſtantine* and *Conſtantius*.

VITELLIUS, and *MACROBIUS,*

Under *Conſtantius*.

St. *ANTHONY* the Abbot.

Born about the Year 250. He Retired into his Solitude in the Year 270. and Flouriſhed till the middle of the Fourth Century. Died *An.* 356.

St. *PACHOMIUS,*

Abbot. Flouriſhed at the end of the Fourth Century. Died about the Year 400.

ORESIESIS,

Diſciple of St. *Pachomius*. Flouriſhed at the end of the Fourth Century.

THEODORUS,

Prieſt. Succeſſor of St. *Pachomius*. Flouriſhed at the ſame time.

MACARIUS, A Monk of *Sceta*; *MACARIUS,* Abbot in *Thebais*, and *MACARIUS,* Diſciple of St. *Anthony*.

Flouriſhed all about the end of the Fourth Century.

SERAPION,

Biſhop of *Thmuis*. Ordained in the Year 340.

EUSEBIUS EMISENUS,

Flouriſhed from the Year 330. Died abous the Year 350.

BASIL,

Ordained Biſhop of *Ancyra*, in the Year 336. Died after the Year 360.

LIBE-

LIBERIUS,

Ordained Bishop of *Rome* in the Year 352. Driven away in 356. Restored in 358. Died in the Year 366.

St. *HILARY,*

Ordained Bishop of *Poictiers* about the Year 350. Sent into Exile in 356. and restored in 360. Died *Anno* 367.

LUCIFER,

Bishop of *Calaris.* Flourished about the middle of the Fourth Century. Died about the Year 370.

MARIUS VICTORINUS,

Of *Africa.* Flourished about the end of the Fourth Century. Died about the Year 370.

St. *PACIANUS,*

Bishop of *Barcelona.* Flourished about the end of the Fourth Century. Died about the Year 380.

GREGORY,

Bishop of *Elvira* in *Spain.* Flourished from the Year 357. to the end of that Century.

PHÆBADIUS,

Bishop of *Agen.* Flourished from the Year 350. almost to the end of the Century. Died about the Year 395.

St. *OPTATUS,*

Bishop of *Milevis.* Wrote about the Year 370. Died in the Reign of *Valentinian,* about the Year 372.

ACACIUS,

Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palæstine.* Succeeded *Eusebius* in the Year 338. Died in 366.

PHOTINUS,

Bishop of *Sirmium.* Discovered his Error about the Year 344. Died in 376.

AETIUS,

Taught his Errors in the Year 340. Died in 366.

EUNOMIUS,

Disciple of *Aëtius.* Published his Errors from the Year 350. till near the end of the Century. Died about the Year 395.

GEORGE,

Of *Laodicea.* Began to appear about the Year 320. and was ordained Bishop in 330. Died about the Year 359.

APOLINARIUS the Father,

Priest of *Laodicea.* Flourished under *Constantius* and *Julian.*

APOLINARIUS the Son,

Bishop of *Laodicea.* Flourished under *Constantius* and *Julian.* Died about the Year 370.

TITUS,

Of *Bostra.* Flourished in the Reigns of *Julian* and *Jovian.*

DIDIMUS the Blind.

Born towards the Year 300. Professor in the School of *Alexandria.* Flourished about the middle of the Fourth Century. Died about the Year 395.

PETER,

Bishop of *Alexandria.* Ordained in the Year 373. Died in 381.

LUCIUS,

The pretended Bishop of *Alexandria.* Invaded that See in the Year 373.

AQUILIUS SEVERUS,

Died about the Year 370.

EUZOIUS,

Died about the Year 390.

St. *CYRIL,*

Ordained Bishop of *Jerusalem* in 356. Died about the Year 386.

St. *EPHREM,*

The *Syrian* Deacon of *Edessa.* Flourished from the Year 360. Died in the Year 378.

DAMASUS,

Ordained Bishop of *Rome* in the Year 366. Died in 384.

St. *BASIL,*

Born in the Year 328. Ordained Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* in 369. Died in the Year 379.

St. *GREGORY NAZIANZEN,*

Born about the Year 328. Flourished from the Year 368. Died in the Year 389.

St. *GREGORY NYSSEN,*

Born in 230. Constituted Bishop of *Nyssa* in 371. Died in 395.

St. *CÆSARIUS,*

Born about the Year 330. An Officer of the Emperour. Died in the Year 369.

St. *AMPHILOCHIUS.*

Ordained Bishop of *Iconium* in 375. Died about the Year 395.

MAXIMUS,

A Philosopher. Flourished about the end of the Fourth Century.

EUSEBIUS VERCELLENSIS,

Flourished under the Emperours *Constantius* and *Valens.* Died in the Year 370.

MELETIUS,

Chosen Bishop of *Antioch* in the Year 361. Died in 380.

DIODORUS,

A Priest of *Antioch.* Who Flourished about the Year 370. and was ordained Bishop of *Tarsus* in 375.

HILARY,

Deacon of *Rome.* Flourished under *Liberius* and *Damascus.*

PRISCILLIAN,
MATRONIANUS,
TIBERIANUS,
} Executed in 384.

DICTINIUS

Died about the beginning of the Fifth Century.

ITHACIUS or *IDACIUS,*

Bishop of *Ossobona.* Flourished about the end of the Fourth Century.

FAUSTINUS,

A *Luciferan* Deacon presented his Petition to the Emperours in the Year 384.

PHILASTRIUS,
Bishop of *Bresicia.* Died in 387.

TIMOTHY,
Ordained Bishop of *Alexandria* in 381.

NECTARIUS,
Chosen Archbishop of *Constantinople*, Anno 382. Died in 397.

GELASIUS,
Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palæstine.* Flourished about the end of the Fourth Century.

SIRICIUS,
Bishop of *Rome.* Succeeded *Damasus* in 386.

SABINUS,
Bishop of the *Macedonians* at *Heraclea.* Flourished about the end of the Reign of *Theodosius.*

AMBROSE,
Of *Alexandria*, Disciple of *Didymus.* Died about the Year 375.

THEOTIMUS,
Bishop of *Tomi* in *Scythia.* Flourished at the end of the Fourth Century.

EVAGRIUS,
Ordained Bishop of *Antioch* in 386. Died in 393.

St. AMBROSE,
Born about the Year 340. Baptized and Ordained Bishop of *Milan* in 374. Died in the Year 396.

St. *EPIPHANIUS,*
Born *Anno* 332. Ordained Bishop of *Salamis* in the Year 366. Died in 402 or 403.

PHILO CARPATHIUS,
A Suppositious Author.

Q. JULIUS HILARION,
Died about the Year 400.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE of the *COUNCILS* held in the *Fourth Age* of the *Church.*

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	Ariminum	eod.
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	Carthage, V.	401
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	Alexandria	399
	Cyprus	eod.
	Turin	400
	Toledo	eod.

A TABLE of all the *Writings of* the *Eccleſiaſtical Authors* mentioned in this Volume.

EUSEBIUS of *Cæſarea.*

Genuine BOOKS ſtill Extant.

AN Apology for *Origen* in five Books; compoſed by him and the Martyr *Pamphilus*, with a Sixth by himſelf alone.
A Treatiſe againſt the Philoſopher *Hierocles.*
Fifteen Books of Evangelical preparation.
Twenty Books of Evangelical Demonſtration.
A Chronicon divided into Two Parts.
An Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory divided into Ten Books.
A little Treatiſe of the Martyrs of *Paleſtine.*
Five Books againſt *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, of which the Three laſt are entituled, *Of Eccleſiaſtical Theology.*
Four Books of the Life of *Conſtantine.*
An Oration of *Conſtantine*'s to the Aſſembly of the Saints.
A Panegyrick upon *Conſtantine.*
A Treatiſe of Topicks.
A Letter preſerved by *Theodoret.*
A Tranſlation of the Evangelical Canons, and of the Letter to *Carpianus.*

BOOKS Loſt.

The Ten laſt Books of Evangelical Demonſtration.
Part of the Firſt Part of his Chronicon.
A Paſchal Cycle.
Five Books of the Theophany or Incarnation.
Ten Books of Commentaries upon *Iſaiah.*
Thirty Books againſt *Porphyrie.*
A Treatiſe of the ſignification of the Names which the *Jews* give to other Nations.
A Deſcription of the Holy-Land and the Temple.
Three Books of the Life of *Pamphilus.*
Little Tracts upon the Martyrs.
A Commentary upon the 150 Pſalms.
The Evangelical Canons and the Letter to *Carpianus* in Greek.
A Commentary upon the Firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians.*
A Treatiſe of the Poligamy of the Patriarchs.
Eclogues upon the Bible.
Letter to *Alexander* and *Euphration*, cited in the Second Council of *Nice.*
An Apology and Refutation.
An Oration made at the Dedication of the Church of *Jeruſalem.*

Suppoſititious BOOKS.

A Commentary upon the Canticles.
Lives of the Prophets.
Sermons publiſhed by *Sirmondus.*
A Concordance tranſlated by *Ambroſe Camaldulenſis.*

CONSTANTINE the Emperour.

Genuine BOOKS ſtill extant.

An Oration made to the Convention of the Saints.
An Oration to the Fathers at the Council of *Nice.*
A Prayer.
Several Letters, of which ſee a Catalogue in *p.* 15. *&c.*
Several Edicts in favour of the Chriſtian Religion, of which you have a Catalogue in *p.* 16, 17, *&c.*

BOOKS Loſt.

Several Harangues.
Several Letters.
Several Edicts.

Suppoſititious BOOK.

The Donation of *Conſtantine* to the Biſhop of *Rome.*

JUVENCUS.

Genuine BOOK ſtill Extant.

A Poem upon the Life of Jeſus Chriſt.

BOOK Loſt.

Hymns.

RHETICIUS.

BOOK Loſt.

A Commentary upon the Canticles.

EUSTATHIUS of *Antioch.*

Genuine BOOKS ſtill Extant.

A Treatiſe concerning the Witch of *Endor.*
Fragments of his Book upon the Soul, and of his Diſcourſe cited by *Theodoret.*

BOOKS Loſt.

A Treatiſe againſt the *Arians.*
Homilies.
Letters.
A Treatiſe of the Soul.

Suppoſititious BOOK.

A Commentary upon the Creation.

PETER of *Alexandria.*

Genuine BOOK Extant.

Canons upon Penance.

BOOKS Loſt.

A Treatiſe upon the Divinity.
A Diſcourſe upon Penance.
A Sermon againſt the pre-exiſtence of Souls.
A Myſtagogical Diſcourſe.

ALEXANDER of *Alexandria.*

Genuine BOOKS ſtill Extant.

Two Letters againſt *Arius*, produced by the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians.
Paſtoral Letter publiſhed by *Cotelerius.*

St. *ATHANASIUS.*

Genuine BOOKS ſtill Extant.

Two Treatiſes againſt the Gentiles, whereof the Second is Entituled, *Of the Incarnation.*
An Apologetick to the Emperour *Conſtantine.*
A Letter to the *Egyptians*, Entituled, *The Firſt Diſcourſe againſt the* Arians.
A Letter to all the Orthodox Biſhops.
Firſt Apology.
Second Apology.
Four Treatiſes againſt the *Arians.*
Letter to thoſe that lead a Monaſtick Life.
An Hiſtorical Treatiſe to thoſe that lead a Monaſtick Life.
A Letter to *Serapion* concerning the Death of *Arius.*
A Treatiſe of Synods.
Two Letters extant in the Works of *Lucifer.*
A Letter written in the Name of the Council of *Alexandria.*

A Letter

A TABLE of all the Writings of the *Eccleſiaſtical Authors*, &c.

A Letter written in the Name of the Council of *Antioch.*
A Letter to the Biſhop of *Egypt*, *Arabia*, &c.
A Letter to the *Africans.*
A Letter to *Epictetus.*
A Sermon upon theſe Words, *My Father hath given me all things.*
An Epiſtle to *Adelphius.*
Two Letters to *Serapion* upon the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Ghoſt.
An Expoſition of the Faith.
A Letter concerning the Hiſtory of the Deciſion of the Council of *Nice.*
A Letter concerning the Opinion of St. *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, upon the Trinity.
A Treatiſe of the Union of the Humane Nature with the Word.
Two Treatiſes of the Incarnation againſt *Apollinarius.*
A Treatiſe againſt the Followers of *Sabellius.*
An Epiſtle to *John* and *Antiochus.*
An Epiſtle to *Palladius.*
An Epiſtle to *Dracontius.*
An Epiſtle to *Marcellinus* upon the Pſalms.
An Homily on the Sabbath, and of the Circumciſion.
A Treatiſe of the Words of Jeſus Chriſt, *Whoever ſhall be guilty of blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt*, &c.
Two Letters to *Serapion* upon the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt.
A ſhort Diſcourſe againſt the *Arians.*
Conference between St. *Athanaſius* and the *Arians* in the Preſence of *Jovian.*
Epiſtle to *Ammon.*
A Fragment of a Feſtival Epiſtle.
An Epiſtle to *Ruffinian.*
The Book, Entituled, *An Abridgment of the Holy Scripture.*
The Life of St. *Anthony*, [interpolated extremely, if not Spurious.]

BOOKS Loſt.

A large Treatiſe of Faith.
A Treatiſe upon theſe Words of Jeſus Chriſt: *My Soul is troubled even unto Death.*
Some Dogmatical Treatiſes.

Suppoſititious BOOKS.

A Treatiſe to prove that there is but one Jeſus Chriſt.
A Treatiſe of the Incarnation againſt *Paulus Samoſatenus.*
A Refutation of the Hypocriſie of *Meletius.*
A Treatiſe concerning Virginity.
A Treatiſe of the Teſtimonies of Scripture for the Trinity.
An Homily of the Annunciation of the Virgin.
The Life of St. *Syncletica.*
The Creed which bears the name of St. *Athanaſius.*
An Expoſition of Faith upon the Incarnation.
A Diſputation againſt *Arius.*
A Letter to *Liberius.*
An Explication of theſe Words of Jeſus Chriſt, *Go to the Village*, &c.
A Homily upon the Paſſion.
A Homily upon Seed-time.
A Diſcourſe againſt all Hereſies.
A Diſcourſe of the Aſcenſion of Jeſus Chriſt, and of *Melchizedech.*
A Letter to *Jovian.*
A Book of Definitions.
Seven Dialogues of the Trinity.
A Book entituled, *A Tragedy.*
Queſtions to *Antiochus*, &c.
A Homily upon *Eaſter*-Eve.
A Fragment of a Letter to *Eupſichius.*
Eleven Books of the Unity and of the Trinity.
An Exhortation to the Monks.
A ſhort Inſtruction to the Monks.
Letters of St. *Athanaſius* to the Popes *Marcus* and *Felix.*
A Relation of the Paſſion, and of the Image of Jeſus Chriſt in the City of *Berytus.*
A Fragment upon the Incarnation againſt the Diſciples of *Paulus Samoſatenus.*
A Fragment upon the Sabbath.
Seven Homilies, publiſhed by *Holſtenius.*
Four Diſcourſes, publiſhed by F. *Combefis.*
Fragments and Commentaries upon *Job* and the *Pſalms*, cited in the *Catenæ* upon the Scriptures.

JACOBUS NISIBENUS.

BOOKS Loſt.

Twenty three Treatiſes cited by *Gennadius*, the Titles of which are ſet down in *Pag.* 49.

MARCELLUS of *Ancyra.*

BOOKS Loſt.

Treatiſes on different ſubjects, and particularly againſt the *Arians*; *Euſebius* cites ſeveral Paſſages in them, which he Refutes.

HOSIUS.

Genuine BOOK ſtill Extant.

A Letter to *Conſtantius.*

BOOKS Loſt.

Several Treatiſes againſt the *Arians.*
A Letter to his Siſter in Praiſe of Virginity.

JULIUS.

Genuine BOOKS ſtill Extant.

A Letter to the Biſhops of the Eaſt.
A Letter to the *Egyptians*, produced by St. *Athanaſius.*

Suppoſititious BOOKS.

A Letter to *Dionyſius* concerning the Incarnation.
A Letter to *Docius* upon the ſame Subject.
The Two *Decretals* attributed to this Pope.

ASTERIUS.

BOOKS Loſt.

Commentaries upon the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, upon the Goſpels, and upon the Pſalms.

THEODORUS.

BOOKS Loſt.

Commentaries upon St. *Matthew*, St. *John*, the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, and upon the Pſalms.

TRYPHILLIUS.

BOOKS Loſt.

Commentaries upon the *Canticles*, and ſeveral other Books.

HELIODORUS.

BOOK Loſt.

A Book of the Nature of Principles.

DONATUS.

BOOKS Loſt.

A Treatiſe of the Holy Ghoſt.
A Letter on the ſame Subject.

VITELLIUS.

A TABLE of the Writings of the *Eccleſiaſtical Authors*, &c.

VITELLIUS.

BOOK Loſt.

A Book ſhewing that the Servants of God are hated by the World; and ſome other Writings concerning Diſcipline.

MACROBIUS.

BOOK Loſt.

A Treatiſe addreſſed to Confeſſors and Virgins.

A Treatiſe Addreſſed to Confeſſors and Virgins.

St. *ANTHONY.*

Genuine BOOKS Extant.

Seven Letters to Monaſteries.
An Exhortation to Monks.
A ſhort Rule.

Suppoſititious BOOKS.

A Sermon againſt Vice.
Other Sermons.

St. *PACHOMIUS.*

Genuine BOOKS Extant.

A Rule for the Monks.
Moral Precepts.
Eleven Letters.

ORESIESIS.

Genuine BOOK ſtill Extant.

A Treatiſe of the Inſtitution of Monks.

THEODORUS.

Genuine BOOK Extant.

A Letter concerning *Eaſter.*

WORKS Loſt.

Several other Letters.

The *MACARII.*

Genuine BOOKS Extant.

Fifty Homilies or Diſcourſes to the Monks.
Seven ſmall Tracts.
A Rule for the Monks.
Another Rule in the Form of a Dialogue.

BOOK Loſt.

A Letter cited by *Gennadius.*

SERAPION.

Genuine BOOK ſtill Extant.

A Treatiſe againſt the *Manichees.*

BOOKS Loſt.

A Treatiſe upon the Titles of the Pſalms.
Several Letters.

EUSEBIUS EMISENUS.

BOOKS Loſt.

A Treatiſe againſt the *Jews.*
Another againſt the *Gentiles.*
Another againſt the *Novatians.*
A Commentary upon the Epiſtle to the *Galatians.*
Several Homilies upon the Goſpels.

Suppoſititious BOOK.

A Homily in Latin.

BASIL of *Ancyra.*

BOOKS Loſt.

A Treatiſe againſt *Marcellus* of *Ancyra.*
A Treatiſe of Virginity.
Some other ſmall Tracts.

LIBERIUS.

Several Letters. See the Catalogue, *p.* 63.

St. *HILARY.*

Genuine BOOKS ſtill Extant.

Twelve Books of the Trinity.
A Treatiſe of Synods.
Three Diſcourſes addreſſed to *Conſtantius.*
Fragments.
Conference with *Auxentius.*
Commentaries upon the *Pſalms*, and upon St. *Matthew.*

BOOKS Loſt.

A Treatiſe againſt *Urſacius* and *Valens.*
An Hiſtorical Treatiſe.
A Tract againſt *Dioſcorus.*
Commentaries upon *Job.*
Commentaries upon the *Canticles.*
A Collection of Hymns.
A Treatiſe of Myſteries to *Fortunatus.*
Letters.

Suppoſititious BOOKS.

A Hymn and Letters to his Daughter *Apra.*

LUCIFER.

Genuine BOOKS ſtill Extant.

Five Books for St. *Athanaſius*, againſt *Conſtantius* and againſt the *Arians.*

VICTORINUS of *Africa.*

Genuine BOOKS ſtill Extant.

Four Books againſt *Arius.*
A Treatiſe in Defence of the Term *Conſubſtantial.*
Three Hymns of the Trinity.
A Poem of the *Maccabees.*
A Treatiſe againſt the *Manichees.*
A little Tract about the beginning of Day.

BOOKS Loſt.

Commentaries upon St. *Paul.*

St. *PACIANUS.*

Genuine BOOKS ſtill Extant.

Three Letters againſt the *Novatians.*
A Treatiſe of Baptiſm.

GREGORY of *Bætica.*

BOOKS Loſt.

Several Treatiſes.
A Book concerning Faith; unleſs this be the ſame with the 49th Diſcourſe among St. *Gregory Nazianzen's.*

A TABLE of the Writings of the *Eccleſiaſtical Authors*, &c.

PHÆBADIUS.

Genuine BOOK ſtill Extant.

A Treatiſe againſt the Second Creed of *Sirmium*.

OPTATUS.

Genuine BOOKS ſtill Extant.

Six Books againſt the Schiſm of the *Donatiſts*.

Suppoſititious BOOK.

A Seventh Book.

ACACIUS of *Cæſarea*.

BOOKS Loſt.

A Treatiſe againſt *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*.
The Life of his Predeceſſor *Euſebius*.
Seventeen Volumes of Commentaries upon the Scripture.
Seven Volumes upon divers Subjects.

PHOTINUS.

BOOKS Loſt.

A Treatiſe againſt the Gentiles.
A Treatiſe addreſſed to the Emperour *Valentinian*.
A Conference with *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, cited by St. *Epiphanius*, Hæreſ. 71.
Several other Diſcourſes.

AETIUS.

BOOK Loſt.

An Impious Libel upon the Trinity, whereof St. *Epiphanius* relates ſome Fragments, *Hæreſ.* 76.

EUNOMIUS.

BOOKS Loſt.

Seven Books of Commentaries upon the Epiſtle to the *Romans*.
Several Diſcourſes againſt the Church.
An Apology againſt the Treatiſe of St. *Baſil*.

GEORGE of *Laodicea*.

Genuine BOOKS ſtill Extant.

Two Letters produced by St. *Athanaſius*.
A Circular Letter againſt *Aëtius*. cited by *Sozomen*.

BOOKS Loſt.

A Treatiſe againſt the *Manichees*.
The Life of *Euſebius Emiſenus*.

The *APOLLINARII.*

Genuine BOOK ſtill Extant.

A Tranſlation of the Pſalms in Verſe.

BOOKS loſt.

Several Commentaries upon the Scriptures.
Treatiſes againſt the *Arians*, againſt *Origen*, and againſt ſeveral other Hereticks.
A Treatiſe againſt *Porphyrie*, divided into Thirty Books.
A Treatiſe of the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion againſt *Julian*.
Some Letters.
A Poem containing the Hiſtory of the *Jews*, divided into twenty four Books.
Tragedies and other Poetical Pieces, the Subjects whereof were Piety.
The Goſpels and the Epiſtles in Dialogues.

TITUS of *Boſtra*.

Genuine BOOK ſtill Extant.

A Tranſlation of Three Books againſt the *Manichees*.

BOOKS Loſt.

The Fourth Book againſt the *Manichees*, and the Greek Text of all the Four.
Some other Diſcourſes.

Suppoſititious BOOKS.

Commentaries upon the Goſpel of St. *Luke*.
A Sermon upon *Palm-Sunday*.

DIDIMUS of *Alexandria*.

Genuine BOOKS ſtill Extant.

A Tranſlation of his Treatiſe concerning the Holy Spirit; made by St. *Jerom*.
A Tranſlation of his Commentaries upon the Canonical Epiſtles.
A Fragment of a Tract againſt the *Manichees*.

BOOKS Loſt.

See the Catalogue of them, *p.* 103.

PETER of *Alexandria*.

Genuine BOOK ſtill Extant.

A Letter quoted by *Theodoret*, Book IV. Ch. 22, of his Hiſtory.

BOOK Loſt.

A Letter to thoſe that were Baniſhed, whereof *Facundius* cites two Fragments.

LUCIUS.

BOOKS Loſt.

A Letter upon the Feaſt of *Eaſter*.
Some other Treatiſes.

AQUILIUS SEVERUS.

BOOK Loſt.

The Hiſtory of his Life, Entituled, *Cataſtrophe*.

EUZOIUS.

BOOKS Loſt.

Several Treatiſes of which we have no Knowledge.

St. *CYRIL* of *Jeruſalem*.

Genuine BOOKS ſtill Extant.

Eighteen Catechetical Diſcourſes to the Catechumens.
Five Myſtagogical Lectures.
A Letter upon the Apparition of the Croſs.
A Letter concerning the Preſentation of Jeſus Chriſt in the Temple.

Suppoſititious BOOK.

A Letter to St. *Auſtin*.

St. *EPHREM* the *Syrian*.

See the Catalogue of his Works, *p.* 118, 119, and 120.

A TABLE of all the Writings of the *Eccleſiaſtical Authors*, &c.

DAMASUS.

Genuine BOOKS ſtill Extant.

Two Letters to St. *Jerom*, to be found in the Works of that Father.
A Letter to the Biſhops of *Illyricum*.
A Letter to *Paulinus*.
Anathematiſms ſent to *Paulinus*.
A Letter to the Biſhops of the Eaſt againſt *Timothy*, produced by *Theodoret*.

Suppoſititious BOOKS.

A Letter of *Damaſus* to St. *Jerom*.
A Decretal Epiſtle.
Epigrams, Epitaphs, and other Poems.

St. *BASIL.*

Genuine BOOKS ſtill Extant.

431 Letters of this Saint.
Three Canonical Letters to St. *Amphilochius*.
Nine Homilies upon the beginning of *Geneſis*.
Two Homilies upon the Creation of Man.
A Homily upon Paradiſe.
A Homily concerning Watchfulneſs, upon the 6th. Chapter of *Proverbs*.
Twenty two Homilies upon the *Pſalms*.
A Commentary upon the Sixteen firſt Chapters of *Iſaiah*
Five Books againſt *Eunomius*.
A Book concerning the Holy Ghoſt, to St. *Amphilochius*.
Two Books of Baptiſm.
Thirty one Homilies upon divers Subjects.
Three Treatiſes concerning a Monaſtick Life.
A Treatiſe of Judgment, and another of Faith.

Aſcetical Diſcourſes, viz.

The greater and leſſer Rules.
The Book of a Monaſtick Life.
The Conſtitutions.
A Treatiſe of the Chaſtiſements of Monks.
A Treatiſe concerning Virginity.

BOOKS Loſt.

Commentaries upon the whole Bible.
A Genuine Liturgy.
Some other Treatiſes.

Suppoſititious BOOKS.

Letters to *Julian* and to *Apollinarius*.
Commentaries upon the Pſalms.
A Panegyrick upon St. *Barlaam*.
A Diſcourſe of Conſolation.
An Admonition to his Spiritual Son.
A Treatiſe of the Praiſes of a Solitary Life.
Three Liturgies.
A Grammar.

St. *GREGORY NAZIANZEN.*

Genuine BOOKS ſtill Extant.

Forty Four Diſcourſes or Sermons.
A Letter to *Evagrius*.
A Letter to *Nectarius*.
Letters to *Cledonius*, Entituled, *Diſcourſes 51ſt and 52d.*
Several Poems.
A Diſcourſe in *Latin* concerning Biſhops.
242 Letters.
His Laſt Will and Teſtament.

Suppoſititious BOOKS.

The 47th, 48th, 49th, and 50th Diſcourſes.
The Paraphraſe upon *Eccleſiaſtes*.

St. *GREGORY NYSSEN.*

Genuine BOOKS ſtill Extant.

A Treatiſe upon the Creation of the World.
A Treatiſe of the Formation of the World.
A Treatiſe concerning the Witch of *Endor*.
A Book of the Life of *Moſes*.
Two Treatiſes upon the Inſcriptions of the Pſalms.
A Homily upon the Sixth Pſalm.
Homilies upon *Eccleſiaſtes* and the *Canticles*.
Twelve Books againſt *Eunomius*.
The greater Catechiſm.
A Treatiſe concerning Faith, addreſſed to *Simplicius*.
A Diſcourſe upon the Great *Abraham*, or of the Divinity of the Son and of the Holy Ghoſt.
A Treatiſe on the Trinity to *Ablabius*.
A Treatiſe to *Euſtathius*.
A Treatiſe of the Difference between the Nature and Hypoſtaſis.
A Treatiſe of common Notions.
Two little Treatiſes againſt *Apollinarius*.
A Treatiſe againſt the *Manichees*.
A Treatiſe of the Soul.
Another Treatiſe of the Soul, and of the Reſurrection.
A Treatiſe to *Jerius* of untimely Death of Children.
A Treatiſe of Virginity.
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Funeral Orations and Panegyricks.
A Canonical Epiſtle to *Letoius*.
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Letter concerning the Profeſſion of a Chriſtian.
A Treatiſe of the End that a Chriſtian ought to propoſe to himſelf.
A Letter concerning Pilgrimages.
A Letter to *Flavianus*.

BOOKS Loſt.

Commentaries upon the *Proverbs*, and an entire Commentary upon *Eccleſiaſtes*.
Commentaries upon the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*.
Some other Books whereof we have no Knowledge.

Suppoſititious BOOKS.

A Latin Treatiſe containing the Paſſages in the Old Teſtament to prove the Divinity.
A Book of Philoſophy written by *Nemeſius*.

St. *CÆSARIUS.*

Suppoſititious BOOKS.

Dialogues upon ſeveral Queſtions in Divinity.

St. *AMPHILOCHIUS.*

Genuine BOOKS ſtill Extant.

A Synodical Letter, publiſhed by *Cotelerius*.
Several Fragments quoted by *Theodoret* in the Councils of *Epheſus* and *Chalcedon*, and by ſeveral Authors.

BOOKS Loſt.

Several Homilies upon the Scripture.
Some Letters.

Suppoſititious BOOKS.

Eight Sermons publiſhed by *F. Combefis*.
The Life of St. *Baſil*.

MAXIMUS.

BOOK Loſt.

A Treatiſe concerning Faith.

EUSEBIUS.

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EUSEBIUS VERCELLENSIS.

Genuine BOOK ſtill Extant.

Three Letters.

BOOK Loſt.

A Tranſlation of *Euſebius*'s Commentary on the Pſalms.

MELETIUS.

Genuine BOOK ſtill Extant.

A Homily upon theſe Words in the Proverbs, *God hath created me*, &c. quoted by St. *Epiphanius*, *Hæreſ.* 73.

DIODORUS of *Tarſus.*

BOOKS Loſt.

A Treatiſe of Deſtiny.
A Treatiſe of the Holy Ghoſt.
A Treatiſe againſt Hereticks.
Commentaries upon ſeveral Books of the H. Scripture.
A Treatiſe againſt the *Jews*, and againſt the *Melchiſedechians.*
Treatiſes of the Trinity, of the Reſurrection, of the Soul, and of Providence.
A Tract to *Euphronius* againſt *Ariſtotle.*

HILARY the Deacon.

BOOKS attributed to him.

Commentaries upon St. *Paul*, which carry the Name of St. *Ambroſe.*
Queſtions upon the Old and New Teſtament, which bear St. St. *Auguſtin*'s Name.

PRISCILLIAN.

BOOKS Loſt.

Some little Diſcourſes.

MATRONIANUS.

BOOKS Loſt.

Some Pieces in Verſe.

TIBERIANUS.

BOOK Loſt.

His Apology.

DICTINIUS.

BOOKS Loſt.

Some little Treatiſes.

ITHACIUS.

BOOK Loſt.

A Treatiſe in form of an Apology againſt the *Priſcillianiſts.*

Suppoſititious BOOK.

A Book againſt *Varimadus.*

FAUSTINUS.

Genuine BOOKS ſtill Extant.

Seven Books againſt the *Arians* and the *Macedonians*, falſly attributed to *Gregory* of *Bætica.*
His Petition to the Emperours *Valentinian* and *Theodoſius.*

PHILASTRIUS.

Genuine BOOKS ſtill extant.

A Treatiſe of Hereſies.

TIMOTHY of *Alexandria.*

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Canonical Reſponſes.

BOOK Loſt.

A Letter to *Diodorus.*

NECTARIUS.

Genuine BOOKS ſtill Extant.

A Homily upon the Holy Martyr *Theodorus.*

GELASIUS of *Cæſarea.*

BOOKS Loſt.

A Continuation of the Hiſtory of *Euſebius.*
Some Homilies and Treatiſes.

SIRICIUS.

Genuine BOOKS ſtill Extant.

A Letter to *Himerius.*
The Second and Third Letter to the ſame.
The Fifth to *Anyſius.*
The Fourth is dubious.

SABINUS.

BOOKS Loſt.

A Hiſtory of the Councils or a Collection of their Acts.

AMBROSE of *Alexandria.*

BOOKS Loſt.

A Dogmatical Treatiſe againſt *Apollinarius.*
A Commentary upon *Job.*

THEOTIMUS.

BOOKS loſt.

Short and Sententious Tracts in form of Dialogues.

EVAGRIUS of *Antioch.*

BOOKS Loſt.

Treatiſes of which we know nothing.

St. *AMBROSE.*

Genuine BOOKS ſtill Extant.

A Treatiſe of the Creation of the World, compoſed of Nine Sermons, and divided into ſix Books.
Upon the Terreſtrial Paradiſe.
Upon the Hiſtory of *Cain* and *Abel*; divided into 2 Books.
Of the Ark, and of the Life of *Noah*; not perfect.
Two Books upon the Life of *Abraham.*
A Treatiſe of *Iſaac* and the Soul.
A Treatiſe of the Benefits or Advantages of Death.
A Treatiſe of forſaking the World.
Two Books of *Jacob* and a happy Life.
A Diſcourſe of the Life of the Patriarch *Joſeph.*
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A Treatiſe of *Naboth* and the Poor.
A Treatiſe upon *Tobit*.
Four Books concerning the Interceſſion or the Complaints of *Job* and *David*.
The firſt Apology for *David*.
An Explication of Twelve Pſalms, *viz.* Pſal. 1, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 43, 45, 47, 48, 61.
A Book upon Pſal. 119.
A Commentary upon the Goſpel of St. *Luke*, divided into Ten Parts.
Three Books of the Offices of Miniſters.
Three Books concerning Virgins, to *Marcellina*.
A Treatiſe concerning Widows.
A Treatiſe of Virginity.
A Diſcourſe of the perpetual Virginity of *Mary*.
An Exhortation to Virginity.
A Book of Myſteries.
Two Books of Penance.
Five Books concerning Faith, or of the Trinity.
Three Books of the Holy Spirit.
A Treatiſe of the Incarnation.
Ninety two Letters.
Funeral Orations upon *Valentinian* and *Theodoſius*.
Hymns for the Office, and upon the Six Days of the Creation.

BOOKS Loſt.

Part of the Treatiſe of the Ark, and of *Noah*.
A Treatiſe of the Incarnation, whereof *Theodoret* quotes a Fragment.
A Treatiſe upon the Sacraments, and of Philoſophy.
A Commentary upon *Iſaiah*.
Inſtruction to *Fritigildis*.
Another Inſtruction to *Panſophius*.
Caſſiodorus mentions ſome Homilies upon the Book of *Wiſdom*, a Commentary upon all the Prophets, and a Commentary upon the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*.
A Commentary upon all the Pſalms, according to *Trithemius*.

Suppoſititious WORKS.

A Second Apology for *David*.
Commentaries upon the *Canticles*.
A Treatiſe of the fall of a Virgin conſecrated to God.
Several Hymns upon *Feſtivals*.
All his Sermons upon the Year and upon the Feaſts.
A Diſcourſe upon the Dignity of Humane Nature.
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The Treatiſe of the Forty two Manſions or Encampments of the Children of *Iſrael*.
A Commentary upon the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*.
A Commentary upon the *Apocalypſe*.
The Harmony of the Evangeliſts, St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke*, concerning the Genealogy of our Saviour.
A Treatiſe upon the Creed.
A Diſcourſe of the Divinity of the Son.
A Treatiſe entituled, *Of the Myſtery of* Eaſter.
A Diſcourſe to a Virgin conſecrated to God.
A Diſcourſe of the Vocation of the Gentiles.
An Epiſtle to *Demetrias*.
The 29, 34, 35, and 55 Letters.
The Preparatory Prayers for ſaying of Maſs.
The Book of the Combat between Virtues and Vices.
The Expoſition of Faith.
A Treatiſe of the Holy Spirit.
A Book of Penance.
A Hiſtory of the Life and Manners of the *Brachmans*.

St. *EPIPHANIUS*.

Genuine BOOK ſtill Extant.

The Book againſt Hereſies, Entituled, *Panarium*.
The Recapitulation or Abridgment of his Book of Hereſies.
A Diſcourſe of Faith, Entituled, *Anchoratus*.
A Treatiſe of Weights and Meaſures.
The Phyſiologus.
A Treatiſe of the Twelve precious Stones.
A Book of the Life and Death of the Prophets.
A Letter to St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*.
Nine Sermons, dubious.

PHILO CARPATHIUS.

Suppoſititious BOOK.

A Commentary upon the Canticles.

Q. *JULIUS HILARION*.

Genuine BOOK ſtill Extant.

A Chronicon, or a Treatiſe of the Duration of the World.

A TABLE of the *Acts, Profeſſions of Faith*, and *Canons* of the *Councils* mentioned in this Volume.

Councils.	*Years* held in	*Acts, Profeſſions* of *Faith*, and *Canons.*
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St. *Baſil*'s Book againſt *Eunomius*, and other Dogmatical Treatiſes of his.
St. *Gregory Nazianzen*'s Diſcourſe of Theology.
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——A Diſcourſe againſt the *Manichees*.
Meletius's Homily and Profeſſion of Faith.
Fauſtinus's Book againſt the *Arians* and *Macedonians*.
St. *Ambroſe*'s Book of the Trinity and of the Holy Ghoſt.
——Two Books of Penance againſt the *Novatians*.
Philaſtrius and St. *Epiphanius*'s Treatiſes againſt all Hereſies.

Diſcourſes upon the Articles of Faith in general.

St. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*'s Catechetical Letters.
The great Catechiſm or Inſtruction of *Gregory Nyſſen*.
St. *Epiphanius*'s Book againſt all Hereſies.
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Alexander's Letter againſt *Arius*.
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St. *Baſil*'s Dogmatical Letter's; particularly the 41ſt, 63, 64th, 65th, 74th, 78th, 141ſt, 203d, 204th, 325th, 343d, 344th, 387th, 399th, and 401ſt.
——Five Books againſt *Eunomius*.
——A Diſcourſe concerning the Holy Ghoſt to *Amphilochius*.
——Homilies 9th, 12th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 25th, 27th, 29th, 31ſt, upon different Subjects.
St. *Gregory Nazianzen*'s Diſcourſes 25th, 31ſt, 32d, 33d, 34th, 35th, 36th, and 45th.
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——A Treatiſe concerning the Faith addreſſed to *Simplicius*.
——A Treatiſe of the Divinity of the Son and of the Holy Ghoſt.
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Creeds and Profeſſions of Faith of the Councils.
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——His 9th, and 42d Letters.

Upon the Incarnation.

St. *Athanaſius*'s Treatiſes.
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——Treatiſe of the Union of the humane Nature with the Word.
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ADVER-

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THE French *Copy of this Book is so very uncorrectly Printed, that those who took Care of this Translation, found it necessary in great Numbers of Places to examine it by those Original Books which were quoted or epitomized: So that though very many Faults were amended in the Body of this Translation, yet upon a Review of the Work since it came from the Press, several others were observed, which are here set by themselves, lest they should be imputed to the Printer's Carelessness.*

ERRATA in the *French* Text.

PAge 4. col. 1. line 6. from bot. read B. 1. C. 12. col. 2. l. 2. r. C. 17. p. 16. l. ult. for 13. r. 15. p. 11. l. 4. r. *Hopperus.* p. 21. l. 3. r. B. VIII. c. 1. *ibid.* col. 2. l. 3. r. *Theodoret.* B. 1. c. 7. p. 27. l. 30. dele *and Theodoret.* p. 33. col. 1. l. 4. r. *Eusebius.* p. 35. col. 2. l. 6. r. c. 21. for c. 17. and l. 7. r. c. 23. for c. 14. p. 51. l. 18. from bot. r. B. 1. c. 5. p. 63. l. 4. from bot. for 6. r. 16. p. 70. l. 40. for *Ariminum and Ancyra*, r. *Ariminum and Seleucia.* ibid. l. 17. from bot. r. *exhorts the Western.* p. 85. l. 4. from bot. r. *composed by Potamius and Subscribed by Hosius.* p. 100. l. 15. r. *th.* 15. of *B.* IV. p. 102. *Nazianzen's* Words end at *Admiration of all Mankind.* p. 107. l. 21. r. *Eustathius of Sebastea.* ibid. col. 1. l. 1. r. *B.* 11. *c.* 38. l. 2. r. *B.* 4. *c.* 20. p. 145. l. 22. from bot. r. *ch.* 15. *B.* III. p. 183. l. 24. from bot. r. *Marcunius.* p. 221. col. 1. l. 2 dele p. 824. p. 223. l. 8. from bot. for 383. r. 388. p. 233. l. 16. for 1606. r. 1506. p. 237. and p. 239. for *Aëtius* r. *Aërius.* p. 250. l. 33. r. *B.* I. for *B.* 3. p. 256. for *Edessa* r. *Emisa.* p. 258, 259. for *Servatus of Tongres*, r. *Servatio.*

Those likewise who are acquainted with the French *Language, know what a Liberty the* French *Writers take in altering of Proper Names, and in bringing them to the Genius of their own Tongue: For which Reason they will easily pardon some Mistakes of that kind in so long and various a Work as this. However, lest any one should think that this has been neglected, which might occasion Confusion, when the same Persons Names otherwise turned occur in other Books, the following Catalogue was drawn up; in which those Names to which no Page is set, are several times to be met with, whereas the others are hardly ever mistaken any where else.* Bostria *(p.* 9.*) for* Bostra. Eucherus *(p.* 24.*) for* Eucherius. Zosinus *(p.* 27*) for* Zosimus. Eudoxus *for* Eudoxius. Cotelierius *for* Cotelerius. Varimadus *for* Varimadus. Tapsa *for* Tapsus. Emesa *for* Emisa. Rhebadius *(p.* 50*) for* Phebadius. Damascus *(p.* 33.*) for* Damasus. Docus *(p.* 51.*) for* Docius. Elpidus *and* Elpides *for* Elpidius. Poëmius *(p.* 135.*) for* Poëmenius. Narsetes *for* Narses. Logothera *(p.* 158.*) for* Logotheta. Fumanus *for* Fumancellus. Doaza *(p.* 169.*) for* Doara. Florus Magister *(p.* 205.*) not to be divided.* Brughem *(p.* 233.*) for* Beughem. Marcina *(p.* 179.*) for* Macrina.

CORRIGENDA.

PAge 3. line 22. read *Euphration.* l. 27. dele *of.* p. 5. l. 43. for *with* r. *which.* p. 7. l. 24. for *formerly* r. *formally.* p. 9. l. 25. dele C. p. 10. l. 1. r. *Offices* for *Officers.* l. 31. for *revised* r. *reprinted.* ibid. l. 5. from bot. for *Four* r. *Fourteen.* p. 13. l. 29. for *the*, r. *their.* p. 17. l. 28. r. *Clergy.* p. 19. l. 37. for *as it plainly appears*, r. *he declaring himself openly.* p. 22. *b.* l. 8. r. *suffered Paulinus to have been.* p. 24. col. 2. l. 7. for *S. Austin*, r. *S. Justin.* p. 26. l. 18. dele *not.* p. 27. l. 14. from bot. for *the best*, r. *a Masterpiece.* p. 33. l. 12. r. *so that.* p. 36. l. 2. r. *Frenchman.* p. 37. l. 16. for *the Act*, r. *Action.* p. 39. l. 33. r. *Retractation.* p. 41. l. 9. before *goes*, r. *he.* p. 44. l. 33. dele *so that.* p. 46. l. 48. r. *do not mean.* p. 52. l. 28. for *who Heracleus*, r. *which Heraclea.* p. 53. col. 1. l. 8. r. *by the latter*, for *the last by.* p. 63. l. 35. for *two Volumes*, r. *2d. Volume.* p. 65. l. 18. from bot. for *viz.* r. *Vir.* p. 68. l. 3. r. *perception.* p. 73. col. 2. after l. 1. add 459. *To Vincentius of Capua.* p. 82. l. 8. for *Doctrine* r. *Doctor.* p. 87. l. 32. for *since St. Jerom's*, r. *in St. Jerom's* p. 100, *b.* l. 6. r. *but it was.* p. 107. col. 1. l. ult. r. *of the Words.* p. 108. col. 1. l. 8. r. *wrote some.* p. 116. l. 8. for *Aversation* r. *Aversion.* p. 122. l. 44. r. 1672. [*in Octavo*; *his Poems.* l. 45. dele *in Octavo.* p. 135. l. 4. r. *pretended for little.* 136. l. 39. r. *his Carriage deserved.* p. 146. l. 20. r. *at Laciza.* p. 154. l. 10. for *honest*, r. *decent.* p. 170. l. 9. for 41*st.* r. 32*d.* ibid. l. 40. for *of* r. *and.* and for *and* r. *of.* p. 171. l. 28. r. *his Custom.* p. 173. l. 2. for *likeness* r. *Lightness.* ibid. l. 15. from bot. for *Hermetical.* r. *Eremetical.* p. 190. l. 18. for *Provocation* r. *Vocation.* p. 193. l. 11. Marg. Note from bot. dele. p. 198. l. 31. r. *Sozomen commends him.* p. 215. l. 11. from bot. for *it is*, r. *is it.* p. 222. col. 2. for *Lieutenancy* r. *Vicariate* twice. 238. l. 10. from bot. Marg. Note. for *She knows*, r. *he knows.* p. 241. l. 5. for *pretended* r. *supposititious.* 244. l. 36. r. *Defamatory Libels.* p. 256. l. 35. for *though*, r. *thought.* p. 259. l. 7. from bot. after *is*, for *to the Churches of Alexandria.* r. *produced.* ibid. l. 6. after *third*, add, *is to the Churches of Alexandria.* p. 94. The Sentence *As if a Belief*—should have been placed in the Margin against *believed to be the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.* p. 117. The Sentence Mr. *Du pin*—should have been against these Words, in the next Line, *Other Criticks of his Way.*

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